

BYZANTINE TEXTBOOKS OF THE PALAEOLOGAN PERIOD

STUDI E TESTI

505

Fevronia Nousia

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PREFACE

This pioneering study of textbooks of the Palaeologan period makes a distinctive contribution to the history of Byzantine education. Fevronia Nousia's work shows what can be learned from examining a large number of seemingly 'standard' textbooks in detail and paying close attention to the surviving manuscript evidence. Her main focus is on the poetic texts, especially epic and tragedy, used by students in the secondary stage of their study of ancient Greek, but she rightly begins with their early training in the language. This entails exploring the 'schedographic' systems devised by Byzantine educators to help their students acquire a thorough command of ancient Greek, especially Attic, grammar and vocabulary, and the varied (and sometimes competing) uses to which these systems were put. By setting the methodology and practice of Manuel Moschopoulos in this context she helps to explain why his work as an exponent of grammar and a commentator on poetic texts had such a long-lasting influence on the study of ancient Greek in the Byzantine and post-Byzantine world, as well as in Western Europe.

Chapters III and IV are devoted to the evidence from individual manuscripts. Attentive study of paratextual features — layout on the page, spacing between lines of text, size of margins, use of different coloured ink for interlinear glosses, and relative frequency or infrequency of abbreviations in the script — may give hints as to the level of competence of a book's intended users. In Chapter III, the author's detailed work on three copies of portions of the *Iliad* with interlinear glosses, explanatory notes and sometimes literal translations, shows how a single scribe, in this case the Cretan Michael Lygizos, working in the late 15th and early 16th centuries, could modify the content and presentation of a standard text to suit the level appropriate for respective readers. Similar findings from Sophoclean and Euripidean samples from the 14th and 15th centuries, some with extensive and variable marginalia, suggest that the manuscripts themselves are a rich source of evidence for educational history. Chapter IV shows, again from unpublished manuscript evidence, the adaptability of Palaeologan educational practice for teaching students in the West who had been trained in Latin with no knowledge of the Greek language.

The book also finds space for five valuable appendices, the first giving the *editio princeps* of an interesting and rather bizarre new contribution to educational history, a schedographic work by a much less familiar author,

Konstantinos Arabites (date unknown), whose ‘extracts’ and lists of rare words are at the opposite end of the spectrum to the pedagogic methods of Moschopoulos and his followers. This text will be of interest to lexicographers and to students of Byzantine rhetoric, and there is new evidence in the other appendices on schedographic practice, Moschopoulos’ grammatical sources, and Michael Lygizos and his manuscripts of the *Iliad*. All of this detailed and exploratory work makes an extremely illuminating contribution to scholarship, which opens the way to further research.

P.E. Easterling

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*In memoriam
Julian Chrysostomides*

ἔφθασεν ἡ ναὺς ἐκ πλάτους τῆς θαλάττης, ἐκ τοῦ
κλύδωνος καὶ πάσης τρικυμίας πρὸς τὰ στενωπὰ τοῦ
γλυκυτάτου ὄρμου· πᾶσαν λαθοῦσα τῶν κυμάτων τὴν
ζάλην. καὶ νῦν ὁ γραφεὺς τῆς παρούσης πυκτίδος, λήθῃ
παραδοὺς τῆς γραφῆς μακροὺς πόνους, ἀφωσιεῖται
τέρψιν πᾶσαν τὴν λύπην· καὶ τῇ τριάδι ὕμνον ἄληκτον
νέμει.

Anonymous, *Vat. gr.* 279, f. 209^v

The present study is a revised version of my doctoral thesis approved by the University of London in 2007. It is dedicated to the memory of my supervisor Julian Chrysostomides (†18.X.2008), as an *ἀντίδωρον*. A true scholar and an affectionate and dedicated teacher, she was an unfailing source of support, guiding, advising and encouraging me throughout my studies. *Χρυσὴν δὲ εἰ φαίην γεγενέσθαι τῆς ἐμῆς διδασκάλου τὴν ψυχὴν, τιμήσαιμ' ἂν τὸν χρυσὸν αὐτόν.*

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London, 2015

ABBREVIATIONS

- A Companion to Greek Rhetoric* = *A Companion to Greek Rhetoric*, ed. I. Worthington (Malden, Mass. – Oxford – Victoria, 2007).
- Agapitos, 'Anna Komnene' = P.A. Agapitos, 'Anna Komnene and the politics of schedographic training and colloquial discourse', *Νέα Ψώμη* 10 (2013 [2014]) 89-107.
- Aelios Herodianos and Ps.-Herodianos, *On Prosody* = Aelios Herodianos and Ps.-Herodianos, *On Prosody*, ed. A. Lentz, 'Ἐκ τῶν Ἡρωδιανοῦ Περί καθολικῆς προσωιδίας', in *Grammatici Graeci*, vol. 3.1 (Leipzig, 1867; repr. Hildesheim, 1965), pp. 3-547.
- AJPh* = *American Journal of Philology*.
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- Byz = *Byzantion*.
- BZ = *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*.
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- CNRS = Centre national de la recherche scientifique.
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- ΕΕΒΣ = 'Επετηρίς 'Εταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν.
- ΕΕΦΣΠΑ = 'Επιστημονική 'Επετηρίς τῆς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Ἀθηνῶν.
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INTRODUCTION

Education is a field in which Byzantium excelled. Though considerable research has been done in the transmission of classical literary texts taught in Byzantine schools,¹ the subject of the Byzantine curriculum and methods of teaching needs to be further explored. Paul Lemerle, in his studies on Byzantine education and culture, *Le premier humanisme byzantin. Notes et remarques sur enseignement et culture à Byzance des origines au X^e siècle* (Paris, 1971), revised edition and Greek translation by M. Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, *Ὁ Πρώτος Βυζαντινὸς Οὐμανισμὸς. Σημειώσεις καὶ παρατηρήσεις γιὰ τὴν παιδεία στὸ Βυζάντιο ἀπὸ τὶς ἀρχὲς ὡς τὸν 10^ο αἰῶνα* (Athens, 1981), p. 227, and *Cinq études sur le XI^e siècle byzantin* (Paris, 1977), p. 241 pointed out the need for studying the manuscript tradition of textbooks and other material used by teachers and students in Byzantium. Robert Browning also argued that the need for a thorough investigation of the manuscript tradition and nature of the method of teaching known as *schedography* was essential.²

The present study is an attempt towards filling this gap by exploring Greek MSS containing textbooks used in the Byzantine school, thus enabling us to better understand the aims, curriculum, methods, practices and tools used in teaching and learning in the secondary level of education. The vast majority of extant textbooks belongs to the thirteenth-fifteenth century, and therefore we have decided to concentrate on the Palaeologan period. After the acquisition of the rudiments of reading, writing and arithmetic, the student was trained in grammar, which formed the basis for further advancement in knowledge. In this sense, textbooks containing grammar constituted the core of the educational material. The next step involved the study of poetry. Starting with Homer, who remained at the center of the curriculum both in terms of language and content, the student familiarised himself with other poets, among whom Sophocles and Euripides held a prominent place. For this reason, we have concentrated on grammatical and poetic textbooks. Based both on published

¹ See below, p. 98, n. 22.

² R. Browning, 'Il codice Marciano gr. XI.31 e la schedografia bizantina', in *Miscellanea Marciana di Studi Bessarionici* (= *Medioevo e Umanesimo* 24) (Padua, 1976), pp. 21-34, repr. in idem, *Studies on Byzantine History, Literature and Education* (Variorum: London, 1977), art. XVI, at p. 33.

sources³ and unpublished material, our study sheds light not only on the Byzantine curriculum but also on perceptions, methods and techniques used by teachers to inculcate knowledge and the Hellenic tradition to their students. In addition, it casts light on those involved in the composition and copying of textbooks, whether teachers or professional scribes, who specialized in compiling texts for teaching purposes. In the process of our investigation other aspects of the life in the Byzantine school unfold, including personal thoughts and feelings expressed by students and teachers in their notes and sketches added in the margins of their textbooks, and amusing messages concerning mischievous students reported to the teacher.

This study also contributes to our understanding of elements of continuity and change in Greek education in the Byzantine period. The preceding Hellenistic period has been studied by a number of scholars, the most important studies so far are those by H.I. Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité* (Paris, 1948) trans. by G. Lamb, *A History of Education in Antiquity* (Madison, Wis., 1982); R. Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Atlanta, 1996), *Gymnastics of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (Princeton, N.J., 2001) who informs us about education in Graeco-Roman Egypt, based on evidence in extant papyri containing school exercises and teachers' exemplars; eadem, *The School of Libanius in Late Antique Antioch* (Princeton – Oxford, 2007); T. Morgan, *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds* (Cambridge, 1998), the articles contained in *Education in Greek and Roman Antiquity*, ed. Yun Lee Too (Leiden – Boston – Cologne, 2001) and J. Wissmann, 'Education', in *A Companion to Hellenistic Literature*, eds. J.J. Clauss and M. Cuypers (Chichester, 2010), pp. 62-77.

The early Byzantine period, between the fourth and tenth century, has been studied, as already mentioned, by Paul Lemerle and Robert Browning,⁴ and by Stavroula D. Hondridou, *Ο Κωνσταντίνος Θ' Μονομάχος και η εποχή του* (Ενδέκατος αιώνας μ.Χ.) (Athens, 2002), who dedicated a chapter to Byzantine education in the eleventh century (pp. 151-253). The Palaeolo-

³ For example, Libanios's works which provide invaluable information on the teaching process in the fourth century, *Lives* of saints (examined by N.M. Kalogeras, *Byzantine Childhood Education and its Social Role from the Sixth Century until the End of Iconoclasm* [Unpublished thesis, Chicago, 2000]), the *Letters* of the Anonymous Professor of the tenth century, and works by subsequent students and teachers, such as Michael Psellos, Ioannes Tzetzes, Maximos Planoudes, Georgios of Cyprus, Manuel Moschopoulos, Manuel Chrysoloras and Konstantinos Laskares.

⁴ For a complete list of R. Browning's studies, see Φιλέλλην: *Studies in honour of Robert Browning*, eds., C.N. Constantinides, N.M. Panagiotakes, E. Jeffreys and A.D. Angelou (Venice, 1996).

gan period was extensively explored by Costas N. Constantinides, *Higher Education in Byzantium in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries (1204-ca. 1310)* (Nicosia, 1982), and by Sophia Mergiali, *L'enseignement et les lettrés pendant l'époque des Paléologues (1261-1453)* (Athens, 1996) who expanded her study to the fifteenth century (the appendices with technical terms and lists of teachers are particularly useful). To these studies should be added the important contribution by Federica Ciccolella, *Donati Graeci: Learning Greek in the Renaissance* (Leiden – Boston, 2008), with a chapter on the Greek curriculum from the Hellenistic time to the Renaissance (pp. 75-149). To the useful general study on Byzantine education by Phaidon Koukoules, *Βυζαντινὼν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός*, vol. A.1 (Athens, 1947), pp. 35-137, should also be added G.X. Tsampes, *Ἡ Παιδεία στὸ Χριστιανικὸ Βυζάντιο* (Athens, 1999).

Concerning *schedography*, G. Schirò, 'La schedografia a Bizanzio nei Sec. XI-XII e la scuola dei SS. XL Martiri', *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata*, n.s. III (1949), 11-29 led the way for the study of this important genre, though it was J.J. Keaney, 'Moschopulea', *BZ* 64 (1971), 303-21, who provided the basis for a systematic research on this subject. A number of studies followed by scholars such as Robert Browning⁵; L. Marcheselli Loukas, 'Note Schedografiche inedite del Marc. gr. Z 487=883', *RSBN*, n.s. 8-9 (1971-72), 241-60; C. Gallavotti, 'Nota sulla schedografia di Moscopoulo e suoi precedenti fino a Teodoro Prodromo', *Bollettino dei Classici* III. 4 (1983), 3-35; R.H. Robins, *The Byzantine Grammarians: Their Place in History* (Berlin – New York, 1993), pp. 125-48; I. Vassis, 'Graeca sunt, non leguntur. Zu den schedographischen Spielereien des Theodoros Prodromos', *BZ* 86/87 (1993/4), 1-19; idem, 'Τῶν νέων φιλολόγων παλαίσματα. Ἡ συλλογὴ σχεδῶν τοῦ κώδικα Vaticanus Palatinus Gr. 92', *Ἑλληνικά* 52 (2002), 37-68; K.A. Manaphes – I.D. Polemis, 'Βασιλείου Πεδιადίτου ἀνέκδοτα ἔργα', *ΕΕΒΣ* 49 (1994-98), 1-62, esp. pp. 38-62; I.D. Polemis, 'Προβλήματα τῆς βυζαντινῆς σχεδογραφίας', *Ἑλληνικά* 45 (1995), 277-302; idem, 'Γεώργιος Μαΐστωρ Ἀγιοτεσσαρακοντίτης', *Ἑλληνικά* 46 (1996), 301-306; idem, 'Philologische und historische Probleme in der schedographischen Sammlung des Codex Marcianus Gr. XI, 31', *Byz* 67 (1997), 252-63; idem, 'Μία ὑπόθεση γιὰ τὴν προέλευση τῆς σχεδογραφικῆς συλλογῆς τοῦ κώδικα Vaticanus Palatinus graecus 92', in *Ἀντιφίλησις: Studies on Classical, Byzantine and Modern Greek Literature and Culture: in Honour of John-Theophanes A. Papademetriou*, eds. E. Karamalengou and E.D. Makrygianni (Stuttgart, 2009), pp. 558-65; H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, 2 vols. (Munich, 1978), II, pp. 24-29; E. Fryde, *The Early Palaeologan Re-*

⁵ See above, n. 2.

naissance (1261-c.1360) (Leiden – Boston – Cologne, 2000), pp. 39-43, 68-69, 218-225; Hondridou, *Κωνσταντίνος Θ' Μονομάχος*, pp. 187-96 and eadem, 'Συμβολή στη μελέτη της σχεδογραφίας τον 11^ο αιώνα', *Σύμμεικτα* 15 (2002), 149-59; S. Efthymiadis, 'L'enseignement secondaire à Constantinople pendant les XI^e et XII^e siècles: modèle éducatif pour la terre d'Otrante au XIII^e siècle', *Νέα Ψώμη* 2 (2005), 259-75, esp. 266-71, 274-75; Ciccolella, *Donati Graeci*, pp. 109-18; P.A. Agapitos, 'Anna Komnene and the politics of schedographic training and colloquial discourse', *Νέα Ψώμη* 10 (2013 [2014]) 89-107 and L. Silvano, 'Schedografia bizantina in Terra d'Otranto: appunti su testi e contesti didattici', in *Circolazione di testi e scambi culturali in Terra d'Otranto tra Tardoantico e Medioevo*, ed. A. Capone (with collaboration of F. G. Giannachi and S.J. Voicu) (Città del Vaticano, 2015), pp. 121-67.

Finally, R. Webb in her unpublished PhD thesis *The Transmission of the "Eikones" of Philostratos and the Development of "Ekphrasis" from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance* (University of London, 1992), and her subsequent article, 'A Slavish Art? Language and Grammar in Late Byzantine Education and Society', *Dialogos* 1 (1994), 81-103, gives an insight on the organisation of Byzantine education and curriculum during the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, placing emphasis on grammar and the teaching of poetry in the Byzantine school.

The majority of these studies were based mainly on sources which referred to schools and education without actually giving specific examples of textbooks, which are preserved in various manuscript collections and still remain unpublished. In the course of my research I have examined a large number of catalogues of Greek manuscript collections in major libraries in Europe (Vatican, Florence, Venice, Milan, Paris, Vienna, Escorial, London and Oxford) and was able to locate approximately 1,320 extant MSS containing Byzantine textbooks covering the period between the tenth and late fifteenth century. The MSS in the collections of the British Library, the Bodleian, the Vatican Library, the Biblioteca Vallicelliana, the Library of the Monastery of Santa Maria Grottaferrata in Rome, the Marciana Library in Venice and the Biblioteca Laurenziana in Florence were examined *in situ*. A large number of MSS were also examined through microfilms. Out of *ca.* 500 MSS I chose to investigate 111 codices in this book.

The core of the present study is based on MSS selected according to their content (grammars, *σχεδογραφίαι*, and poets) and form of presentation (interlinear and marginal space for *glosses*, scholia and *metaphrasis*), thus covering a good part of the material used in the secondary stage of Byzantine education.

The methodology we adopted comprises a palaeographical and codi-

cological examination of these MSS in accordance with their content, in order to follow in detail the process of copying and using these textbooks, focusing on the layout of the text and scholia, the use of different colours of ink to differentiate various sections (e.g., main text, glosses, marginal notes), the content and form of annotation (e.g., simple or extensive notes, paraphrases, metaphrases, diagrams, sketches, reference marks, ornamentation, etc.), which reflect different needs and levels on the part of both student and teacher. This examination is followed by a textual analysis of the annotation accompanying the main texts, in terms of structure and content, in order to assess the degree of their conformity with the rules of grammar defined by Dionysios Thrax, who remained a model throughout the Byzantine period. In this way we get a better understanding of the methods and techniques used in the secondary Byzantine school in the teaching grammar, *σχεδογραφία*, and major poets, including Homer, Sophocles and Euripides, before proceeding with the study of rhetoric through *progymnasmata*.

The study comprises four Chapters (I-IV) and a Conclusion. Chapter I discusses, by way of introduction, the Hellenistic foundations of Byzantine education and examines its structure, content, innovations, changes, as well as elements of continuity, placing emphasis on secondary education. Chapters II and III form the core of the study. Chapter II examines and analyses the material contained in the extant textbooks dated or datable to the Palaeologan period, in particular *schedographies*, the principal method used by Byzantine teachers for the teaching of grammar between the eleventh and fifteenth century. A variety of unpublished *schedographies* was examined to assess the evolution and usage of this practice. Chapter III examines three textbooks containing Homer, Sophocles and Euripides, the major poets studied in the Byzantine school. Three textbooks with Homer's *Iliad*, all copied by the late fifteenth-century scribe Michael Lygizos, show the degree of adaptation of the annotation of the same text to meet different needs. Chapter IV is devoted to Greek textbooks with *scholia* in Latin, which reflects the adoption of the same texts and techniques for teaching Greek to Westerners. The Conclusion summarizes the findings of the research and raises questions for further investigation. Appendices (I-V) contain an *editio princeps* of Konstantinos Arabites's *Παρεκβόλαιον* (I), transcriptions of unpublished *schedē*, found in other textbooks (II-III); Moschopoulos's grammatical sources in his *Περὶ σχεδῶν* as edited by Stephanus (IV); and information on Michael Lygizos with a palaeographical description of his manuscripts containing the *Iliad* (V). The book closes with full bibliography and Plates with selected folios of MSS cited.

Concerning the rendering of Greek names, we have adopted the Angli-

cised version of well-known pre-classical and classical authors (e.g., Homer, Aeschylus) while we have preferred the original spelling of Late Antique and Byzantine names (e.g., Libanios, Eustathios, Anna Komnene).

CHAPTER I

BYZANTINE EDUCATION

The present study explores the teaching methods and materials used in secondary education in Byzantium during the Palaeologan period. Byzantine education is considered to be a continuity and an evolution of the Hellenistic and of the Late Antique school system. Therefore, before we proceed with examining the education system in Byzantium it is essential that we look first at its predecessor.

Pre-classical and Classical period

The survival of the Greek language through the centuries, at least from the eighth century BC when the Homeric poems were written down, presupposes both continuity and change in the teaching process. However, the dearth of specific evidence concerning the teaching methods and material (*usum scholarum*) makes it impossible to trace the precise steps of this long tradition. It is in fact, mainly, through the literary sources of different periods that we can get a glimpse of the material used in various periods. Plato, for example, in the *Republic* (606e 2-3) called Homer the educator of Greece (ὡς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πεπαίδευκεν οὗτος). In turn, Plato, his contemporaries and successors, also became the new educators, as Libanios, the fourth-century *rhetor* maintained when he stated that the literature of the classical period provided the educational material in his time: <τὸ> περὶ τῶν παλαιῶν ἀεὶ λέγειν, ὧν ὁ τόκος παιδεία τοῖς ἄλλοις.¹ The list of ‘educators’ will lengthen as more writers appear on the scene.

That the classical authors formed the basis of education is confirmed also by the so far unique surviving evidence of a detailed curriculum from the third century BC. This is the famous *Livre d'écolier* (P. Cair. 65445), a teacher's notebook comprising school exercises of progressing difficulty for different levels.² It starts with a syllabary consisting of common

¹ Libanios, *Letters*, 1004, ed. R. Foerster, *Libanii Opera*, XI (Leipzig, 1922), p. 133.19-20; *Libanius: Autobiography and Selected Letters*, ed. and trans. A.F. Norman (Cambridge, Mass., 1992), 177, II, p. 388.11-12. Cf. Libanios, *Letters*, 364, ed. Foerster, X (Leipzig, 1921), p. 348.7-8; ed. Norman, I, 29, p. 444.3, referring to the teacher Harpokration, who was able to inculcate τὰ τῶν παλαιῶν νέοις.

² O. Guéraud and P. Jouguet, eds., *Un livre d'écolier du III^e siècle avant J.-C.* (Cairo, 1938).

monosyllabic words with increasing complexity in pronunciation (e.g., ῥίν, πούς, χήν, αἶξ, κνάξ, σπράγξ, κνάξ). This is followed by a list of Macedonian months, a series of Greek numbers and names of Greek gods and goddesses, a list of rivers followed by a series of nouns consisting of two to five syllables (ὀνόματα δισύλλαβα, τρισύλλαβα, τετρασύλλαβα, πεντασύλλαβα).³ Next come two passages from Euripides, *Phoenissae* (529-534) and *Ino* (fr. 420 Nauck)⁴, followed by a passage from the *Odyssey* ε 116-124, with the title Ἔπη, and two epigrams: the first about a fountain and the second about a monument which Philopator dedicated to Homer. Then there are three iambic fragments of the New Comedy. In lines 112-113, for example, he gives the names of two professions, chariot-maker and maker of instruments (ἄρματοπηγός, ὀργανοποιός). The manual ends with mathematical exercises.

From the selection of the texts we can infer that the teacher was trying to cover different areas of his course at different levels, from reading to arithmetic and geography. The lists of names were in fact to become a common teaching practice for learning to read and was considered as part of grammar.⁵ Surprisingly enough, there is no space dedicated to grammar itself. It is possible that this section formed a separate part of the textbook that has not survived. The teaching of Attic grammar would have been indispensable since gradually the difference between the spoken language (*koinē*) and the literary one grew bigger in the course of time. Furthermore, grammar would have served as a transitional link to the second part of the notebook, the more advanced, which contains an anthology of poetry of various and most common metric forms, with the exception of lyric poetry.

According to tradition, the first author to be taught to pupils, after the rudiments of grammar, was Homer,⁶ who in the *Livre d'écolier* is repre-

For the evidence in the papyri, see also Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students*, p. 269. See also Wissmann, 'Education', pp. 62-77, at 68-69.

³ Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, 1.1.37, ed. and trans. D.A. Russell, *The Orator's education*, I, (Cambridge, Mass., 2001), p. 82, calls these words 'reins' (χαλivoί). Cf. Ioannes Tzetzes, *Letters*, 34, ed. P.A.M. Leone, *Ioannis Tzetzae Epistulae* (Leipzig, 1972), p. 49.3: τοῦ λόγου τὰ χαλινά. Cf. Dionysios of Halicarnassos (1st c. BC), *On Literary Composition*, 25, ed. and trans. G. Aujac and M. Lebel, *Denys d'Halicarnasse, Opusculs rhétoriques*, vol. 3: *La composition stylistique* (Paris, 1981), pp. 186.22-187.11; idem, *Demosthenes*, 52, ed. and trans. G. Aujac, *Denys d'Halicarnasse, Opusculs rhétoriques*, vol. 2: *Démotène* (Paris, 1988), p. 151.1-21; Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, 1.1.24-31, I, pp. 76-78. See also Marrou, *Histoire*, pp. 150-53.

⁴ B. Snell, ed., *Supplementum ad "A. Nauck, Tragicorum graecorum fragmenta": Continentes nova fragmenta Euripidea et Adespota apud scriptores veteres reperta* (repr. Hildesheim, 1964), p. 489.

⁵ Cf. below, p. 47 with n. 104.

⁶ The epigram on the monument dedicated to Homer emphasizes his importance. Cf.

sented by a passage from the *Odyssey*. The fact that the *Iliad* is not included in this papyrus does not mean that it was not taught, but simply that this section may have not survived. The initial passages in the papyrus, however, are drawn from Euripides, the most popular tragedian in the Hellenistic period, whose plays were to furnish the future textbooks.⁷ These passages are pervaded with ethical principles and *sententiae* on love of honour (φιλοτιμία), the impermanence of human happiness and the vicissitudes of fortune, aiming at the student's moral moulding, the quintessence of the educational system from antiquity to the present.⁸ The complexity of the language increases with two epigrams, the use of which was common in school anthologies. In the last part of this anthology, there are iambic fragments of comedy of an unknown author, which are longer than the previous extracts. The last section of the papyrus contains mathematical exercises, which not only do they familiarize the student with simple arithmetic (multiplication), but also provide him with practical information, in this case, subdivisions of the *drachma*.

It seems that the selection of the material to be taught rested with the teacher and was an *ad hoc* creation, even though the tradition was followed, *mutatis mutandis*, with certain authors in vogue. The courses were accommodated to the students' level, their abilities and their willingness to, or not to, learn, for it was essential to encourage and not dishearten them. Quintilian recommends that the lessons should be tailored to the student's abilities and his age.⁹ Apart from the teachers' preferences and

Xenophanes (6th-5th c. BC), *De natura*, ed. E. Diehl, *Anthologia lyrica* (Leipzig, 1927), 18, p. 55: 'ἔξ ἀρχῆς καθ' Ὅμηρον, ἐπεὶ μεμαθήκασι πάντες'; Heraclitos (1st c. AD), *Allegoriae*, ed. and trans. F. Buffière, *Héraclite, Allégories d'Homère* (Paris, 1989), p. 1, 1 § 5: 'εὐθὺς γὰρ ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας τὰ νήπια τῶν ἀρτιμαθῶν παιδῶν, διδασκαλίᾳ παρ' ἐκείνῳ (i.e. Ὅμηρῳ) τιθεύεται'. Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, 10.1.46, IV, pp. 274-76, calls Homer the 'Ocean', the model and source of inspiration in every aspect, classifying him first in the list of the poets to be studied by a *rhetor*. See also below, p. 93, with n. 1.

⁷ Cf. Libanios, *Letters*, 255, ed. Foerster, X, pp. 243-247.3, esp. 246.7-9, who states that Euripides is his favourite author, ὅτι μοι ὁ Εὐριπίδης, οὐκ ἄγνοεῖς ὅπως περικάομαι τοῦ ποιητοῦ. See also J.M. Bremer, 'The Popularity of Euripides' *Phoenissae* in Late Antiquity', in *Proceedings of the VIIth Congress of the International Federation of the Societies of Classical Studies*, ed. J. Harmatta, (Budapest, 1984), I, pp. 281-88; R. Cribiore, 'The Grammarian's Choice: the Popularity of Euripides' "*Phoenissae*" in Hellenistic and Roman Education', in *Education in Greek and Roman Antiquity*, pp. 241-59. See also below, pp. 126-35.

⁸ Cf. Maximos Planoudes, *Letter to Nikephoros Moschopoulos*, *Metropolitan of Crete*, ed. P.A.M. Leone, *Maximi monachi Planudis epistulae* (Amsterdam, 1991), 18, p. 43.2-4: '... οἱ γὰρ οὐ μάλλον ἐν μαθήμασιν ἐπιδιδόναι τοὺς μαθητὰς εὐχόμεθα καὶ σπουδάζομεν ἢ ἐν ἡθῶν κόσμῳ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ τῶν ἀρετῶν κτήσει καὶ ἐπιμελείᾳ'; See also Psellos's statement on the aims of his teaching in *Orat.* 21, ed. A.R. Littlewood, *Michaelis Pselli Oratoria Minora* (Leipzig, 1985), p. 78.71-72: '... ψυχῆς δὲ τελείωσης καὶ ἀναγωγῇ καὶ πρὸς τὸ πρῶτον ἀγαθὸν ἄνοδος ἢ ἐπ'ἀνοδοῦς'.

⁹ Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, 2.3.7, I, p. 278, likened the teacher who is anxious to

abilities,¹⁰ the lessons were also conditioned by the local and practical needs, above all finding employment. Libanios, for example, in his letter to Pretorian Prefect Salutius states clearly that Salutius preferred to employ educated men of eloquence and not simple tachygraphers. This was an incentive among young people to enrol in schools,¹¹ to the extent that ships full of hopeful students would frequently travel to Italy in order to learn Latin, on the assumption that this would enable them to gain power and wealth and mix with the ruling class.¹² However, Libanios considered this trend a threat to his own profession (σεισμὸν τῇ τέχνῃ)¹³ for it meant fewer students for him. He expressed his disapproval by characterizing those who returned from Italy as not differing much from sheep.¹⁴

A teacher's function at the elementary level, apart from encouraging his pupils to learn, was to start training them in copying and writing by providing them with exemplars (ὑπογράμμοι)¹⁵ which ultimately helped to initiate them into the world of learning.¹⁶

teach young pupils to 'a very fast walker' who 'if he were walking with a child, would give him his hand, shorten his own stride, and never go beyond what his companion could manage'. He also compares beginners to 'vessels with narrow mouths' (1.2.28, I, p. 94), and teachers to nurses who should 'take the trouble to nourish the tender minds gently' (2.4.5, I, p. 282), for otherwise the student might lose confidence (1.1.32, I, p. 78).

¹⁰ Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, 1.5.7, I, p. 124, states that 'if a teacher is quite uneducated, and has barely crossed the threshold of his profession, he will confine himself to the rules commonly known from teachers' manuals; a more learned man will be able to add many more'.

¹¹ Libanios, *Letters*, 1224, ed. Foerster, XI, p. 307.17-21, states that though tachygraphy was *in vogue*, the very fact that Salutius appointed men of eloquence in governmental posts, he encouraged the young people to attend the schools in anticipation of receiving equal honours (ἐνθεῖς ἐλπίδι τιμῶν ἴσων).

¹² Cf. Libanios, *Letters*, 964, ed. Foerster, XI, pp. 100-101; ed. Norman, 171, II, pp. 366-68. Cf. Libanios, *Orationes*, 43.5, ed. Foerster, III, p. 339.8-12: 'ἐντεῦθεν ἀγωγὰι συχναὶ νέων καὶ πλοῖα πλοῦν ἕνα τὸν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης φερόμενα κρότος τε τῶν κομιζομένων παιδαρίων ἐπὶ ταῖς μελλούσαις ἐλπίσιν. αἱ δὲ εἰσιν ἀρχή, δυναστεία, γάμος, ἐν βασιλείοις διατριβαί, τὸ διαλέγεσθαι βασιλεῖ'.

¹³ Libanios, *Orationes*, 1, ed. Foerster, I, p. 178.7; ed. Norman, I, pp. 272.18-274.1.

¹⁴ Libanios, *Letters*, 951, ed. Foerster, XI, p. 90; ed. Norman, 167, II, pp. 354-56.

¹⁵ Cf. Plato, *Protag.* 326d 2-5: ὥσπερ οἱ γραμματισταὶ τοῖς μήπω δεινοῖς γράφειν τῶν παίδων ὑπογράφαντες γραμμὰς τῇ γραφίδι οὕτω τὸ γραμματεῖον διδόναι καὶ ἀναγκάζουσι γράφειν κατὰ τὴν ὁφίγησιν τῶν γραμμῶν. Cf. also the term προκεντήματα in Nikolaos Mesarites's *Epitaphios*, cited by B. Flusin, 'Un lettré byzantin au XII^e siècle: Jean Mésariès', in *Lire et écrire à Byzance*, ed. B. Mondrain (Paris, 2006), as an equivalent of the exemplars used by students, pp. 67-83, at 74-75 with nn. 57-59.

¹⁶ See Criboire, *Gymnastics of the Mind*, pp. 39-40, with reference to an early Byzantine wooden tablet from Antinoopolis containing a maxim copied by the teacher, followed by the student's attempts to copy it.

Hellenistic period and Late Antiquity

During the Hellenistic period, even though no formal and systematized schooling can be attested, the surviving terms designating teachers point to the fact that there were three levels of education. At the age of seven children were sent to a γραματοδιδάσκαλος, or a γραμματιστής, or διδάσκαλος, or δέσκαλος (δάσκαλος) either male or female, who taught them the rudiments (γράμματα) in order to learn how to read and write, and in addition to be able to do sums (ἀριθμητική).¹⁷ At the age of twelve children began to study grammar, literature, language, Homer and other poets, under the guidance of a γραμματικός (grammarian) or a διδάσκαλος. Fourteen to fifteen year old students seeking a successful public career had to pursue their studies beyond the second level which was called ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία. This provided them with a regular, general instruction which, according to Quintilian, culminated with rhetoric.¹⁸ This involved public speaking under the supervision of a ῥήτωρ for the theoretical teaching, and of a σοφιστής in charge of the practical part, namely the exercises.¹⁹ Other terms for the teachers of various levels are also attested: παιδαγωγός, χαμαιδιδάσκαλος,²⁰ παιδευτής, καθηγητής (itinerant private tutor), φιλόλογος (private teacher), παιδοτρίβης (for physical training), κιθαριστής (musical instructor of the lyre).²¹

The criterion for entering and proceeding to various levels of schooling was not age but ability, though this might not have been always the case. For example, Quintilian, who argued that different ages demanded different methods and believed that it was easier to teach boys than adults,

¹⁷ Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind*, pp. 50-54, drawing evidence from papyri. See also Marrou, *Histoire*, p. 144; R.A. Kaster, 'Notes on "Primary" and "Secondary" Schools in Late Antiquity', *TAPhA* 113 (1983), 323-46; Morgan, *Literate Education*, p. 28.

¹⁸ Cf. Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, 1.10.1, I, p. 212, stating that what Greeks call ἐγκύκλιον παιδείαν is completed with the teaching of rhetoric. For an explanation of the term ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία, see L.M. de Rijk, 'Εγκύκλιος παιδεία. A Study of its Original Meaning', *Vivarium* 3 (1965), 24-94; Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind*, pp. 3, 129; Morgan, *Literate Education*, pp. 25 with n. 72, 33-38, 42-43; and eadem, 'Rhetoric and Education', in *A Companion to Greek Rhetoric*, ed. I. Worthington (Malden, Mass. – Oxford – Victoria, 2007), pp. 303-19, at 309.

¹⁹ See P. Petit, *Les étudiants de Libanius* (Paris, 1957), pp. 90-91; Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind*, p. 57.

²⁰ Cf. Makarios/Symeon (4th c. AD), Λόγος Γ', 20.3.6.2-3, ed. H. Berthold, *Makarios/Symeon: Reden und Briefe*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1973), I, p. 215: 'λέγω δὴ χαμαιδιδασκάλων, εἴτα γραμματικῶν, εἴτα ῥητόρων, πάλιν σοφιστῶν, τέλος φιλοσόφων'. On these terms see Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind*, p. 28.

²¹ Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind*, p. 53; Morgan, *Literate Education*, pp. 18, 27-28; M. Loukaki, 'Le profil des enseignants dans l'Empire Byzantin à la fin de l'Antiquité tardive et au début du Moyen Âge (fin du VI^e-fin du VII^e siècle', in *Myriobiblos. Essays on Byzantine Literature and Culture*, eds. Th. Antonopoulou, S. Kotzabassi and M. Loukaki (Berlin – Boston – Munich, 2015), pp. 217-43.

insisted that the progress and not the age of the pupil should be taken into consideration.²² His remarks, however, might indicate that sometimes the opposite occurred and that age was occasionally used as a criterion for progressing to a higher level. Libanios, on the other hand, following the Socratic adage that no one is too old to learn (τὰς ἐν γήρᾳ μαθήσεις ... ἀεὶ καιρὸν εἶναι ... μανθάνειν), tried to persuade Kalykios to attend his courses, not considering his age as an impediment or an embarrassment to participate in school activities after marriage.²³ However, this too seems to have involved its difficulties, for mature students were often ridiculed and Libanios urged the teachers to give them a heavier schedule and encouragement.²⁴

Libanios records a preliminary test called *πείρα* or *βάσανος*, which the students had to pass in order to proceed to the advanced level of education he provided.²⁵ School competitions involving physical training, competitions in calligraphy, memorization, epic, elegiac and lyric poetry with prizes for diligence (*φιλοπονία*) and discipline (*εὐταξία*) are also attested.²⁶

An important point of the educational process relates to the organization and function of the classroom. Libanios in his *Letters* gives us a direct and vivid picture of himself in action, either teaching rhetoric, poetry, or referring to contemporary texts, apart from the traditional ones used for teaching purposes. In his *Letter* 405 he says that he begins his teaching with a prologue and a passage from Demosthenes.²⁷ But in *Letter* 990, he refers to an epic poem written by Tatianos, the addressee of this letter who

²² Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, 2.4.14, 2.1.7, I, pp. 286 and 264. He also disapproved of boys sitting together with adolescent fellow-students lest they are corrupted by them (2.2.14, I, p. 274).

²³ Libanios, *Letters*, 379, ed. Foerster, X, pp. 368-70; ed. Norman, 32, I, pp. 452-58; cf. 652, ed. Foerster, X, p. 596.6: 'ἀπάσῃ ἡλικίᾳ πρέπειν τῶν καλῶν τι μανθάνειν'; 1352, ed. Foerster, XI, p. 402.2: 'κρείττων ὀψιμαθῆς ἀμαθοῦς'.

²⁴ Libanios, *Letters*, 653, ed. Foerster, X, p. 597.2-3: 'τοῖς γὰρ ὁπὲρ τὰς μαθήσεις ἐρχομένοις καὶ σκώμματα ὑπομένουσι'. Whether these mature students were teased by their fellow students or society at large is not clear. Cf. the case of Georgios of Cyprus who was the youngest in his class, W. Lameere, ed., *La tradition manuscrite de la correspondance de Grégoire de Chypre, Patriarche de Constantinople (1283-1289)* (Brussels – Rome, 1937), p. 185.8-20: 'ἡπείγετο καὶ ὅδε, νεώτατος μὲν τοῦ χοροῦ, πλεονεκτεῖν δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ τοῦ μαθηματος καταλήψει οὐδὲ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων παραχωρῶν οὐδενί'.

²⁵ See Libanios, *Letters*, 355 and 1261, ed. Foerster, X, p. 337.1 and XI, p. 338.16. Cf. Criboire, *Gymnastics of the Mind*, p. 224; eadem, 'Libanios's Letters of Evaluation of Students', in *L'épistolographie et la poésie épigrammatique: projets actuels et questions de méthodologie. Actes de la 16^e Table ronde organisée par Wolfram Hörandner and Michel Grünbart dans le cadre du XX^e congrès International des Études byzantines, Collège de France – Sorbonne. Paris, 19-25 Août 2001*, eds. W. Hörandner and M. Grünbart (Paris, 2003), pp. 11-20.

²⁶ See Criboire, *Gymnastics of the Mind*, pp. 84, 96, 114.

²⁷ Libanios, *Letters*, 405, ed. Foerster, X, p. 399.6-8; ed. Norman, 6, I, pp. 362.17-18: 'ἡρξάμεθα τῆς συνουσίας μετὰ προλόγου καὶ τινος ἀμίλλης πρὸς τι τῶν Δημοσθένους'.

had just become consul. Tatianos's work on a Homeric theme, very much in fashion at the time, had been revised three times and was met with the approval of the educational community, teachers and students alike. It was considered so outstanding that it was inserted into the curriculum and was used along with the 'traditional' Homeric epics.²⁸ In *Letter* 1066, Libanios describes the process of teaching poetry, in particular dramatic poetry, in which the students took an active part: 'having the set texts at hand, (he) would select the best actor for the role' (ὁποκριτῆς πρέπων τοῖς δράμασιν). The students would perform before a class of fellow students, who would then proceed to make the final choice.²⁹

The participation of older and more advanced students in class is also attested. The older student, called κορυφαῖος, could even replace the teacher in class and teach his fellow students (συνμαθητάς, *condiscipulos*) when the teacher was absent.³⁰ This convention persisted into the Byzantine period, albeit with a change in the nomenclature.³¹

We are not sure to what extent girls attended school.³² Due to the struc-

²⁸ Libanios, *Letters*, 990, ed. Foerster, XI, pp. 120.20-121.3; ed. Norman, 173, II, p. 374.6-11: 'εὐρυτέρας τῆς παιδεύσεως ὑπὸ σοῦ γεγενημένης ποιήσεως συναφθείσης τῇ παρ' Ὀμήρου δι' αὐτῶν τῶν Ὀμήρου. οὗτος δὲ ὁ πόνος ἡγαπάτο μὲν καὶ πρότερον καὶ ἦν ἐν χερσὶ διδασκάλων τε καὶ μαθητῶν τυγχάνων ὥνπερ Ἰλιάς καὶ ἦν ἐπ' ἐκείνῃ πεποίηκεν Ὀμηρος'.

²⁹ Libanios, *Letters*, 1066, ed. Foerster, XI, p. 190.9-12; ed. Norman, 190, II, p. 436.9-13. On the reading as a kind of interpretation or performance (ὁπόκρισις), see G. Cavallo, *Lire à Byzance*, trans. by P. Odorico and A. Segonds (Paris, 2006), pp. 13-15.

³⁰ Libanios, *Letters*, 835, 886, 887, 1408, ed. Foerster, X, p. 754.1-6, XI, p. 39.15-18, XI, p. 40.9-13, XI, p. 450.1. Cf. Petit, *Les étudiants*, p. 22; Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind*, pp. 43, 227. This method is reflected in the statement by the tenth-century Anonymous Professor as well, ed., A. Markopoulos, *Anonymi professoris epistulae* (Berlin – New York, 2000), 110, p. 94.19, that the student 'τῇ πρὸς ἐτέρους παραδόσει παρακατέχειν διδάσκεται'; Quintilian's opinion that 'the best way to make progress is to teach what you have learned' is mentioned by Battista Guarino, the son of Guarino of Verona, the Italian humanist and student of Manuel Chrysoloras, in the description of his father's *Program of Teaching and Learning*, in his treatise *De ordine docendi et studendi*, ed. and trans. by C.W. Kallendorf, *Humanist Educational Treatises* (Cambridge, Mass.-London, 2002), pp. 292-95; cf. also the humanist Pierpaolo Vergerio's similar view in his treatise *De ingenuis moribus et liberalibus adulescentiae studiis liber*, ed. and trans. by Kallendorf, *Humanist Educational Treatises*, pp. 2-91 at 64. The erroneous reading of Treu of διδάσκεται instead of διδάσκει in Planoudes's *Letters*, 18, addressed to the metropolitan of Crete Nikephoros, misled scholars in assuming that Manuel Moschopoulos was teaching his fellow students (M. Treu, *Maximi Monachi Planudis Epistulae*, [Wrocław, 1890; repr. Amsterdam, 1960], p. 34.32). See Maximos Planoudes, *Letters*, p. 42.29-30. The word 'κορυφαῖος', a term used in theatrical context, could allude to the existence of a *theatron*: see P. Marciniak, 'Byzantine *Theatron* – A Place of Performance?', in *Theatron. Rhetorische Kultur in Spätantike und Mittelalter / Rhetorical Culture in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. M. Grünbart (Berlin – New York, 2007), 277-85, esp. 278-79.

³¹ Cf. Anonymous Professor, *Letters*, 20, 80, 81, 96, 105, pp. 15.13, 71.1, 72.23, 85.1, 90.14.

³² For the education of women in Byzantium, see Cavallo, *Lire à Byzance*, pp. 40-46. See also Hondridou, *Κωνσταντῖνος θ' Μονομάχος*, pp. 164-67.

ture of society, the proportion of boys to girls in accessing the educational system was in favour of the boys. Only girls from the upper classes living in urban areas usually had the opportunity to attend elementary and in some cases the early stages of secondary education. Higher education was available only in urban centres, where the offspring of the elite, inevitably only boys, were sent in order to pursue their studies (κατὰ paίδευσιν ... ἐπιδημεῖν),³³ which would have given them the possibility of participating in the *vita activa* and ensure a bright future in the enviable positions of the administration. The utilitarian criterion in opting to pursue the advanced level of education was instrumental in the decision taken both by the offsprings and their families, since their future would be secured by their being employed by the state. Libanios clearly states that the law of supply and demand operated in education, and that students chose subjects that rendered them employable by the state and its governors.³⁴

Education was, therefore, a vehicle to a better life, which explains the willingness of parents to send their children away from home despite the high expense and the sorrow of parting.³⁵ Moreover, some were prepared to make this sacrifice not only for the future advancement of their children, but also as a security for their own old age as a well-earned compensation.³⁶ Nevertheless, the perils, the distractions and temptations of the city that beset the youth, such as the theatre, the mimes and horseracing,³⁷ were a constant worry for the parents, who tried to keep a vigilant eye on their sons and often visited them in order to secure their progress. All

³³ Aeneas Tacticus (4th c. BC), *Poliorectica*, 10.10.4-5, ed. A. Dain, trans. and comm. A.-M. Bon, *Énée le Tacticien Poliorcétique* (Paris, 1967), p. 17. See also E. Watts, 'Student Travel to Intellectual Centers: What Was the Attraction?', in *Travel, Communication and Geography in Late Antiquity: Sacred and Profane*, eds. L. Ellis and F.L. Kidner (Aldershot – Burlington, 2004), pp. 13-23.

³⁴ Libanios, *Orationes*, 31.26, ed. Foerster, III, p. 137.13-21: 'τῶν τεχνῶν ὅποσαι μὲν τιμῶνται παρὰ τῶν βασιλευόντων, καὶ τοὺς μεμαθηκότας εἰς δύναμιν ἄγουσιν ὁμοῦ καὶ τοῖς διδάσκουσιν εὐδαιμονίαν αὐταὶ φέρουσι καὶ ὁ μισθὸς ὡς ὑπὲρ μεγάλων μέγας· ὅταν δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ δυναστεύοντος ἐπιτήδευμα καταφρονηθῇ, κἂν χρηστὸν ἢ τῇ φύσει, τὴν δόξαν ἀπολώλεκε, τῆς δόξης δὲ περιαιρεθείσης καὶ ὁ μισθὸς συνανήρηται, μᾶλλον δὲ κἂν μὴ σύμπας ἀπόληται, μικρὸς ἀντὶ μεγάλου γίγνεται'.

³⁵ Libanios, *Orationes*, 1, ed. Foerster, I, p. 88.7-8; Libanios, ed. Norman, I, p. 68.6-7; where his uncle persuades Libanios's mother to let him study abroad for 'λύπη οὐ μακρὰ ... καρπ(οὶ) μεγάλ(οι)'.

³⁶ Cf. *P. Enteux*, 26, where a father is neglected by his daughter, even though he had provided her with education, cited by Criboire, *Gymnastics of the Mind*, pp. 86-87, 107. See also M. Griffith, 'Public and Private in Early Greek Institutions of Education', in *Education in Greek and Roman Antiquity*, pp. 23-84, at 30.

³⁷ Cf. Libanios, *Letters*, 666, ed. Foerster, X, p. 608.8: 'θέατρα μὲν καὶ μίμους καὶ τὴν περὶ ἵππους μανίαν'.

these are reflected in the correspondence both between children and parents as well as between parents, uncles and teachers.³⁸

The climbing of the educational ladder from the first level to the last one was (and still remains) neither easy nor trouble free. Similes are used to illustrate the challenging and strenuous upward journey of the students and the description of the teaching methods. The images describing the early stages of ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία, which as mentioned above (p. 31), aimed primarily at the moulding of the ethical awareness of the pupils, derived from agriculture, pottery with reference to soil, clinging vine, and sculpture.³⁹ But despite these similes and ethical admonitions, occasionally students had the tendency to shirk their homework or neglect their studies, particularly at the first two levels of schooling. Both teachers and parents then resorted to corporal punishment.⁴⁰ At the advanced level, however, age and status of the students, and perhaps above all the possibility of dropping out of the course and seek another tutor, prevented the teachers from chastising their students in order to bring them to their senses. On the other hand, students sometimes reacted violently against corporal punishment inflicted on them by their teachers.⁴¹ Undoubtedly, relationships between students and teachers were not always strained or inimical.⁴² More often a special bond was created between teacher and students. Libanios's letters reflect this special relationship during and after school, when he wrote letters of recommendation on their behalf.⁴³ The special bond and co-operation between tutor and pupils, also reflected in the im-

³⁸ Most revealing are Libanios's letters to his students' parents, for example, *Letters* 23, 428, 1165 and 1352, ed. Foerster, X, pp. 22-24, X, pp. 416-17 (ed. Norman, 10, I, p. 376), XI, pp. 253-54, XI, pp. 401-402; For a list of letters addressed to parents see Petit, *Les étudiants*, pp. 26-27, 151-52; Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind*, pp. 119-20.

³⁹ Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, 2.9.3, 1.2.26-28, I, pp. 324 and 92. Cf. Morgan, *Literate Education*, pp. 240-70, esp. 244 with n. 5, 252, 259. Cf. also Psellos's phrase 'τῆς ἐμῆς γεωργίας γεννήματα', referring to his students, *Orat. Paneg.* 6, 'Εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν βασιλέα' (Constantinum IX Monomachum), in *Orationes Panegyricae*, ed. G.T. Dennis (Stuttgart – Leipzig, 1994), p. 98.262 and cited by Lemerle, *Cinq Études*, p. 219.

⁴⁰ Cf. Libanios, *Letters*, 1330, ed. Foerster, XI, p. 386.19; ed. Norman, 139, II, p. 280.10: 'κατὰ δὲ τῶν ὑπτίων εἰς λόγους αἱ πληγαί' ('beatings are employed against those who are idle in their studies'). However, in *Letter* 1188, ed. Foerster, XI, pp. 273.21-274.8, Libanios disapproves of the beating of 'καλοῦ' Julian by his crude pedagogue, stressing that this behaviour was against his student's status (a freeborn child). Cf. Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, 1.3.14, I, p. 100, who objects to flogging and considers that this is 'proper only for slaves' and Battista Guarino, *Program of Teaching and Learning*, pp. 266-67, who states that 'such punishment has something slave-like about it'.

⁴¹ Plautus, *Bacch.* 440-43, Prudentius, *Perist.* 9.47-50, cited by Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind*, pp. 156-57; Morgan, *Literate Education*, p. 132 with n. 84.

⁴² Cf. Libanios, *Letters*, 806, ed. Foerster, X, pp. 727-28.

⁴³ Cf. Libanios, *Letters*, 177, 666, 1131, ed. Foerster, X, p. 165, X, pp. 607-608, XI, p. 233.

ages of parenthood, *praecipendi iure*,⁴⁴ used by Quintilian and Libanios,⁴⁵ has always been the most essential element in the educational process. The Hellenistic period was no exception.

As far as the teaching community (τὸ διδασκάλων ἔθνος)⁴⁶ was concerned, the existing evidence suggests that their profession was precarious due to the various pressures, above all economic. Whether there was a certificate of merit, equivalent to diploma of education or degree, to confirm the credentials of a teacher is not clear, for so far no such evidence has surfaced. The ability to attract students seems to have depended on the personal qualities of anyone who claimed to be a teacher, and on the fame he (in most cases) or she succeeded in winning. In the higher levels of education, namely rhetoric, a teacher's rhetorical skills were displayed in public in order to appeal to prospective students.⁴⁷ There were also public competitions for the teachers to 'attract the favour of cities', so that they would be employed by the civic authorities.⁴⁸ Moreover, tradition of the profession in a family acted always as an incentive for attracting students.⁴⁹

The precariousness of the profession inevitably influenced the relations between teachers. Not only there was competition among different schools, but they also formed themselves into factions prepared to use violence against each other. Libanios gives a vivid account of this rivalry between schools in Athens and the attacks perpetrated against each other with stones, clubs and iron bars in support of their teachers.⁵⁰ Libanios's own experience casts light on the extremes that these factions were pre-

⁴⁴ Battista Guarino, *Program of Teaching and Learning*, pp. 306-307.

⁴⁵ Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, 2.9.1, I, p. 322, calls the teachers 'parentes ... non corporum sed mentium'; cf. 2.2.5, I, p. 270. Cf. Libanios, *Letters*, 1051, ed. Foerster, XI, p. 175.12-14; ed. Norman, 184, II, p. 416.4-6, where he calls his student 'παῖς ὦν δήπου καὶ αὐτὸς ἐμός, σπέρματι μὲν οὐ, πόνοις δὲ ἐμοῖς τετραμμένος'; See also Libanios, *Letters*, 868, ed. Foerster, XI, p. 25.6; ed. Norman, 152, II, p. 320.19-20; Libanios, *Letters*, 1266, ed. Foerster, XI, p. 344.16-17: 'παῖδας γὰρ ἔγωγε καλῶ τοὺς μαθητάς'. See also Morgan, *Literate Education*, p. 269.

⁴⁶ Libanios, *Orationes*, 1, ed. Foerster, I, p. 162.16; ed. Norman, I, p. 236.9.

⁴⁷ Libanios, *Orationes*, 1, ed. Foerster, I, p. 131.8; ed. Norman, I, p. 162.19-20, explicitly states that he was giving a lot of declamations ('συχνάς τε οὐσας καὶ οἷας ἐφέλκεσθαι νέους'); cf. Libanios, *Orationes*, 1, ed. Foerster, I, pp. 101.28-102.8; ed. Norman, I, pp. 96.15-98.4. See also Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind*, p. 58.

⁴⁸ Libanios, *Orationes*, 1, ed. Foerster, I, p. 107.4; ed. Norman, I, p. 108.18 uses the term βάσανος. Cf. also p. 34, with n. 25, where the term 'βάσανος' was used for the students.

⁴⁹ Libanios, *Orationes*, 1, ed. Foerster, I, p. 127.20; ed. Norman, I, p. 154.18-19, speaks of a Phoenician teacher by the name of Akakios, 'σοφιστοῦ μὲν υἱός, σοφιστοῦ δὲ υἱοῦς'. See also Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students*, pp. 168-69; eadem, *Gymnastics of the Mind*, p. 55.

⁵⁰ Libanios, *Orationes*, 1, ed. Foerster, I, p. 91.7-12; ed. Norman, I, p. 74.12-17: 'ἀκούων ἔγωγε ἐκ παιδός ... τοὺς τῶν χορῶν ἐν μέσαις ταῖς Ἀθήναις πολέμους καὶ ρόπαλά τε καὶ σίδηρον καὶ λίθους καὶ τραύματα γραφάς τε ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ ἀπολογίας καὶ δίκας ἐπ' ἐλέγχους πάντα τε τολμώμενα τοῖς νέοις, ὅπως τὰ πράγματα τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν αἴρειεν'.

pared to go. On his arrival in Athens to pursue his studies, for example, he was kidnapped and imprisoned in a cell until he took the oath to become a student of Diophantos, a rival sophist of Epiphanios, whose lectures Libanios intended to attend.⁵¹

It was not only in the advanced stages of education that competition existed among the teachers of higher education. Quite often there was also rivalry between the teachers of higher and elementary education, the latter being scorned by their colleagues for their low economic and social position.⁵² One of the reasons for this bitter competition among all levels of teachers, but in particular of elementary education was that they very rarely were supported by the State through subventions or exemption from taxes.⁵³ Therefore, the main source of their income was tuition fees.⁵⁴ Whether the maxim ascribed to Isocrates that teachers ought to charge both the intelligent and stupid students large fees, on the grounds that the former profited a lot from their teaching, while instructing the latter entailed a lot of hard work,⁵⁵ was adhered to is difficult to tell. But in the surviving literature it is a commonplace for teachers to complain of their plight in facing difficulties, being unpaid or cheated of their fees or payments in kind by their students.⁵⁶ In fact, teachers especially of elementary education usually had to have a sideline, either as scribes or notaries, in order to make ends meet.⁵⁷ On the other hand, there is also evidence of students' complaints for paying high fees to unworthy tutors.⁵⁸

⁵¹ Libanios, *Orationes*, 1, ed. Foerster, I, pp. 89.7-90.4; ed. Norman, I, pp. 70.11-72.6. Cf. idem, *Letters*, 715, ed. Foerster, X, pp. 643.17-644.5 and 1458, ed. Foerster, XI, p. 493.12-13 with reference to his journey to Athens, where 'ἕτεροι μὲν ἐθήρασαν, ἑτέρων δὲ ἦν ὁ ὄρνις'.

⁵² See Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind*, pp. 59, 62.

⁵³ On the State support of grammarians and rhetors especially during the Roman Empire see Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind*, p. 63; Morgan, 'Rhetoric and Education', p. 316.

⁵⁴ On this, together with evidence on the interest in, and care for, higher education by the State for the needs of the civil service, see Morgan, *Literate Education*, pp. 26-27; Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind*, pp. 54-55.

⁵⁵ Codd. *Vat. gr.* 1953, f. 59^v and *British Library*, Harley 6301, f. 66^v: 'Ἰσοκράτης ἔφη· Δεῖ τοὺς διδασκάλους, μισθοὺς παρὰ τῶν μαθητῶν λαμβάνειν μεγάλους· παρὰ μὲν τῶν εὐφυῶν, ὅτι πολλὰ μανθάνουσι· παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἀφυῶν, ὅτι κόπους πολλοὺς παρέχουσιν'. Cf. *Gnomologicum Vaticanum e codice Vaticano graeco 743*, ed. L. Sternbach (Berlin, 1963), pp. 136-37.

⁵⁶ See e.g., *Anthologia Palatina*, 9.174, ed. P. Waltz and trans. G. Soury, *Anthologie grecque*. Première partie, *Anthologie Palatine*, vol. VII: *Livre IX, Épigr. 1-358* (Paris, 1957), pp. 69-70; Libanios, *Orationes*, 43.19, ed. Foerster, III, pp. 347.8-348.2, cited by Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind*, pp. 63, 65.

⁵⁷ See below, p. 41, n. 70.

⁵⁸ See Libanios, *Orationes*, 43.6, ed. Foerster, III, pp. 339.21-340.17, cited by Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind*, p. 65. Cf. Battista Guarino, *Program of Teaching and Learning*, pp. 264-65, where he stresses the importance of a good and capable teacher, especially for beginners, and how difficult it is for teacher/s to 'remedy' the faults of earlier teachers.

Byzantine period

The precarious situation of teachers who relied on private tuition for their livelihood seems to have continued throughout the Byzantine period, although inevitably changes were brought about in the curriculum of education.⁵⁹ But as long as teaching remained a free-lance profession, the financial difficulties encountered in the earlier period persisted, and a teacher's profession on the whole remained volatile. Certainly, in this period, too, a teacher's fame was instrumental for attracting students and being selected. However, at the advanced level, the intellectual ability and knowledge displayed by the students on formal occasions reflected positively on a teacher's ability, which would have helped him to attract more students.⁶⁰ School contests are also attested, securing rewards as a kind of state funding.⁶¹

This competition for attracting more students led often, but not always,⁶² to hostility among teachers as in the case of the earlier period. For the loss of students meant loss of fees which was the main, if not the sole, source of a teacher's income. As with the incident with Libanios, some teachers determined to attract more students for greater profit often used foul means. Most illuminating is the correspondence of the tenth-century Anonymous Professor, who complained of unfair competition and attempts at defamation.⁶³ In one of his letters, he goes so far as to ask a superior (possibly the Patriarch – the letter bears no addressee) to settle the matter and restore his pupils to him.⁶⁴ Undoubtedly, a teacher's constant concern, as mentioned above, remained the payment of the fees, if he were free-lance.⁶⁵ However, certain teachers in Constantinople who

⁵⁹ See below, pp. 45–48.

⁶⁰ See R. Browning, 'Teachers', in *The Byzantines*, ed. G. Cavallo (Chicago, 1997), pp. 95–115 at 98–99.

⁶¹ See R. Browning, 'Enlightenment and Repression in Byzantium in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', *Past and Present* 69 (1975), 3–23, repr. in idem, *Studies*, art. XV, with reference to the poems of Christophoros of Mitylene (first half of the eleventh century), ed. E. Kurtz, *Die Gedichte des Christophoros Mitylenaios* (Leipzig, 1903); ed. M. De Groote, *Christophori Mitylenai Versuum Variorum Collectio Cryptensis* (Turnhout, 2012).

⁶² Browning, 'Teachers', pp. 110–111.

⁶³ Anonymous Professor, *Letters*, ed. A. Markopoulos, *Anonymi professoris epistulae*, (Berlin – New York, 2000), 19, 23, 30, 36, 46, 47, 51, 55, 67, 68, pp. 14–15, 17, 22–26, 30–31, 39–40, 40–42, 45–48, 50–52, 60–61, 61–62.

⁶⁴ Cf. Anonymous Professor, *Letters*, 47, pp. 40–42. If indeed the addressee was the Patriarch, this might imply a dependence on the Patriarch in some way.

⁶⁵ Cf. Anonymous Professor, *Letters*, 39, 54, 57, 58, pp. 33, 50, 53, 53–54, stating that tuition fees, a matter of conscience for students and parents, were not fixed; and *Letters*, 59, 78, pp. 54, 70 which state that friends and fellow-countrymen paid no fees.

enjoyed the protection of patrons (μείζονες as the Anonymous Professor calls them or δυνάμενοι as Nikephoros Basilakes does)⁶⁶ received financial support.⁶⁷ Others, as in the Hellenistic period, secured subventions from the State⁶⁸ or the Church,⁶⁹ though not on a regular basis, as it seems. The political stability, the existence of external or internal threats and perils, and indeed the predilection of the emperor and his entourage conditioned and determined the willingness of the State to support and fund higher education. But even in these cases, the sponsored teachers had to supplement their income, acting as copyists, composers and editors of texts, or by lending, buying and selling books.⁷⁰

Although teachers were anxious to acquire a greater number of students, not all of them were welcome. For the students, being supposedly the testimony (τεκμήριον) of a teacher's ability,⁷¹ had to be indeed paragons in order to attract more students.⁷² When, therefore, students were wanton, lazy or played truant, they discredited their tutors and caused further problems, and ultimately loss of income, as some parents might have withdrawn their children from schools that lacked discipline. Tzetzes, the twelfth-century scholar and teacher, for example, considered that the ignorance of his students resulting from their laziness was a disgrace to himself.⁷³ He tried therefore to get rid of those who were not willing to study.⁷⁴ Striking is the imagery he borrows from medicine when he describes as 'mortal wound' (πληγὴν κατακάρδιον)⁷⁵ the carelessness and indifference

⁶⁶ Anonymous Professor, *Letters*, 91, p. 81; Nikephoros Basilakes, *Orationes et Epistolae*, ed. A. Garzya (Leipzig, 1984), p. 5.17.

⁶⁷ Cf. Anonymous Professor, *Letters*, 82, pp. 73-74, responding to accusations levelled against him for supposedly flattering the rich and powerful.

⁶⁸ Ioannes Tzetzes, *Letters*, 79, p. 118.18. Cf. Browning, 'Teachers', p. 110.

⁶⁹ Anonymous Professor, *Letters*, 1, 54, pp. 3, 50.

⁷⁰ For example, Anonymous Professor, *Letters*, 5, 8, 21, 30, 53, 61, 63, 85, 88, 98, 99, 101, 108, 118, pp. 5, 6, 16, 22-26, 49, 56, 57, 75-77, 78-80, 86, 86, 88, 92, 98. Cf. Ioannes Tzetzes, *Letters*, 13, 35, 37, 75, pp. 21-25, 50-51, 52, 109-111.

⁷¹ Cf. Michael Psellos, *Funeral Oration on Niketas*, ed. C.N. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη*, vol. V (Paris, 1876), pp. 87-96, at 92; ed. I. Polemis, *Michael Psellus: Orationes Funebres*, vol. I (Berlin – Boston, 2014), pp. 175.

⁷² Cf. Libanios, *Letters*, 140, ed. Foerster, X, pp. 138-39, at 138.5-8: 'νῦν ὄντως μοι τοὺς μισθοὺς ἀπέδωκας, οὐ χρυσίον καὶ ἀργύριον, ταῦτα δὴ τὰ παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν τε φερόμενα καὶ τέρποντα τοὺς πολλοὺς, ...' τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶ δόξα'.

⁷³ Ioannes Tzetzes, *Letters*, 79, pp. 117.18-118.1: 'ὄνειδος ... ἐμὴν ἀτιμίαν καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο βαρύτερον ἢ ἀμάθεια ἐκ τῆς προσοῦσης βαθυμίας ... τῶν φοιτῶντων ἡμῖν'. Cf. the view expressed by Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, 1.2.16, I, p. 90.2, that a talented student contributes greatly to the reputation of his teacher.

⁷⁴ Ioannes Tzetzes, *Letters*, 22, 79, 80, 82, pp. 39-40, 117-118, 119-20, 122.

⁷⁵ Ioannes Tzetzes, *Letters*, 22, p. 39.7-8.

of one of his pupils. Describing his efforts to cure him, Tzetzes writes, 'I always use words as bandages that they have been immersed in alum, stinging and piercing like plasters in order to draw out the putrid flesh and pus'. Yet, like an expert physician able to diagnose the disease (κατὰ τοὺς προγνωστικωτέρους τῶν ἰατρῶν), he realized that often any attempt to heal the student's intransigence or lack of interest was an impossible task, for it was like a festering wound that could not be treated and certainly not healed (ἔλκος δυσούλωτον ἢ μᾶλλον πάντῃ ἀνίατον τούτου τὴν θεραπείαν).⁷⁶ In his exasperation Tzetzes went so far as to promise the student's father to reimburse the money he had received as fees in order to get rid of the son.⁷⁷ Encouragement, admonition or punishment were alternative ways to dissuade pupils from neglecting their studies. But, as the Anonymous Professor admits, he at least could not perform miracles by giving wings to those who lacked them.⁷⁸

The difficulties were further compounded when the students studied away from home, for without parental supervision they were easily distracted by childish games (ἀπασχολούμενοι τοῖς παιδικοῖς ἀθύρμασιν),⁷⁹ paying no attention to their studies and playing truant.⁸⁰ In consequence, teachers

⁷⁶ Ioannes Tzetzes, *Letters*, 22, pp. 39.26-40.3.

⁷⁷ Ioannes Tzetzes, *Letters*, 23, p. 41.15-18: 'καταδέσμους γὰρ αἰεὶ τούτῳ ἐγὼ καὶ στυπτηρίους καὶ δάκνοντας καὶ δριμεῖς τοὺς λόγους, οἷον ἐμπλάστρους, ἐντίθημι καὶ διὰ καὶ τὸ σεσηπὸς καὶ πυῶδες ἐπανακτῶμαι'. Cf. *Letter* 79, p. 118.12, where Tzetzes describes one of his students (a certain *chartoularios*) who seems to have been suffering from the incurable disease of laziness (ἀνιάτως νοσῶν). Konstantinos Laskares in the Preface to his *Grammar* also compares the perfect grammarian with the wise doctor (PG 161, col. 932D): 'Ὡς περ τοὺς σοφοὺς ἰατροὺς ἰδεῖν ἔξεστι κατὰ τοὺς καιροὺς καὶ τόπους καὶ σώματα τὰς φαρμακείας ἐπάγειν, οὕτω καὶ τοὺς ἀκριβεῖς γραμματικούς κατὰ τὰς τύχας καὶ τοὺς ἀκροατὰς τὰς παραδόσεις συντάττειν'.

⁷⁸ Anonymous Professor, *Letters*, 38, p. 32: 'μὴ ταχεῖα πτερῶν προβολῇ πέτασθαι ἀπτέρους ὄντας ποιῶ'. Cf. Nikephoros Gregoras, *Explicatio in librum Synesii 'De insomniis': Scholia cum glossis*, ed. P. Pietrosanti (Bari, 1999), p. 45.2-6: 'ἂν γὰρ μὴ συντρέχη ἡ βούλησις, ἄψυχος μένει πᾶσα διδασκαλία καὶ μάθησις, καὶ ἑλλιπής, ἂν γὰρ διδάσκη μὲν ὁ διδάσκων, μὴ βούληται δὲ ἡ τοῦ διδασκομένου βούλησις, κολοβὸς γίνεται ἡ διδασκαλία' καὶ διὰ τοῦτο χρειώδης ἐστὶν ὁ βίος ὁ συγκεκραμένος τοῖς λυπηροῖς'. Cf. Quintilian's similar view that study depends on the will to learn (*Institutio Oratoria*, 1.3.8, I, p. 98); Psellos's complaints about his students (*Orat.* 21, in *Oratoria Minora*, pp. 76-78). See also M.J. Kyriakis, 'Student life in eleventh century Constantinople', *Byzantina* 7 (1975), 375-88; Hondridou, *Κωνσταντῖνος Θ' Μονομάχος*, pp. 175-78.

⁷⁹ Anonymous Professor, *Letters*, 86, p. 77. Cf. the students' diversions in Theodoros Hyrtakenos, *Letters*, 19, partly edited by A. Karpozilos, 'The Correspondence of Theodoros Hyrtakenos', *JÖB* 40 (1990), 275-94 at pp. 290-91, where Hyrtakenos complains to Theodoros Metochites of his son's truancy and negligence of his studies: 'ὀλιγωρεῖν μὲν παιδείας, ἐπιμέλῃσθαι δὲ ἱππεύσεως, ἀμέλει κελητίζοντά τε καὶ ῥυτῆρσιν ὅλοις ἐφίεντα περιελαύνειν τὰς ἀγυῖας, ἱπποδρόμους τε καὶ θέατρα περιθῆναι, ἀγερωχοῦντα καὶ θριαμβεύοντα καὶ ὥσπερ παρασήμοις τοῖς ἐστολισμένοις πομπεύοντά'.

⁸⁰ Anonymous Professor, *Letters*, 69, pp. 62-63.

had the additional duty to inform fathers,⁸¹ uncles⁸² or guardians,⁸³ usually by letter, about the progress, or lack of it, of their children, nephews, or protégés. Apart from dealing with disobedient students, teachers sometimes had to face relatives who criticized their style of teaching.⁸⁴ There were occasions that the tension against teachers led students to overstep the boundaries of decency, as in the case of the young Anacharsis, who enraged for being beaten took revenge on his teacher (perhaps Niketas Eugenianos) by defecating in his cooking-pot, which was full of boiling food!⁸⁵

However, as in the Hellenistic period, not all relations between students and teachers were negative, as attested by a number of letters of recommendation teachers wrote on behalf of their students whenever they applied for posts. For example, the Anonymous Professor in a letter to a certain Theodoros *mystikos* (Θεοδώρῳ μυστικῷ) recommended one of his students who had applied for the post of notary.⁸⁶ In another letter, he thanks a certain *protoasēkrētēs* for preferring his pupil to others. Using his rhetorical skill the Anonymous Professor assures his addressee that now he, the teacher, being indebted to him, could also be considered his servant (ἔξεις δοῦλον καὶ τὸν διδάσκαλον).⁸⁷ Another example is that of Michael Choniates, who wrote to Apokaukos recommending his student Georgios Bardanes and asking him to introduce Georgios to Theodoros Doukas.⁸⁸ Undoubtedly, for former students to embark on a successful career was a recognition of both the tutor's dedication and the quality of education he provided to his students. This in turn would have enhanced his reputation

⁸¹ Anonymous Professor, *Letters*, 81, p. 72. Cf. Ioannes Tzetzes, *Letters*, 22, 23, 62, pp. 39-40, 40-41, 92.

⁸² Anonymous Professor, *Letters*, 38, 106, 107, 110, pp. 32, 91, 91-92, 94.

⁸³ Anonymous Professor, *Letters*, 60, pp. 55-56. Cf. Ioannes Tzetzes, *Letters*, 79, 80, 82, pp. 117-118, 119-20, 122.

⁸⁴ Anonymous Professor, *Letters*, 38, 39, 93, pp. 32, 33, 82-83.

⁸⁵ Cf. D.A. Chrestides, ed., *Μαρκιανὰ Ἀνέκδοτα*, 1. Ἀνάχαρσις καὶ Ἀνανίας, 2. Ἐπιστολές – Σιγίλλιο (Thessalonike, 1984), p. 271: 'οὗτός ποτε τὸν παῖδα παραμείψας ἡλικιοῦτο οἷα μεράκιον' καὶ κατὰ τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ δυσχεράνας παιδείας εἵνεκα κονδύλους τούτῳ προστρίψαντος, ἐπειδὴ τὴν χύτραν τούτου κατεῖδεν ἀνθρακῖ παρακειμένην δαιτρευμάτων πλήρη καὶ ὑπερζέουσαν, τοὺς χιτωνίσκους ἀνασυράμενος καὶ τὴν ἀναξυρίδα κατασπασάμενος δυσώδη κατ' αὐτῆς ἠκόντισε βόρβορον'. Anacharsis, the culprit, was identified by the editor with the well-known Ioannes Kamateros, who committed the act when he was young. Cf. *cod. Vat. Reg. gr. Pio II* 54, f. 186^v, καὶ ὡς τὸ ἐπὶ πλείστον οἱ μαθηταὶ δόλους καὶ διαβολὰς περιπλέκουσι κατὰ τῶν διδασκάλων.

⁸⁶ Anonymous Professor, *Letters*, 71, p. 64.

⁸⁷ Anonymous Professor, *Letters*, 40, p. 34.

⁸⁸ Michael Choniates, *Letters*, 175, ed., F. Kolovou, *Michaelis Choniatae epistulae* (Berlin – New York, 2001), pp. 281-82.

and acted as an incentive to prospective students to enrol in his establishment.

Indeed, there were also cases when special bonds developed between teachers and students which were to last long after they had finished their training. Nikephoros Choumnos, for example, held an abiding affection for his teacher Georgios of Cyprus, whom he called his instructor, his initiator and his teacher, whose death had left a gap in his life that could not be filled, for he had loved him both as a father and teacher.⁸⁹ Theodoros II Laskares expresses similar feelings when he describes the impact Georgios Akropolites had on him when he says that he listened to his words as if his voice came from God.⁹⁰

One may assume that instructing such students had been also a most rewarding experience for teachers, who decided to dedicate their books to some of them. Photios, for example, dedicated his *Lexicon* to his student Thomas,⁹¹ Michael the Synkellos, his *Μέθοδος περὶ τῆς τοῦ λόγου συντάξεως* to his pupil Lazaros,⁹² Ioannes Glykys his *Περὶ ὀρθότητος συντάξεως* to Nikephoros Gregoras⁹³ and Konstantinos Laskares his *Grammar* to Hippolyta the daughter of Francesco Sforza,⁹⁴ while Michael Choniates in one of his *Letters* states that he was willing to bequeath his library to his students after his death, though without naming them.⁹⁵

⁸⁹ Nikephoros Choumnos, *Πρὸς τοὺς δυσχεραίνοντας ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐλέγχοις τῶν ἀσαφῶς καὶ κακοτέχνως ῥητορευόντων, καὶ τάναντία Πλάτωνι καὶ τοῖς αὐτῷ δοκοῦσιν ἀστρονομούντας*, ed. J. Fr. Boissonade, *Anecdota graeca e codicibus regiis*, vol. III (Paris, 1831), pp. 365-91, at 367: 'καθηγεμὼν ἐμοὶ καὶ παιδευτῇ καὶ μυσταγωγὸς ὑπῆρξε καὶ διδάσκαλος μέχρι παντὸς τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν βίου (εἴθε δ' ἦν κάμοι καὶ διὰ βίου παντός! καὶ ἡγάπων ἂν αὐτῷ αἰεὶ παῖς εἶναι καὶ μαθητής)'.

⁹⁰ Theodoros II Laskares, *Encomium on Georgios Akropolites* (Τοῦ αὐτοῦ Θεοδώρου Δούκα τοῦ Λάσκαρι τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ὑψηλοτάτου βασιλέως κυροῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Δούκα ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν μέγαν φιλόσοφον κυρὸν Γεώργιον τὸν Ἀκροπολίτην), ed. A. Tartaglia, *Opuscula rhetorica* (Munich – Leipzig, 2000), pp. 96-108, at 105.220-21: *καιρὸς προέβη καὶ ὁ διδάσκαλος μὲν ἐδίδασκεν, ἐγὼ δὲ ἡκροώμην τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ φωνῆς, ὥσπερ Θεοῦ*. See also Constantinides, *Higher Education*, p. 18.

⁹¹ See N.G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium* (London, 1996), p. 117.

⁹² See D. Donnet, ed., trans. and comm., *Le traité de la construction de la phrase de Michel le Syncelle de Jérusalem: histoire du texte, édition, traduction et commentaire* (Brussels – Rome, 1982), p. 415; Robins, *The Byzantine Grammarians*, p. 161.

⁹³ See Robins, *The Byzantine Grammarians*, p. 173.

⁹⁴ Konstantinos Laskares, *Greek Grammar: Milan, Dionysius Paravisinus for Demetrius of Crete, 30 January 1476*. Facsimile edition, introduction by J.J. Fraenkel and translation from Dutch by C.M. Breuning-Williamson (Amsterdam, 1966), p. 14. About the autograph cod. *Par. gr.* 2590, with the Laskares's dedication on f. 1^r, see also T. Martínez Manzano, *Konstantinos Laskaris: Humanist, Philologe, Lehrer, Kopist* (Hamburg, 1994), p. 184.

⁹⁵ Michael Choniates, *Letters*, 117, ed. Kolovou, pp. 195-96, at 196.

The structure and content of Byzantine education

The evidence we possess on Byzantine education points to the fact that though by and large it followed the pattern of its Hellenistic precedent, at the same time it introduced changes. Yet, although elementary education will henceforth be known as *ἱερὰ γράμματα*, deriving its content mainly from the *Ψαλτήριον*, Christianity did not impose its own curriculum which might have led to a Christianised education.

Education was divided, and continued to be so, into secular education, *θύραθεν παιδεία*, and religious education, *ἔσωθεν παιδεία*, with each one attracting divergent views as to its value. This, however, remained a personal choice of the individual. For example, the eleventh-century mystic Symeon the New Theologian considered reading classical texts permissible, though for him any concentration on these was fruitless. For, he insisted that God is revealed 'not to the rhetoricians and philosophers, not to those learned in the writings of the Greeks, not to those studying foreign works ... but to the poor in spirit ... to the pure in heart and body'.⁹⁶ Comparable views seem to have been held in the twelfth century by Anna Komnene's parents, who considered *θύραθεν παιδεία* as harmful (*ἐπιβουλον*), and therefore they were unwilling at first to allow her to study it.⁹⁷ Despite such views, both disciplines, Christian and classical, not only co-existed, but to a certain extent fused together to create a twofold tradition, which is the hallmark of Byzantine culture.⁹⁸

Notwithstanding the change of the terminology for primary education, as in the Hellenistic, so in the Byzantine period we can distinguish three stages of schooling⁹⁹: (a) elementary education (*ἱερὰ γράμματα* or *προπαιδεία*); (b) secondary education (*ἐγκύκλιος παιδευσίς* or *παιδεία*, *θύραθεν παι-*

⁹⁶ Symeon the New Theologian, *Letter to Stephen of Nikomedeia*, ed. I. Hausherr and trans. G. Horn, *Un grand mystique byzantin: Vie de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien (949-1022) par Nicéas Stéthatos* (Rome, 1928), pp. lxiii-lxv, at lxv.55-65, cited by J.M. Hussey, *Church and Learning in the Byzantine Empire 867-1185* (London, 1937; repr. New York, 1963), p. 208.

⁹⁷ Georgios Tornikes, *Funeral Oration on Anna Komnene*, ed. J. Darrouzès, *Georges et Démétrios Tornikès: Lettres et Discours* (Paris, 1970), pp. 220-323, at 243.

⁹⁸ See W. Jaeger, *Early Christianity and Greek Paideia* (Cambridge, Mass., 1961); Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme*, pp. 43ff, esp. 46-47; A. Vasilikopoulou, 'Η Κλασική παιδεία στο Βυζάντιο', *ΕΕΦΣΠΑ*, Παράρτημα 24, vol. ΛΓ' (2000-1), 323-36. See A. Markopoulos, 'Βυζαντινή Εκπαίδευση και οικουμενικότητα', in *Byzantium as Oecumene*, ed. E. Chrysos (Athens, 2005), pp. 183-200 (with further bibliography). See also Constantinides, *Higher Education*, p. 159, where the term *symbiosis* is used.

⁹⁹ See Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme*, esp. pp. 93-95; Cavallo, *Lire à Byzance*, pp. 23-28, 36-40, 108-109, 150-52; See also C.N. Constantinides, 'Η παιδεία στο Βυζάντιο (Ioannina, 2000), pp. 4-7; A. Markopoulos, 'De la structure de l'école byzantine: le maître, les livres et le processus éducatif', in *Lire et écrire à Byzance*, ed. Mondrain, pp. 85-96 (with extensive bibliography); and E. Jeffreys, 'Rhetoric in Byzantium', in *A Companion to Greek Rhetoric*, pp. 166-84, at 169.

δεία); and (c) higher or tertiary education, pursued by students aspiring to high office (τελεωτέρα μάθησις). Similarly, the nomenclature designating the teachers of the Hellenistic times continued to be used in this later period, though occasionally certain modifications were introduced. Thus, the teacher responsible for the elementary level was called γραμματιστής or στοιχευτής, both terms used interchangeably.¹⁰⁰ They taught reading, writing, spelling and grammar to both boys and girls of about six years of age. These teachers were not necessarily priests or monks, though the Emperor Theodosios I (347-95) sought an educated man and an ascetic to teach his two sons the ἱερὰ γράμματα privately, for he was against sending them to a public school lest they learned useless and harmful things.¹⁰¹ The ἱερὰ γράμματα could be acquired both in villages and towns, though we must not assume that every child enjoyed this opportunity. St Theodoros of Sykeon attended the village school, but others, like St Ioannikios was too busy with everyday chores to be sent to school. He in fact learned his letters only when he entered a monastery.¹⁰²

Pupils at this stage began by learning the letters of the alphabet, then proceeded to syllables and next to words. The procedure is described by Michael Psellos, when he refers to his daughter's education. At the age of six she began to learn the elementary letters, combination of syllables and construction of nouns, and then proceeded to read the Psalms.¹⁰³ The new element, as we mentioned above, is the introduction of Christian texts,

¹⁰⁰ Cf. W.J.W. Koster, ed., *Scholia anonyma recentiora in Nubes*, in *Prolegomena de Comodia: Scholia in Acharnenses, Equites, Nubes*, Pars I, Fasc. 3.2 (Groningen, 1974), v. 770c, p. 348: 'γραμματιστής δὲ ὁ χαμαιιδάσκαλος ἦτοι ὁ τὰ στοιχεῖα καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν προπαιδεῖαν παραδίδους'. See also Koukoules, *Bios*, pp. 57-58, 80, 136-37.

¹⁰¹ Georgios the Monk, *Chronicle*, ed. C. de Boor (with corrections by P. Wirth), *Georgii Monachi Chronicon*, vol. II (Stuttgart, 1904; repr. 1978), p. 567.5-14: 'αὐξησάντων δὲ τῶν παίδων, ἦλθον εἰς ἡλικίαν τοῦ ἐκμανθάνειν τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα. καὶ ἐξαπέστειλεν εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπ' αὐτὸν βασιλείαν ζητῆσαι ἄνδρα ἐλλόγιμον καὶ ἀσκητὴν κεκοσμημένον ἐν ἀληθείᾳ τὸν φόβον τοῦ θεοῦ, ἔχοντα θεογνωσίαν εἰς ἄκρον, ὡς ὀφείλων παραδοῦναι αὐτῷ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ, ἵνα παιδεύσῃ αὐτοὺς πάσῃ θείᾳ γραφῇ τε καὶ ἀνθρωπίνῃ, μὴ βουλόμενος παραδοῦναι αὐτοὺς εἰς σχολεῖον, ἵνα μάθωσιν ἀπὸ ἄλλων παιδίων ἅπερ ὁ θεὸς οὐ θέλει, καὶ τυπωθῶσιν ἐν λόγοις ἀνωφελέσι καὶ βλαβεροῖς'. See also Tsampes, *Ἡ Παιδεία*, p. 41.

¹⁰² Anonymous, *Life of St Theodoros of Sykeon*, ed. with French trans. by A.-J. Festugière, *Vie de Théodore de Sykéon* (Brussels, 1970), pp. 1-161, esp. 5-7, English trans. by E. Dawes and N. H. Baynes, *Three Byzantine Saints* (Oxford, 1948), pp. 88-185, esp. 90-91, § 6-7. Two versions of the *Life* of St Ioannikios written by the monks Sabas and Peter were edited by J. van den Gheyn, *Acta Sanctorum, Novembris* 2.1 (Brussels, 1894), pp. 332-435; Sabas's version (§ 14, p. 344) states that Ioannikios became a monk when he was fifty-four years old and he learned the Psalms only after his entrance in the monastery: 'τότε ἐκμαθὼν τὸ ψαλτήριον'.

¹⁰³ Michael Psellos, *Funeral Oration on his Daughter Styliane*, ed. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, V, pp. 62-87, at 65: ἔκτος ... χρόνος ἡρίθμητο ... καὶ τῶν στοιχειωδῶν ἤπτετο γραμμάτων, καὶ μίξεως συλλαβῶν, καὶ ὀνομάτων συνθήκης, ἀφ' ὧν προκαταρτισθεῖσα τὸν νοῦν, καὶ Δαυϊτικοῖς ψαλμοῖς ἐνεβίβζετο'.

namely the Ψαλτήριον. This change, attested from the third century onwards, is found in textbooks on papyri. They contain Christian texts or lists of Christian names, which either replace the mythological and classical ones or are found side by side.¹⁰⁴

Michael Psellos himself began his education a little earlier, when he had completed his fifth year. It was then that his mother entrusted him to a διδάσκαλος under whose instruction he remained until he was eight years old, when he was ready for more advanced courses (καὶ πρὸς τὰ κρείττω μαθήματα ἢ φύσις ἀνήγε). Psellos also states that before he was ten years old he excelled in orthography and could also recite the whole of the *Iliad*, being aware not only of the verses, but also of the stylistic figures, the ways of expression, the language, the appropriate metaphor and the harmony of the composition.¹⁰⁵ By the time he was seventeen he had completed his secondary education!

In the ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία, a γραμματικὸς¹⁰⁶ or a μαΐστωρ taught a small number of students, who continued their studies in the *trivium* (τριτύς), comprising grammar, poetry and rhetoric (including *progymnasmata* as a preparatory stage),¹⁰⁷ and the *quadrivium* (μαθηματικὴ τετρακτύς), comprising simple mathematics, namely, arithmetic, geometry, harmony and astronomy, and in addition Aristotle's *Logic* (Ὅργανον). We are very fortunate to have the complete textbook of the *quadrivium* compiled by Georgios Pachymeres (1242-ca. 1310).¹⁰⁸ An extension of these subjects formed the

¹⁰⁴ See Criboire, *Writing, Teachers, and Students*, pp. 273ff. For an example with lists of Christian names in P. Louvre E 10285 (second half of 4th c.), see W. Clarysse and A. Wouters, 'Un Exercice de syllabification chrétien', in *Papyri in honorem Johannis Bingen octogenarii*, ed. H. Melaerts (Leuven, 2000), pp. 85-93. I would like to thank Professor Cornelia Römer for drawing my attention to this list.

¹⁰⁵ Michael Psellos, *Funeral Oration on his Mother*, ed. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη*, V, pp. 3-61, at 12, 14; ed. U. Criscuolo, *Michelle Psello: Autobiografia: Encomio per la madre* (Naples, 1989), p. 97.361-63: 'ὀρθογραφίας ἡκρίβωτο καὶ ἡ πᾶσα ἀπήγγελτο Ἰλιάς, οὐ τὴν ἐποποιῖαν ἀπλῶς εἰδότες, ἀλλὰ καὶ σχῆμα καὶ τρόπον καὶ λέξιν, καὶ μεταφορὰν εὐκαιρον καὶ ἁρμονίαν συνθήκης'.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Georgios Pachymeres, *History*, ed. A. Failler and trans. V. Laurent, *Georges Pachymères Relations Historiques*, (Paris, 1984-2000), II, p. 369.29: 'γραμματικευμένων σχολήν'. Cf. cod. *Athens*, *Benaki Museum* 75 (TA 152), f. 34^{r-v}: 'ὁ γραμματικὸς, ὦ παῖ (add. sup. lin.) οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ γράφειν τε καὶ ἀναγινώσκειν, ἔστι τὲ καὶ λέγεται γραμματικὸς [sic], ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ τήρησιν ποιεῖσθαι τῶν ἀντιστοιχῶν καὶ τῶν πνευμάτων. καὶ τὴν σπουδὴν περὶ ταύτην ἅπασαν καὶ τὸν τόνον, καταναλίσκειν· καὶ μὴ σολοικίζειν ἐν λόγῳ· μὴ δὲ βαρβαρίζειν ἐν λέξει· ἔτι δὲ, κανόνα ἀποδιδόναι· ὅρον τε καὶ λόγον ἀπάντων· ταῦτ' οὖν εἰδότες ὦ παῖδες, μοχθεῖτε τοῖς λόγοις τῆς γραμματικῆς τέχνης ἐπὶ παντοίων ἔνων'. See also below, pp. 49-50, n. 4.

¹⁰⁷ The most popular of *progymnasmata* were those of Hermogenes and Aphthonios. On *progymnasmata* see Hunger, *Literatur*, I, pp. 92-120; G.A. Kennedy, *Progymnasmata: Greek Textbooks of Prose Composition and Rhetoric* (Leiden, 2003); R. Webb, 'The "Progymnasmata" as Practice', in *Education in Greek and Roman Antiquity*, pp. 289-316.

¹⁰⁸ E. Stephanou, ed., *Quadrivium de Georges Pachymère* (Vatican, 1940).

material for tertiary education, a privilege of a few.¹⁰⁹ The material and authors taught at this stage may have depended on the predilection of individual teachers, but certainly the quality of teaching varied.¹¹⁰ For example, as far as philosophy was concerned, Psellos insisted that in his experience the era before him ‘produced few men of erudition and even they stopped before the entrance, paying lip service to Aristotle and Plato without any understanding’.¹¹¹ Determined to acquire the knowledge that could not be given to him by others he embarked on a quest that led him from Aristotle to Plato, and subsequently to Plotinos, Porphyrios, and Iamblichos. Then continuing his voyage, as he says, ‘I reached the admirable Proklos, as if to a mighty harbour’ and derived from there his doctrine of perception, and then moved on to explore mathematics, the object of pure thought.¹¹² Psellos’s philosophical writings reveal clearly his debt to the Neoplatonists in which ‘Christian dogmas and philosophical teaching are inextricably interwoven’.¹¹³ Two centuries later Emperor Theodoros II Laskares (1254-58) will have referred to this synthesis of Christianity and Ancient Greek philosophy when he wrote that it was a process of grafting the wild olive tree, thus turning it into a cultivated one and harnessing everything to Christ.¹¹⁴

But before a student could reach the level that enabled him to read and understand the ancient texts, he had to acquire wide knowledge of grammar and its concomitants. For students usually faced difficulties in learning how to use correctly the classical Greek dialect. Therefore, knowledge of grammar was considered fundamental. This teaching of the language continued uninterrupted throughout the Byzantine period, as the vast numbers of MSS containing grammars and *lexica* attest. The method used was known as *schedography*, which is examined in the next Chapter.

¹⁰⁹ See Constantinides, *Higher Education*, *passim*.

¹¹⁰ See also Constantinides, *Higher Education*, pp. 91-92.

¹¹¹ Michael Psellos, *Chronographia*, iii. 3, ed. and trans. E. Renauld, *Chronographie: ou, Histoire d'un siècle de Byzance (976-1077)*, I (Paris, 1967²), p. 33.18-21: ‘Βραχεῖς γὰρ ὁ τηνικαῦτα χρόνος λογίους παρέτρεφε, καὶ τούτους μέχρι τῶν Ἀριστοτελικῶν ἐστηκότας προθύρων, καὶ τὰ Πλατωνικὰ μόνον ἀποστομίζοντας σύμβολα, μηδὲν δὲ τῶν κεκρυμμένων εἰδότας’.

¹¹² Michael Psellos, *Chronographia*, vi. 38, ed. Renauld, I, p. 136.1-12.

¹¹³ Hussey, *Church and Learning*, p. 77.

¹¹⁴ Theodoros II Laskares, *Oratio in laudem urbis Nicaeae*, ed. Tartaglia, *Opuscula rhetorica*, pp. 68-84, at 73.130-33: ‘φιλοσοφοῦσι τὰ θεῖα δόγματα μετακεντρίζοντες τὸ ἀγριέλαιον εἰς καλλιέλαιον “καὶ αἰχμαλωτίζοντες πᾶν νόημα” εἰς Χριστόν, τοῦτον ἦν τὸ καινόν. ἐκ τούτου καὶ γὰρ ἡ Νικαέων λαμπρύνεται παμπληθῶς’; cf. H. Hunger, ‘The Classical Tradition in Byzantine Literature: the Importance of Rhetoric’, in *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition: University of Birmingham Thirteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies 1979*, eds. M. Mullett and R. Scott (Birmingham, 1981), pp. 35-47, at 40.

CHAPTER II

BYZANTINE TEXTBOOKS AND *SCHEDOGRAPHY*

Μελέτω σοι γραμματικῆς καὶ τῆς ὀρθογραφίας·
πρῶτος αὕτη θεμέλιος καὶ βάσις μαθημάτων.¹

Literary classical education despite the vicissitudes of the Empire, as discussed in Chapter I, persisted among the educated class throughout its existence. Classical authors, in particular those writing in Attic dialect, continued to be studied as literary models. However, the increasing gap between the spoken (κοινὴ) and the literate language predicated the mastering of grammar and its concomitants in order to think, speak and write correctly,² and learn to ἐλληνίζειν.³ Consequently, the role of grammar, fundamental in teaching a language, was stressed by Byzantine scholars on every possible occasion. In fact, grammar in some cases became synonymous with the ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία.⁴

¹ Michael Psellos, *Grammar*, ed. L.G. Westerink, *Michaelis Pselli Poemata* (Stuttgart – Leipzig, 1992), pp. 81-102, at 81.1-2.

² Ps.-Theodosios of Alexandria (Theodoros Prodromos?), *Grammar*, ed. C.G. Götting, *Θεοδοσίου γραμματικοῦ περὶ γραμματικῆς* (Leipzig, 1822), p. 56.2-4: 'ἡ τέχνη ἐστὶν ἡ γραμματικὴ θεωρητικὴ καὶ λογικὴ διδάσκουσα ἡμᾶς τὸ εὖ λέγειν καὶ τὸ εὖ γράφειν'; cf. Ioannes Zonaras, *Lexicon*, ed. I.A.H. Tittmann, *Iohannis Zonarae Lexicon ex tribus codicibus manuscriptis*, I (Leipzig, 1808), col. 453: 'ἡ τέχνη θεωρητικὴ καὶ λογικὴ, τὸ εὖ λέγειν καὶ τὸ εὖ πράττειν ἵγουν γράφειν διδάσκουσα ἡμᾶς'.

³ Sextos Empirikos, *Adversus mathematicos*, eds. J. Mau and H. Mutschmann, *Sexti Empirici Opera*, vol. 3 (Leipzig, 1954), p. 48.6-7: 'εἴπερ δὲ οὐκ ἄλλως ἔστιν ἐλληνίζειν ἢ μὴ παρὰ γραμματικῆς μάθωμεν τὸ ἐλληνικόν'. Cf. *Scholia Vaticana to Thrax's Τέχνη*, ed. A. Hilgard, *Προλεγόμενα τῆς τέχνης Διονυσίου ἀπὸ πλάτους (ἐξηγήσεων)*, in *Grammatici Graeci*, vol. 1.3, *Scholia in Dionysii Thracis Artem Grammaticam* (Leipzig, 1901; repr. Hildesheim, 1965), p. 109.36-38: 'ὥσπερ τῆς ἱατρικῆς τέλος ἐστὶν ἡ ὑγεία καὶ τῆς ῥητορικῆς τὸ πείθειν, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τῆς γραμματικῆς τὸ τέλος ὁ ἐλληνισμός'.

⁴ Georgios Akropolites, *Opera*, ed. A. Heisenberg (with corr. by P. Wirth), *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, I (Stuttgart, 1903; repr. 1978), p. 46.13-15: 'ἐκκαιδεκέτης ὦν καὶ νῦν τῆς ἐγκυκλίου ἀπηλλαγμένος παιδεύσεως, ἣν γραμματικὴν κατονομάζουσιν οἱ πολλοί'. Cf. Ioannes Tzetzes's statement in *Historiae* that in his days *enkyklios paideia* is unduly called grammar, ed. P.A.M. Leone (Naples, 1968), *Chil. XI, Hist. 377*, p. 449.527-28: 'νῦν δέ γε τὴν γραμματικὴν ἐγκύκλιον παιδείαν ἢ εἶπον, κατὰ κατάχρησιν, οὐ λόγῳ δὲ κυρίῳ'; Kritoboulos Imbrios, *Historiae*, ed. D.R. Reinsch, *Critobuli Imbriotae Historiae* (Berlin, 1983), p. 166.1-2: '... καὶ πλήρης πάσης ἐγκυκλίου παιδείας, ῥητορικῆς τέ φημι καὶ ποιητικῆς'. The following definitions of ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία are preserved in codd. *Ambrosiani graeci* B 99 sup. (13th-14th c.), f. 9^v and O 123 sup. (16th c.), f. 70^{r-v}: 'Ἰστέον ὅτι ἐγκύκλιον παίδευσιν φασὶ καὶ τὴν καθόλου· οἷον γραμματικὴν, ποιητικὴν, ῥητορικὴν, τὴ καὶ φιλοσοφίαν, καὶ μαθηματικὴν, καὶ πᾶσαν ὡς εἰπεῖν τέχνην τὴ (leg. τε) καὶ ἐπιστήμην· καθ' ἃς ὥσπερ διά

Michael Psellos (1018-*ante* 1096/97) called grammar ‘the art of the arts and the science of the sciences’, while Nikephoros Basilakes (*ca.* 1115-*ca.* 1180) regarded it as ‘the precincts of every other wisdom’.⁵ Therefore, the student’s journey for the acquisition of knowledge had to start from grammar and orthography, before proceeding to other courses, the sequence of which and their interdependence are underlined by Theodoros II Laskares.⁶

The teaching of grammar in the Byzantine period⁷ was mainly based

τινος κύκλου δεῖ τὸν εἰδήμονα τούτων περιιέναι· φασὶ δὲ ἰδικῶς καὶ κυρίως ἐγκύκλιον τὴν ποιητικὴν· ὅτι ὥσπερ τὸν κύκλον περιγράφει τὸ κέντρον, καὶ πᾶσα ἡ τοῦ κύκλου περιφέρεια πρὸς τὸ κέντρον εὐρίσκεται ἀπευθυνομένη, οὕτω καὶ ἡ ὁμήρου ποιήσις πᾶσας τὰς ἱστορίας περιέχει τῶν λοιπῶν ποιητῶν’ (cf. also the definition of the ἐγκύκλιον παιδευσιν given by the commentator Basil on St Gregory of Nazianzus’s *Orations*, PG 36, cols 903-916, at 914); *Ambr. gr.* A 45 sup. (13th c.), f. 35^v: ‘ἡ ἐγκύκλιος· γραμματικὴ· ἱατρικὴ· ῥητορικὴ· φιλοσοφικὴ· μουσικὴ· ὀπτικὴ (*leg.* ὀπτική)· μεταλλικὴ· λεξικὴ· γεωμετρικὴ καὶ ἀστρονομικὴ· ὕφαντικὴ’; *Vind. Theol. gr.* 182 (14th c.), f. 141^v: ‘ἐγγύκλιος (*leg.* ἐγκύκλιος) παιδεύσις, λέγεται μὲν καὶ πᾶσα ἑλληνικὴ γνῶσις (*leg.* γνῶσις) κυρίως δὲ ἡ ποιητικὴ· ὥς γὰρ τὸν κύκλον περιγράφει τὸ κέντρον, καὶ πᾶσα ἡ τοῦ κύκλου περιφέρεια (*leg.* περιφέρεια) πρὸς τὸ κέντρον· εὐρίσκεται ἀπευθυνομένη, οὕτως ἡ ὁμήρου ποιήσις· πᾶσας (*leg.* πᾶσας) τὰς ἱστορίας περιέχει τῶν λοιπῶν ποιητῶν’; See also Criboire, ‘Euripides’ “Phoenissae”’, pp. 241-59, esp. 241 where she points out that ‘the cyclic revisiting of the same texts’ by the students in different educational stages may explain the term *enkyklios*. See also Koukoulēs, *Bíos*, pp. 105-107. On the relation between *enkyklios paideia* and the encyclopedia, see P. Schreiner, ‘Die enzyklopädische Idee in Byzanz’, in P. van Deun and C. Macé, eds., *Encyclopedic Trends in Byzantium?: Proceedings of the International Conference held in Leuven, 6-8 May 2009* (Leuven, 2011), pp. 3-25, esp. 8-11.

⁵ Cf. Michael Psellos, *Funeral Oration on Niketas*, pp. 90 [Sathas] and p. 173 [Polemīs] respectively, who calls grammar, ‘στοιχεῖον πάλαι δοκοῦσαν πάσης παιδεύσεως, τέχνην ... τεχνῶν καὶ ἐπιστήμην ἐπιστημῶν’; Nikephoros Basilakes, *Orationes*, p. 3.15-16: ‘γραμματικὴν ἐμπειρίαν, ἣν ἐγὼ πάγκαλόν τι προτεμένισμα τίθεμαι σοφίας τῆς ἄλλης’; p. 3.33-34: ‘γραμματικὴ ... ἥς τὸ εὖ λέγειν καὶ ὀρθοεπεῖν ἐπιτήδευμα’.

⁶ Theodoros II Laskares, *Letter to Senacherim and Frangopoulos*, ed. N. Festa, *Theodori Ducae Lascaris Epistulae CCXVII* (Florence, 1898), 217, pp. 271-76 at 274.104-275.118: ‘ἐπαινοῦμεν γραμματικὴν, μεγαλύνομεν ταύτην, οὐκ ἀποστεροῦμεν ποιητικῆς, οὐτ’ αὖ γε ῥητορικὴν τοῖς ποιητικοῖς. εὐρὴ γάρ, ἂν τις ἐπιστημῶνς ἐξετάζη τὰς ἐπιστήμας, ἀλληλουχίαν ἐν ταύταις καὶ συνεξάρτησιν. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐπὶ τὸ κουφότερον τὸ ὕδωρ ἀνάγεται, εἴτα διαδεχομένου τοῦ ἀέρος αὐτὸ ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ ἐπανάγει καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα συνεκδεχομένου τε τοῦ πυρὸς πρὸς τὸν αἰθέρα ἐκφέρεται, καὶ τοῦ αἰθέρος πρὸς τὸ κενὸν ὑπὸ μιᾶς γραμμῆς ὡς ἐν ἄξονι τῆς στοιχειακῆς ὑποκυκλουμένης φορᾶς ἐμπεριελημμένων ὄντων τῶν ἀστρώων σωμάτων, τῶν τε πεπλανημένων καὶ τῶν ἀπλανῶν, ἔστ’ ἂν ἐπὶ τὸ κενὸν ἡ τῶν κτισμάτων ἀλληλουχία ἀνέλθῃ καὶ λήξῃ περὶ τὸ ἄπειρον πέρας τῆς ὑπερουσίου φύσεως ἐκείνης καὶ μακαρίας, ὡς οἱ τῶν ἐντὸς καὶ ἐκτὸς ἐφιλοσόφησαν εὐδαίμονες ἄνθρωποι· οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν μαθημάτων ἐστὶ συνεκδέχεται θάτερον τὸ ἕτερον· γραμματικὴν μὲν ποιητικὴ, ποιητικὴν δὲ ῥητορικὴ, ῥητορικὴν δὲ ὀργανικὴ, καὶ ἐξῆς αἱ ἀνώτεραι καὶ ὑψηλότεραι’ (*my italics*).

⁷ On grammatical treatises used in Byzantium as teaching aids see Ch. Förstel, *Les grammaires grecques du XV^e siècle: étude sur les ouvrages de Manuel Chrysoloras, Théodore Gaza et Constantin Lascaris*, vol. 1 (Thèse présentée pour l’obtention du diplôme d’archiviste paléographe, Paris, 1992), pp. 14-28. See also R.H. Robins, ‘Greek Linguistics in the Byzantine Period’, in *History of the Language Sciences = Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft = Histoire des sciences du langage: an International Handbook on the Evolution of the Study of Language from the Beginnings to the Present ...*, ed. Sylvain Auroux, 3 vols. (Berlin, 2000-2006), I, pp. 417-23. F. Ronconi, ‘Quelle grammaire à Byzance? La circulation des textes grammaticaux et son

on Dionysios Thrax (2nd c. BC), Τέχνη⁸, Aelios Herodianos (2nd c. AD), Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας⁹, Theodosios (4th-5th c. AD), Κανόνες¹⁰, and Ps.-Theodosios, Περὶ Γραμματικῆς¹¹, together with their commentaries, especially those of Ioannes Charax (6th c.)¹² and Georgios Choiroboskos (mid 8th- beg. 9th c.).¹³ For the study of orthography, the basic textbooks used were those of Herodianos,¹⁴ Charax,¹⁵ Choiroboskos¹⁶ and Theognostos (9th c.),¹⁷ the majority of them bearing the title Περὶ Ὄρθογραφίας. The method used to in-

reflet dans les manuscrits', in *La produzione scritta tecnica e scientifica nel Medioevo: libro e documento tra scuole e professioni. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio dell'Associazione Italiana dei Paleografi e Diplomatisti, Fisciano – Salerno, 28-30 settembre 2009*, eds. G. De Gregorio and M. Galante (Spoleto 2012), pp. 63-110 + tavv. See also Hunger, *Literatur*, II, pp. 10-22; Robins, *The Byzantine Grammarians*, esp. pp. 25-86; M. Treu, 'Ein byzantinisches Schulgespräch', *BZ* 2 (1893), 96-105.

⁸ Dionysios Thrax, Τέχνη, ed. G. Uhlig, Τέχνη Διονυσίου Γραμματικοῦ, in *Grammatici Graeci*, vol. 1.1 (Leipzig, 1883; repr. Hildesheim, 1965), pp. 3-101. See also the edition with a French trans. and commentary by J. Lallot, *La grammaire de Denys le Thrace* (Paris, 1998²) and the edition with Italian trans. and commentary by M. Callipo, *Dionisio Trace e la tradizione grammaticale* (Acireale, 2011).

⁹ Aelios Herodianos and Ps.-Herodianos, *On Prosody*, ed. A. Lentz, Ἐκ τῶν Ἡρωδιανοῦ Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας, in *Grammatici Graeci*, vol. 3.1 (Leipzig, 1867; repr. Hildesheim, 1965), pp. 3-547.

¹⁰ Theodosios of Alexandria, *Introductory Canons*, ed. A. Hilgard, Θεοδοσίου γραμματικοῦ Ἀλεξανδρέως Εἰσαγωγικοὶ Κανόνες περὶ κλίσεως ὀνομάτων and Θεοδοσίου γραμματικοῦ Ἀλεξανδρέως Εἰσαγωγικοὶ Κανόνες περὶ κλίσεως ῥημάτων, in *Grammatici Graeci*, vol. 4.1 (Leipzig, 1894; repr. Hildesheim, 1965), pp. 3-42 and 43-99.

¹¹ See above p. 49, n. 2.

¹² Ioannes Charax, Σωφρονίου πατριάρχου Ἀλεξανδρείας πρὸς τὸν ἄββᾶν Ἰωάννην ἐπίσκοπον Ταμιάθως σχόλια σύντομα ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Χάρακος πρὸς εἰσαγομένους εἰς τοὺς ὀνοματικούς καὶ ῥηματικούς κανόνες, ἃ ἡνίκα ἐμόναζε φιλεμπόνως ἐξέθετο, ed. A. Hilgard, in *Grammatici Graeci*, vol. 4.2 (Leipzig, 1894; repr. Hildesheim, 1965), pp. 375-434.

¹³ Georgios Choiroboskos, Προλεγόμενα τῶν Θεοδοσίου ὀνοματικῶν κανόνων ἀπὸ φωνῆς Γεωργίου Χοιροβοσκοῦ, in *Grammatici Graeci*, vol. 4.1, pp. 103-118, Σχόλια σὺν θεῷ εἰς τοὺς ὀνοματικούς κανόνες ἀπὸ φωνῆς Γεωργίου Χοιροβοσκοῦ, pp. 118-361, Περὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς πτώσει τόνων, pp. 362-417 and Προλεγόμενα σὺν θεῷ εἰς τοὺς ῥηματικούς κανόνες ἀπὸ φωνῆς Γεωργίου Χοιροβοσκοῦ, in *Grammatici Graeci*, vol. 4.2, pp. 1-371.

¹⁴ Aelios Herodianos and Ps.-Herodianos, Ἐκ τῶν Ἡρωδιανοῦ Περὶ Ὄρθογραφίας, ed. A. Lentz, in *Grammatici Graeci*, vol. 3.2.1 (Leipzig, 1868; repr. Hildesheim, 1965), pp. 407-611.

¹⁵ On Ioannes Charax and his Περὶ Ὄρθογραφίας, see J. Schneider, *Les traités orthographiques grecs antiques et byzantins* (Turnhout, 1999), pp. 72-109.

¹⁶ Georgios Choiroboskos, *Orthography*, ed. J.A. Cramer, Χοιροβοσκοῦ Ὄρθογραφία e cod. Barocc. 50, in *Anecdota graeca e codd. manuscriptis bibliothecarum Oxoniensium*, vol. 2 (Oxford, 1835), pp. 167-281.

¹⁷ Theognostos, *Canons*, ed. J.A. Cramer, Θεογνώστου Κανόνες, in *Anecdota graeca*, pp. 1-165. See also Th. Antonopoulou, 'The Date of Theognostos' *Orthography*: a Reappraisal', *BZ* 103 (2010), 1-12; K. Alpers, 'Die griechischen Orthographien aus Spätantike und byzantinischer Zeit. Anmerkungen zu einer Publikation', *BZ* 97/1 (2004), 1-50 and Schneider, *Les traités orthographiques*, pp. 278-340.

culcate the principles of this literate language, and thus avoid barbarisms, solecisms and other common mistakes, was systematized in the eleventh century as attested by Michael Psellos and Anna Komnene. It involved the application of the grammatical rules and method of testing the grammatical knowledge of students. This came to be known as *schedography* (σχεδογραφία).¹⁸

Schedography

The derivation of the term σχεδογραφία varies among Byzantine grammarians. According to the etymology of the word given by an anonymous author in cod. *Vat. gr.* 1953, f. 83^v (dated to the second half of the fifteenth century and copied by Michael Apostoles),¹⁹ σχεδογραφία derives from σχέδος and γράφειν.²⁰ Σχέδος, according to him, is a tablet, a little book, a rough draft. He then proceeds to connect the word both with schedia (σχεδία), a raft, made up of planks in a simple and artless way (ἀπλῶς καὶ ἀτέχνως), and αὐτοσχέδιον, namely, whatever is made in an offhand way and without precision.²¹ In using the simile of the raft, he presumably wishes to indicate

¹⁸ Michael Psellos, *Letter to Romanos the classmate*, ed. E. Kurtz and F. Drexl, *Michaelis Pselli Scripta minora*, vol. 2 (Milan, 1941), 16, pp. 19-20, at 20.6-8: 'σπουδῇ τὰ πλείστα τῶν χρησίμων γεγραφότες σχεδῶν, ὧν ποτε καὶ αὐτὸς σχεδογραφῶν ἔτυχον, βιάζουσιν ἡμᾶς καὶ κατεπείγουσιν'; Anna Komnene, *Alexiad*, XV.7.9, eds., D.R. Reinsch and A. Kambylis, I (Berlin – New York, 2001), p. 485.3-32: 'τοῦ δὲ σχεδους ἡ τέχνη εὐρημα τῶν νεωτέρων ἐστὶ καὶ τῆς ἐφ' ἡμῶν γενεᾶς. ... εἴτα ῥητορικῆς ἐπαρηγοῦσης ἔμοι κατέγνων τῆς [τοῦ] πολυπλόκου τῆς σχεδογραφίας πλοκῆς'. See Hondridou, *Κωνσταντῖνος Θ' Μονομάχος*, p. 189, where she connects the development of *schedography* with the tenth century lexicæ; eadem, 'Συμβολή', pp. 50-51. See also E. Trapp et al., eds., *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität besonders des 9.-12. Jahrhunderts*, Fasc. 7. (Vienna, 2011), p. 1729 and P.A. Agapitos, 'Anna Komnene and the politics of schedographic training and colloquial discourse', *Νέα Ῥώμη* 10 (2013 [2014]) 89-107.

¹⁹ The Ms., which I examined *in situ*, has been described by P. Canart, *Codices Vaticani graeci: codices 1745-1962*, vol. I (Vatican, 1970), pp. 773-75.

²⁰ Terms and a good number of words in these texts are highly abbreviated using also suspensions. In order to make the text more readable in our transcriptions we have tacitly expanded abbreviations and suspensions, corrected errors of accentuation and have added mute *iotas* when omitted in the manuscripts (for exceptions see nn. 177 [p. 83], 43 [p. 103], 82 [p. 123], 104 [p. 134]). Conventional terms used in the *schedography* appear in **bold** characters and words analysed are underlined. Initials of proper and sacred names are capitalized. The same conventions have been used largely in all the transcriptions below.

²¹ Cod. *Vat. gr.* 1953, f. 83^v: 'σχεδογραφεῖν γίνεται, ἀπὸ τοῦ σχεδους καὶ τοῦ γράφειν. σχέδος δὲ λέγεται, τὸ παρέργως γινόμενον βιβλίον· τούτεστι, τούτῳ τὸ εἰλισσόμενον χαρτίον· ὅθεν καὶ σχεδία, τὸ διὰ σανίδων ἀπλῶς καὶ ἀτέχνως κατεσκευασμένον πλοῖον· ὃ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἰδιώταις οὕτω λέγεται καὶ αὐτοσχέδιον τὸ μὴ ἐξηκριβωμένον ποιήμα, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ προχείρου ἀποδεδόμενον'. The same derivation is given in *Marc. gr.* XI,14, f. 11, ed. D. Donnet, *Le traité 'Περὶ Συντάξεως λόγων' de Grégoire de Corinthe: Étude de la tradition manuscrite: Édition, traduction et commentaire* (Brussels – Rome, 1967), pp. 276-77. See also a similar comment on *schedography* by Ioannes Maupous, *Versus iambi*, PG 120, col. 1150: 'γρίφους δέ σοι πλέκοντι τοὺς ἐν τῷ σχεδί | ἐπαχθές ἐστι πᾶν

not only the simple way it is made up, but also that each component part, namely each plank, though placed side by side, retains its autonomous identity, like words in a sentence.

A clarification on this is provided in cod. *Vat. gr.* 1527, ff. 25^v-26^r, also of the fifteenth century (examined *in situ*),²² where the anonymous scribe repeats the same etymology (ἐκ τοῦ σχέδους καὶ τοῦ γράφω), but also gives a number of other alternatives. One of this derives from σχῶ (aor. subj. of ἔχω) as equivalent to κρατῶ in the sense of holding together, or from σκέδος which he interprets as what links various parts (τὸ τῶν πολλῶν συνεκτικόν). He also posits the derivation of the word σχέδος either from χέω (pour, flow, cast) and χέδος (word which he seems to have made up) and proceeds to connect σχέδος with τὸ διαχέον καὶ διαχωρίζον, and σχεδάζω (a vernacular form of σκεδάννυμι, future σχεδάσω) — all three terms having the meaning to dissolve, separate or divide words from each other. In this way he connects *schedography* indirectly with μερισμός, thus emphasising its parsing function, namely to resolve a sentence into its component parts and describe each of them grammatically (μερίζεται or ἐπιμερίζεται, διαμερίζεται).²³ The clarification of this teaching aid, called μερισμός and ἐπιμερισμός, included and incorporated into *schedography*,²⁴ is given in the thirteenth-fourteenth century cod. *Vat. Reg. gr. Pio II* 54.²⁵ On f. 467^r.13-467^v.3 we read that μερισμός is the first division (ἡ πρώτη τομή), the second being ὑπομερισμός, while a third stage, that of ἐπιμερισμός, involves a further division of what has already been divided.²⁶

πρόχειρον καὶ σχέδην'; P. de Lagarde, ed., *Iohannis Euchaitorum Metropolitae quae in codice Vaticano graeco 676 supersunt* (Göttingen, 1882; repr. Amsterdam, 1979), no. 33, p. 18.33-34.

²² For a description of this MS, see C. Giannelli, *Codices Vaticani graeci: codices 1485-1683* (Vatican, 1950), pp. 84-87.

²³ Cod. *Vat. gr.* 1527, ff. 25^v-26^r: 'σχεδογραφεῖν ... πόθεν γίνεται ἐκ τοῦ σχέδους καὶ τοῦ γράφω· τὸ δὲ σχέδος, παρὰ τὸ χέω χέδος καὶ σχέδος· οἶονεὶ τὸ διαχέον καὶ διαχωρίζον τὰς λέξεις ἀπ' ἀλλήλων· ἢ παρὰ τὸ σχεδάζω σχεδάσω, καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ σχέδος· σχεδαζόμεναι γὰρ αἱ λέξεις καὶ οἶονεὶ μεριζόμεναι εἰς γνώσιν παραλαμβάνονται· ἢ παρὰ τὸ σχῶ τὸ κρατῶ σκέδος τὸ τῶν πολλῶν συνεκτικόν'.

²⁴ For the μερισμός and ἐπιμερισμός and its Latin equivalent (*partitio*), see A. Garzya, 'Per l'erudizione scolastica a Bisanzio', *Byzantino-Sicula* 3 (2000), 135-140. On ἐπιμερισμός and τεχνολογία see also Hunger, *Literatur*, vol. II, pp. 22-23. Robins, *The Byzantine Grammarians*, pp. 125-48, by comparing the titles and content of Priscian, *Partitiones* (p. 88) and Choïroboskos, *Ἐπιμερισμοὶ* with Moschopoulos, *Περὶ σχεδῶν*, argued that the terms *epimerismoi* and *schedography* are interchangeable. This is clearly not the case, as *epimerismos* is only part of *schedography*. On *epimerismoi* and *lexica*, see A. Borovilou-Genakou, 'Baroccianus gr. 50: Ἐπιμερισμοὶ κατὰ στοιχείον γραφικά. *Terminus ante quem* pour le *Lexique* de Théodose le Grammairien (IX^e s.)', *Byz* 72 (2002), 250-69. See also Schneider, *Les traités orthographiques*, pp. 677-733.

²⁵ For a description of this MS (examined *in situ*), see H. Stevenson, *Codices manuscripti graeci Reginae Svecorum et Pii PP. II* (Rome, 1888), pp. 170-71.

²⁶ Cod. *Vat. Reg. gr. Pio II* 54, ff. 467^r.13-467^v.3: 'τί ἐστὶν ἐπιμερισμός· πραγμάτων μερισμένου, πάλιν εἰς μικρὸν διαμέρισις, τί διαφέρει μερισμός καὶ ὑπομερισμός καὶ ἐπιμερισμός· διαφέρει μερισμός

In the course of its development *schedography* was combined with the method known as *τεχνολογία*, which was deemed essential in teaching a language. The importance of *τεχνολογία* is reflected in a number of MSS containing *schedographies* where we find the phrase, ‘let us start the *technologia* of each word and (thus) its clarification’.²⁷ According to the *Prolegomena Vossiana* of Dionysios Thrax, *Τέχνη*, grammar was considered both a practical and theoretical art. The first part taught the application of the rules and punctuation, while *τεχνολογία* forming the second part, examined the theoretical aspect of the rules. *Τεχνολογῶ*, namely, to provide the rule (*τὸν κανόνα*), was a synonym for *κανονίζω*.²⁸

These teaching devices (*μερισμός*, *ἐπιμερισμός* and *τεχνολογία*), along with other grammatical treatises used independently from each other before the eleventh century, were later consolidated, assimilated, abbreviated²⁹ and brought together under the umbrella of *schedography*, in order to cater for the needs of students of different periods — ‘to adapt the lessons according to the occasion and the audience’, as Konstantinos Laskares (1434-1501) wrote in the Preface to his *Grammar*.³⁰ These tools were adjusted and used by teachers in order to smooth the difficulties their students experienced in their effort to acquire a competent knowledge of Attic Greek. The first difficulty the students faced was ‘to reach the sanctuaries

μὲν ἐστὶν ἡ πρώτη τομὴ πράγματος· ὑπομερισμός (post corr. ex i-) δὲ ὅταν αὐτὸ τὸ μερισθὲν πάλιν ἄλλως μερισθῇ· ἐπιμερισμός δὲ ὅταν τὸ μέρος τοῦ μερισθέντος, εἰς ἕτερον μερισθῇ. P. Canart in his article ‘Un style d’écriture livresque dans les manuscrits chypriotes du XVI^e siècle: La chypriote “bouclée”’, in *La Paléographie grecque et byzantine* (Paris, 1977), pp. 303-318, at 316 identified Romanos Anagnostes as the scribe of the codex. According to Stevenson, *Codices ... Reginae Svecorum*, p. 171, ff. 466^r-467^r contained selections of the lost work of Georgios Choïroboskos, *De Soloecismo et Hysterologia*. On this codex see also C. Constantinides and R. Browning, *Dated Greek Manuscripts from Cyprus to the Year 1570* (Washington, D.C.-Nicosia, 1993), pp. 171-73.

²⁷ Codd. *Vat. gr.* 1527, f. 3^r; *Vat. gr.* 18, f. 1^v; *Vat. Reg. gr. Pio II* 54, f. 54^v; *Marc. gr.* 482 (coll. 290), f. 53^v, *Oxon. Barocc. gr.* 112, f. 2^v: ‘ἥδη δὲ καὶ τῆς κατὰ λέξιν τεχνολογίας καὶ σαφηνείας, ἀρκτέον’. The term *τεχνολογία* in cod. *Vat. gr.* 873, f. 245^r (Zonaras, *Lexicon*, ed. Tittmann, II, col. 1719) is explained as ‘περιποίησις τῆς τῶν λόγων φύσεως, ἐπὶ σκοπῷ τοῦ περιγενέσθαι’.

²⁸ Cf. Anonymous, *Prolegomena Vossiana*, ed. A. Hilgard, in *Grammatici Graeci*, vol. 1.3, pp. 1-10, at 7.19-22: ‘φαμέν καὶ αὐτὴν εἶναι μικτὴν (i.e. τὴν γραμματικὴν)· ἐν μὲν τῷ στίζειν ἀποτελῶ τι καὶ πράττω, τὸ δὲ τεχνολογεῖν θεωρητικόν καὶ τὸ τῆς μεθόδου τῶν κανόνων· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὴν ἀπεφίγναντο τέχνην ποιητικὴν τε καὶ θεωρητικὴν’. Cf. H. Stephanus, ed., *Θησαυρὸς τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Γλώσσης. Thesaurus graecae linguae*, 8 vols. in 9 (Paris, 1831-65), VII, col. 2119: ‘τεχνολογεῖν ῥῆμά τι ἀρ(ud) grammaticos est κανονίζειν’.

²⁹ Konstantinos Laskares, *Proemium ad libros suos de grammatica quod in excusis desideratur*, PG 161, cols. 932-36, at 933: ‘οἱ δὲ πολλῶ μετ’ αὐτοὺς τὰ ἐκείνων συντεμόντες (leg. συντέμνοντες) συνέστειλαν’.

³⁰ Konstantinos Laskares, *Proemium*, PG 161, col. 932: ‘κατὰ τὰς τύχας καὶ τοὺς ἀκροατὰς τὰς παραδόσεις συντάττειν’.

of orthography',³¹ that is, correct spelling. This meant that a student in order to become ὀρθογράφος, competent in orthography, had to exert 'much sweat and toil'.³²

In fact, the mastering of orthography was the primary aim of *schedography*.³³ This becomes evident from the admonition given to the young student in cod. *Vat. gr.* 1953, f. 83^r: 'in order to spell correctly (ὀρθογραφεῖν), young man, it is necessary to be able to cope with *schedography* (σχεδογραφεῖν). Should one rush to write σχέδη without paying attention to orthography, he tries in vain. Therefore, if you choose to spell correctly, pay attention and struggle with all your strength'.³⁴ Inevitably, practice in *schedography* was reflected in the student's orthography.³⁵

The teaching of *schedography*, as we have found in our research, was based on four essential principles of orthography expounded by Ps.-Theodosios in his *Περὶ Γραμματικῆς*,³⁶ and later by Choiroboskos in *Ἐπιμερισμοὶ τοῦ Ψαλτηρίου*³⁷ and by Charax in his Preface to his *Περὶ Ὀρθογρα-*

³¹ Codd. *Vat. Pal. gr.* 92, f. 34^r, *Vat. Reg. gr. Pio II* 54, f. 222^v, *Par. gr.* 2572, f. 32^r: '[παῖδες] εἰς τὰ τῆς ὀρθογραφίας ἄδута καταντήσαιτε (καταντήσετε in *Vat. Reg. gr. Pio II* 54)'.

³² Codd. *Vat. Barb. gr.* 102, f. 115^v and *Vat. Reg. gr. Pio II* 54, f. 198^r: 'ἴσθι ὦ παῖ, ὅτι τὸ ὀρθογραφεῖν, ἴδει κατορθοῦται καὶ ἰδρῶτι πολλῶ· εἰ θέλεις οὖν καὶ σὺ τούτου ἐπιτυχεῖν, ἐπιμελῶς φίλησον ἴδη καὶ κόπους'.

³³ On the relation between *schedography* and orthography see also Michael Psellos, *Letter to Romanos the classmate*, p. 20.4-7: 'φοιτᾶτον παρ' ἡμᾶς νέω περὶ ὀρθογραφίας πονοῦντε ... καὶ σπουδῇ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν χρησίμων γεγραφότες σχεδῶν'.

³⁴ Cod. *Vat. gr.* 1953, f. 83^r: 'τὸ σχεδογραφεῖν ὦ νέε, διὰ τὸ ὀρθογραφεῖν ἐστὶν ἀναγκαῖον· εἰ δέ τις σπεύδει μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ γράφειν [sscr. glossa σχέδη], οὐ σπουδάζει δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ ὀρθογραφεῖν, ἐπὶ κενῷ ἰδίει· τοῖνον καὶ σὺ εἰ αἰρή τὸ ὀρθογραφῆσαι, σπουδάξε καὶ ἀγωνίζου, ὅση σοι ἴς'. The same *schedos* is contained in codd. *Vat. Reg. gr. Pio II* 54, f. 293^r, *Vat. Pal. gr.* 92, f. 34^r, *Vat. Barb. gr.* 102, f. 116^r; cf. its edition (from cod. *Marc. gr.* IX, 14 f. 11^{r-v}, end of fifteenth century), by A. Debiasi Gonzato, 'Osservazioni ad alcuni esercizi schedografici del cd. *Marc. gr.* XI, 16', *RSBN* n.s. 8-9 (1971-72), 109-25 at pp. 115-16.

³⁵ Cod. *Vat. Barb. gr.* 102, f. 129^r: 'ὀλίγον καιρὸν τῷ σχεδογραφεῖν ἐνησχόληται ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ ἀνάλικες καὶ ἀσθενεῖς περὶ τὸ ὀρθογραφεῖν τυγχάνειν καθωμολόγηνται'; cf. the same *schedos* in cod. *Vat. Pal. gr.* 92, f. 73^{r-v} and *Vat. Reg. gr. Pio II* 54, f. 288^r.

³⁶ Ps.-Theodosios, *Grammar*, ed. Götting, p. 62.13-26: 'εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ κανόνες τῆς ὀρθογραφίας τέσσαρες· ἀναλογία, διάλεκτος, ἐτυμολογία καὶ ἱστορία. Καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀναλογίαν κατορθοῦμεν, ὅταν κανόνα ἀποδῶμεν ὥσπερ ἐδηλώσαμεν ἐπὶ τοῦ ταχεῖα. Διάλεκτον δὲ κατορθοῦμεν, ὅταν τὸ ἡμεῖς διὰ τῆς Εἰ διφθόγγου γράφοντες εἴπωμεν, ὅτι οἱ Δωριεῖς ἄμεες λέγουσι καὶ ἡμεῖς τὸ περισσὸν Ε συναίρουντες διφθογγον ἐποιήσαμεν. Ἐτυμολογίαν δὲ κατορθοῦμεν, ὅταν τὸ ἡπειρος διὰ τοῦ η τὴν πρώτην συλλαβὴν καὶ διὰ διφθόγγου τὴν δευτέραν γράφοντες εἴπωμεν· ἄπερος τίς ἐστιν ἡ γῆ, ἡγουν μὴ ἔχουσα πέρας, τροπὴ δὲ τοῦ Α εἰς Η καὶ πλεονασμῷ τοῦ Ι ἡπειρος. Ἱστορίαν δὲ κατορθοῦμεν, ὅταν τὸ χίλια διὰ τοῦ Ι γράφοντες εἴπωμεν· οὕτως αὐτὸ γράφεσθαι βούλεται ἡ παράδοσις' (my italics). Robins's view (*Byzantine Grammarians*, pp. 141 and 147) that *schedography* was based on the division of grammar put forward by Dionysios Thrax is no longer tenable.

³⁷ Georgios Choiroboskos, *Ἐπιμερισμοί*, ed. Th. Gaisford, *Ἐπιμερισμοὶ σὺν Θεῳ τοῦ Ψαλτηρίου ἀπὸ φωνῆς Γεωργίου τοῦ ἐπὶ κλην Χοιροβοσκοῦ*, in *Georgii Choerobosci dictata in Theodosii canones necnon epimerismi in psalmos e codicibus manuscriptis*, vol. 3 (Oxford, 1842), p. 89.15-26.

φίας.³⁸ This tradition continued well into the Palaeologan period, as these rules appear *verbatim* in a few, though representative, MSS of this period containing *schedographies*.³⁹ Accordingly, each word is examined on the basis of the following criteria: (a) ἀναλογία (*analogy*): citation of examples of equivalent words/category; (b) διάλεκτος: different forms of the word found in other Greek dialects (Attic, Ionic, Doric, Aeolic and *koine*)⁴⁰; (c) ἐτυμολογία: the etymology and meaning of a word; and finally (d) ἱστορία: forms of spelling sanctioned by usage and time in the absence of a specific rule. Not all of these aspects are examined in each and every word cited in a *schedography*, nor do they necessarily follow this order. However, the following examples from the analysis of an unpublished *schedography* by an anonymous author, possibly a teacher, contained in cod. Vat. gr. 1527, ff. 75^v-81^v, illustrates the method:

[ἀναλογία and ἐτυμολογία] ἄρωγῇ, πόθεν γίνεται· ἐκ τοῦ ἀρήγω τὸ βοηθῶ· καὶ τροπῇ τοῦ μακροῦ εἰς μακρόν· καὶ ποσαχῶς ἡ τροπὴ τῶν φωνηέντων· τετραχῶς· ἢ τὸ βραχὺ εἰς βραχὺ, ὥς ἐν τῷ Αἴαντι Αἴαντα· Θόαντι Θόαντα· ἢ τὸ μακρόν εἰς μακρόν, ὥς ἐν τῷ ἀρηγός ἀρωγός· καὶ σῆμα σώμα· ἢ τὸ μακρόν εἰς βραχὺ, ὥς ἐν τῷ, Θεητόκος Θεοτόκος· ἢ τὸ βραχὺ εἰς μακρόν, ὥς ἐν τῷ ναὸς νεώς· λαὸς λεώς.⁴¹

[διάλεκτος and ἱστορία] ὑμετέρα πόθεν γίνεται· ἐκ τοῦ ὑμέτερος· τοῦτο δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ὑμεῖς ἀντωνυμίας δευτέρου προσώπου τῶν πληθυντικῶν, τὸ ὕ, ψιλόν· διατί· κατὰ ἱστορίαν· καὶ ἄλλως· τὸ μὲ πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ τὸ ὕ ψιλόν ἀσπάζεται· οἶον, ὑμέναιος ὁ ἐπὶ γάμου ἀδόμενος ὕμνος τοῖς νυμφίοις· ὑμᾶν τὸ λεπτότατον δέρμα καὶ κλίνεται ὑμένος· Ὑμηττός ὁρος ἐν Ἀθήναις· ἐξ οὗ καὶ ὑμήτιον μέλι· ὕμμες ἀντὶ τοῦ ὑμεῖς αἰολικῶς.⁴²

[ἐτυμολογία] βάθρον λέγεται, τὸ θεμέλιον· ἐτυμολογεῖται δέ, παρὰ τὸ βῶ τὸ βαίνω· θεμέλιον δὲ ἐτυμολογεῖται, παρὰ τὸ δέμω τὸ οἰκοδομῶ καὶ κτίζω· δεμέλιον καὶ θεμέλιον· τὸ μῆ, ψιλόν· διατί· τὰ διὰ τοῦ ἑλῖος ὀνόματα, διὰ τοῦ ἑ ψιλοῦ γράφεται· οἶον, ἀεικέλιος· θεμέλιος, καὶ τὰ ὅμοια.⁴³

³⁸ K. Alpers, 'Die griechischen Orthographien', 1-50, esp. pp. 6-7. For shorter references to these four rules of orthography see *Etymologicum Gudianum* ..., ed. F.G. Sturz, *Etymologicum graecae linguae Gudianum* (Leipzig, 1818; repr. Hildesheim, 1973), col. 499.33-40, and *Ἐτυμολογικὸν τὸ μέγα*, ed. F. Sylburg (Leipzig, 1816), col. 740.52-61.

³⁹ Codd. Vat. Pal. gr. 92, f. 10^v; Vat. gr. 18, f. 10^{r-v}; Vat. gr. 890, f. 37^v; Vat. gr. 1527, f. 29^r; Vat. Reg. gr. Pio II 54, f. 72^v; Laur. Plut. 56.17, f. 25^v; Oxon. Barocc. gr. 53, f. 34^v; Oxon. Barocc. gr. 89, ff. 29^v-30^r; Oxon. Barocc. gr. 104, ff. 32^v-33^r; Oxon. Barocc. gr. 112, f. 20^v; Oxon. Seld. supra 19, f. 62^{r-v}. See also Manuel Moschopoulos, *Περὶ σχεδῶν*, ed. R. Stephanus, *Manuelis Moschopuli, De ratione examinandae orationis libellus. Ex bibliotheca regia* (Paris, 1545), p. 50.

⁴⁰ Cf. Michael Psellos, *Grammar*, p. 81.4-6: 'πέντε διαλέκτους, Αἰολικὴν, Ἰωνικὴν, Ἀτθίδαν καὶ Δωριδα καὶ τὴν συνήθη καὶ κοινήν καὶ κατημαζευμένην'.

⁴¹ Cod. Vat. gr. 1527, f. 80^r.16-80^v.1.

⁴² Cod. Vat. gr. 1527, f. 78^r.10-19.

⁴³ Cod. Vat. gr. 1527, f. 77^r.17-22.

[ἱστορία] τί ποίου μέρους λόγου ἐστίν· ὀνόματος· ποίου γένους· οὐδετέρου· τί ὁ κανὼν· οὐκ ἔχει· διατί· παρατηρητέον ὅτι πᾶν οὐδέτερον ἀρσενικῶ παρεσχηματισμένον εἰ μὲν ἰσοσυλλάβως κλίνοιτο τῇ αἰτιατικῇ τοῦ ἀρσενικοῦ, ὁμοφωνεῖ· τὸ σοφὸν καὶ τὸν σοφόν· τὸ εὐγερὼν καὶ τὸν εὐγερὼν· εἰ δὲ περιττοσυλλάβως τῇ κλητικῇ, τὸ ἄρσεν· ὦ ἄρσεν· τὸ σῶφρον, ὦ σῶφρον· τοῦ μέντοι τίς ἡ κλητικὴ εἰ καὶ ἀπέλειψε διὰ σημασίαν, ἀλλ' οὖν τὸ οὐδέτερον ἀπὸ τῆς κλητικῆς κανονίζεται.⁴⁴

For a student's successful advancement in orthography it was imperative that he should pay attention to two further elements which are not included in the aforementioned four principles. These concern the appropriate order of nouns and verbs, the rhythmical order (σύνταξιν εὐρυθμον) and the correct spelling of the ἀντίστοιχα. In addition, the student had to grasp clearly their meaning (νοήματα), and consider them carefully, for despite the similarity of sound, the meaning could be, and in most cases was, intentionally different.⁴⁵ The ἀντίστοιχα were homophone words or phrases, which due to *itacism* and *parechesis*, though written differently were pronounced identically.⁴⁶ The double meaning of homophone words or

⁴⁴ Cod. Vat. gr. 1527, f. 76^v.8-18.

⁴⁵ Cod. Vat. Pal. gr. 92, ff. 124^v-125^r: 'νὺν δέ σοι πάλιν συμβουλευόμεν· ἐπὶ τὸ μελετᾶν τεθεικέναι σκοπὸν, καὶ προσέχειν τῷ γράφειν· καὶ μὴ ἀπροσεκτῶς τὸ γράφειν ποιεῖν καὶ ἀτάκτως· ἀλλ' εὖ μάλα πάντα περιίδων, σύνταξιν εὐρυθμον, καὶ ποῦ δεῖ ταύτην, συντάττειν, καὶ καταλλήλως συντάττειν τὰ τε ὀνόματα, καὶ τὰ ῥήματα. καὶ τὰ ἀντίστοιχα, ὡς κεκανόνισται σοι πολλάκις, γράφειν ἀπταιστί· οὐ μὴν δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ νοεῖν τὰ νοήματα, καὶ ἀκριβῶς σκοπεῖν αὐτά· ἔστι γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς περιφέρεια, τοῦ ὄνου τοῦ Λεύκωνος, καὶ τῶν ῥητῶν τῶν αὐτοῦ· ὡς γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἄλλα μὲν ἔφερεν, ἄλλα δὲ ὁ Λεύκων εἰρήκει, οὕτω καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα· ἄλλα μὲν λέγεται καὶ ἄλλα ἐστί· δεῖ τοίνυν σε σκοπὸν βαλεῖν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, καὶ διερευνᾶν μὴ ἄλλο τι κέκρυπται, καὶ οὐ κριθῇ, ἀλλὰ μέλι τὸ βασταζόμενον· οὕτως δὲ ποιῶν εἰς ἔση τῶν εὐφρόνων'.

Cf. the edition of the same *schedos* by Vassiss, 'τῶν νέων φιλολόγων παλαιόματά', pp. 40 and 41; Theodoros Balsamon, *Epigram* XVI.6-7, ed. K. Horna, 'Die Epigramme des Theodoros Balsamon', *WSt* 25 (1903), 165-217, at p. 184: 'ἡ νοῦς καθαρὸς ἢ σχεδοπλόκων χάρις | τὰς πλεκτάνας λύουσα τῶν νοημάτων'. See also Vassiss, 'Graeca sunt, non leguntur', pp. 9-10. It is interesting that Longibardos's schedographic text, dated to the beginning of the eleventh century is called by him 'περίληψις νοημάτων'; see below, pp. 60-61, with n. 59.

⁴⁶ For the *antistoicha* see M. Treu, 'Antistoichien', *BZ* 5 (1896), 337-38; E. Follieri, 'Ἀντίστοιχα', *Diptycha* 4 (1986-87), 217-28. Cf. also the political verses in a *Lexicon* contained in an unspecified Athonite codex, composed possibly in the beginning of the fifteenth century, ed. M.E. Miller, 'Lexiques grecs inédits', *Annuaire de l'association pour l'encouragement des études grecques en France* 8 (1874), 222-84, at p. 236.197-204: 'Ἀπάρτι δὲ συγγράψω σοι λέξεις τῶν ἀντιστοίχων | Ὡκέως καὶ συνοπτικῶς, ἵνα ταχέως μάθῃς | Ἄπερ οἱ πλείστοι σόλοικα καὶ βάβαρα προφέρουν, | Ὡς μὴ εἰδὼτας τι δηλοῖ λόγος τοῦ ἀντιστοίχου, | Ὅτι δυσνόητά εἰσιν ἐν τισὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα, | Ὅτι πολλάκις ἡ αὐτὴ λέξις πολλὰ σημαίνει, | Διὰ τὴν θέσιν τὴν ποιᾶν καὶ ἀντιστοίχου φράσιν. | Τούτων δὲ τὰ διπλάσματα ἐγὼ σοι σαφηνίσω'. See also Schneider, *Les traités orthographiques*, pp. 705-43. Cf. also the Eirene-Eulogia Choumnaina Palaiologina's words in her letter 'Answer to the First Letter', ed. A. Constantinides Hero (with intr. by J. Meyendorff), *A Woman's Quest for Spiritual Guidance: the Correspondence of Princess Irene Eulogia Choumnaina Palaiologina* (Brookline, Mass., 1986), p. 26.4-7, ἵνα καὶ ἄμφω τὰ κατ' ἐμὲ καταλάβῃς, τὴν τε ἰδιωτείαν καὶ ἀμαθίαν εἰς τὴν ἐπιστήμην τῆς γραμματικῆς ἐκ τῶν ἀντιστοίχων καὶ τῶν τόνων. On Eustathios and schedography,

phrases (διπλοί,⁴⁷ διπλάσματα,⁴⁸ λόγοι δεδιπλασμένοι⁴⁹) undoubtedly created confusion in the mind of students and puzzled them. Hence, they had to learn that in order to spell correctly, they had to grasp not only the sound, but most importantly, the meaning of a word on the basis of its spelling, syntax and/or context. Therefore, a dictated word, if phonetically sounded the same, as a result of *parechesis*, it required ingenuity to ascertain its meaning (νόημα) and therefore correct spelling. Eustathios of Thessalonike (1115-95/7) in his criticisms of this method described the νοήματα as ‘riddles propounded by those who dealt with *schedography*’.⁵⁰ Similarly, Nikolaos Mesarites (1163/4-post 1220), speaking about the Church of the Holy Apostles and its school, stated that advanced students ‘wove webs of νοήματα’ of ἀντίστοιχα, thus ‘uttering other things with their tongue while they had other in their mind’.⁵¹

There were four sequences (ἀκολουθίαι) of ἀντίστοιχα: (a) *omicron* against *omega* (e.g., ὄντως/ὄντος, οὔτως/οὔτος, ἰών/ἰών/ἰόν/ἰών/ἰών or ἔρωσ/ἔρος); (b) *epsilon* against the *alpha-iota* diphthong (e.g., ἐν ἡ/αἰνεῖ/αἰνή/ἐνί, ἔτι/ἔτει/αἴτι/αἴτει); (c) *iota* against *eta* or the *epsilon-iota* diphthong (e.g., δῆ/δεῖ, οἰκία/οἰκήα/οἰκεία, πάλιν/πάλην/πάλλειν); and (d) *upsilon* against the *omicron-iota* diphthong (e.g., πολύ/πολλοί/πωλεῖ).⁵²

see F. Nousia, ‘An Unpublished Schedos on Demosthenes attributed to Eustathios of Thessalonike’, in the *Proceedings of the VIIIth International Colloquium of Greek Palaeography* (De Gruyter, forthcoming).

⁴⁷ Gregorios Pardos, *On Syntax*, ed. Donnet, *Περὶ συντάξεως λόγου*, p. 207.410-11: ‘ταῦτα νῦν μόνα παραλάβωμεν, ὡς χρήσιμα καὶ εἰς τὴν διπλοὴν τῆς σχεδικῆς πλεκτάνης’. It is interesting that the noun *διπλόη* was used in oracles (cf. Plutarch, 2.407c), where ambiguity and obscurity was intentional.

⁴⁸ See above, p. 57, n. 46.

⁴⁹ Cf. Miller, ‘Lexiques grecs inédits’, pp. 236.210, 248.320: ‘πνευμάτων ἀντιστοιχῶν τε λόγους δεδιπλασμένους’.

⁵⁰ Eustathios, *Commentary to Odyssey*, ad ι 366, ed. J.G. Stallbaum, *Eustathii Archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam ad finem exempli romani editi*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1825; repr. Hildesheim, 1970), p. 348.35-37: ‘οἱ δὲ σχεδὶκά λαλοῦντες ἀκολούθως καὶ αὐτοὶ νοήματα καλοῦσιν ἅπερ γριφεύονται, διὰ τὸ καὶ τὸν γραμματέα παῖδα μὴ τοῦ λεγομένου ἀλλὰ τοῦ νοουμένου γίνεσθαι’; see below, p. 67, n. 93. On the distinction between ‘νόημα’ and ‘λεγόμενον’, see Polemis, ‘Μία ὑπόθεσις’, 558-565, esp. pp. 565-60.

⁵¹ G. Downey, ‘Nikolaos Mesarites: Description of the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople’, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 47/6 (1957), 857-924, esp. pp. 899 (866 trans.): ‘ἑτέροι οἱ καὶ πρὸς τὰ μείζω καὶ τελεώτερα πεφθακότες πλοκάς συνείρουσι νοημάτων καὶ τὸν τῶν γεγραμμένων νοῦν ἐξ τὸ γρίφον μετασκευάζουσιν, ἄλλα μὲν λαλοῦντες γλώσσησιν, ἄλλα δὲ κεύθοντες ἐν φρεσίν’ (my italics). See also B. Flusin, ‘Nicolas Mézarites. Éthopée d’un astrologue qui ne put devenir patriarche’, in *Mélanges Gilbert Dagron*, eds. V. Déroche, D. Feis-sel, C. Morrisson, C. Zuckerman (Paris, 2002), pp. 221-42; and below, pp. 69-71.

⁵² Manuel Moschopoulos, *Περὶ σχεδῶν*, p. 4: ‘Τέσσαρές εἰσιν ἀκολουθίαι τῶν ἀντιστοιχῶν. Ἡ διὰ τοῦ ὀ μικροῦ, ἥ ἀντίκειται ἡ διὰ τοῦ ὦ μεγάλου. Ἡ διὰ τοῦ ἔ ψιλοῦ, ἥ ἀντίκειται ἡ διὰ τῆς αἰ διφθόγγου. Ἡ διὰ τοῦ ῖ ωτα, ἥ ἀντίκειται ἡ διὰ τοῦ ῖτα, ἥ διὰ τῆς ἔ καὶ ῖωτα διφθόγγου. Καὶ ἡ διὰ τοῦ υῖ ψιλοῦ, ἥ ἀντίκειται

In the course of time *schedography* underwent three main stages of development between the beginning of eleventh and thirteenth century.⁵³ It was in mid-twelfth century that the method reached certain extremes of elaboration. The earliest extant example of *schedography* is that of Longibardos, who was most probably active in the beginning of the eleventh century (though Festa places him between tenth and eleventh century).⁵⁴ The work appears under different titles including the terms *παρεκβόλαιον* and *σχεδογραφία*.⁵⁵ Its aim was to provide a useful manual on *syntax*

ἡ διὰ τῆς ὁ καὶ ἰωτα διφθόγγου'. See also Schneider, *Les traités orthographiques*, pp. 737-38; Th. Antonopoulou, 'The Orthographic Kanons of Nicetas of Heraclea', *JÖB* 53 (2003), 171-85 at p. 177.

⁵³ On *schedography* see G. Schirò, 'La schedografia a Bizanzio nei Sec. XI-XII e la scuola dei SS. XL Martiri', *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata*, n.s. III (1949), 11-29; Lemerle, *Cinq études*, pp. 235-41; Hunger, *Literatur*, vol. II, pp. 22-29; Koukoules, *Βίος*, pp. 110-12.

⁵⁴ On Longibardos see N. Festa, 'Note preliminari su Longibardos', *BZ* 16 (1907), 431-53; idem, 'Longibardos', *Byz* 6 (1931), 101-222, providing an edition of his *Παρεκβόλαιον* based on *Vind. Phil. gr.* 321, ff. 151^r-158^v, which Festa considered as the original version of the text. Two additional, very similar codices were known to Festa, *Laur. Plut.* 55.7, ff. 338^r-346^r (345^r-353^r modern numbering) and *Vat. gr.* 883, 45^r-64^v, the first dated to the fifteenth and the second to the middle of the fourteenth century, which contain lengthier versions of the text. Festa came to the conclusion that these two later versions represent an expanded and modified transmission of the original text in response to the needs of the students in this period. Longibardos's *schedography* is also contained in two other codices, unknown to Festa, *Marc. gr.* 620 (coll. 890) ff. 46-72, dated 1325 according to E. Mioni, *Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum: Codices graeci manuscripti*, Thesaurus Antiquus, vol. II: *Codices 300-625* (Rome, 1985), pp. 545-48 at 546; and *Cremon.* 160, f. 89^v (excerpt), dated to the fifteenth century according to E. Martini, *Catalogo di manoscritti greci esistenti nelle biblioteche italiane*, vol. 1.2 (Milan, 1896), pp. 302-13, and to the first two decades of the fifteenth century on the basis of the watermarks: M. Manfredini, 'Un codice copiato da Isidoro di Kiev: *Cremon.* 160', *Atti Accademia Pontaniana*, n.s. 51 (2002), 247-280, esp. pp. 247, 249 and 263. See also D. Harlfinger, 'Codices Cremonenses Graeci', in *I manoscritti greci tra riflessione e dibattito*, Atti del V colloquio internazionale di Paleografia Greca (Cremona, 4-10 ottobre 1998), ed. G. Prato (Florence, 2000), II, pp. 763-69, at 765-66. On Isidore of Kiev, see E. Trapp et al., eds., *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, 4 (Vienna, 1980), no. 8300, pp. 130-31; E. Gamillscheg and D. Harlfinger, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten, 800-1600*, vol. I: *Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Grossbritanniens* (Vienna, 1981), no. 155; vol. II: *Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Frankreichs* (Vienna, 1989), no. 205; vol. III: *Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Roms mit dem Vatikan* (Vienna, 1997), no. 258; Ch. Dendrinos, *An annotated critical edition (editio princeps) of Emperor Manuel II Palaeologus' treatise On the Procession of the Holy Spirit* (PhD thesis, Royal Holloway, University of London, 1996), pp. lx-lxiii. Longibardos's *Παρεκβόλαιον* was also transmitted in *Esc. A. IV.* 17 which was destroyed in a fire in 1671 (on this ms see, G. de Andrés, *Catálogo de los códices griegos desaparecidos de la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial* [El Escorial, 1968], p. 28). On Longibardos's *Παρεκβόλαιον* see also Lemerle, *Cinq Études*, pp. 238-39; Vassilakis, 'Graeca sunt, non leguntur', p. 10 with n. 33; Garzya, 'Per l'erudizione scolastica', p. 145.

⁵⁵ In *Cod. Vind. Phil. gr.* 321, f. 151^r the text is mutilated in the beginning. In *cod. Laur. Plut.* 55.7, f. 338^r/345^r we read: 'Παρεκβόλαια περί συντάξεως καὶ ἀντιστοιχίων πάνυ ὠφέλιμα τοῦ σοφωτάτου ἀνδρῶν Λογγιβάρδου'; *Vat. gr.* 883, f. 45^r: 'Τοῦ σοφωτάτου καὶ λογιωτάτου Λογγιβάρδου τοῦ μακαρίτου παρεκβόλαιον ὠφέλιμον σχεδογραφίας'; cf. Festa, 'Note', p. 432; *Marc. gr.* 620 (coll.

and *antistoicha*, the latter being always indispensable in every *shedography*. As far as the term *παρεκβόλαιον* is concerned, Festa connects it to the feminine, *παρεκβολαί*, used by Eustathios of Thessalonike in the title to his commentaries on Homer and Pindar,⁵⁶ but also on Dionysios Periegetes.⁵⁷ The term means ‘digression’ from the main subject, namely the ancient text itself, by way of association with other elements (grammatical, lexicographical, phonetic, historical and geographical information, etc.) not necessarily connected with the text itself, thus resulting in the accumulation of disparate material.⁵⁸

According to Longibardos, his textbook could be called either *ἐκλογή λέξεων* (selection of words), or *περίληψις νοημάτων* (digest of meanings/ideas/concepts), or ‘anything else one would choose to call it’, as he was not prepared to enter into an argument over the title of his composition. His main concern was to draft a text, which to all intents and purposes looked ancient, in so far as vocabulary, grammar and syntax were concerned, but which was composed by him and included his own ideas.⁵⁹ This inevitably presupposes mastery of vocabulary, grammar and syntax.

890), f. 46^r: ‘Παρεκβόλαιον τοῦ σοφωτάτου Λογγιβάρδου τοῖς σχεδογράφοις πάνν ὠφέλιμον’. In Cod. Cremon. 160, f. 89^v only one excerpt is preserved which corresponds to the final part of the work (= Festa, ‘Longibardos’, 159.14 – 163.12), and thus there is no title.

⁵⁶ Festa, ‘Longibardos’, p. 106. It is interesting that Eustathios in his *Preface to the Pindaric digressions*, 4.2, ed. A. Kambylis, *Eustathios von Thessalonike: Prooimion zum Pindarkommentar: Einleitung, kritischer Text, Indices* (Göttingen, 1991), considers Pindar’s digressions as a proof of his erudition and competence as an author, rather than a flaw: ‘καὶ ἔστιν οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἀμάρτημα γραφῆς τῷ Πινδάρῳ, ἀλλὰ τέχνης μέθοδος παρεκβατική χαρτὰ ποιούσης αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ τοῦ λόγου ἄρμα ἐλαυνούσης μακρότερον πρὸς ἐνδείξιν πολυμαθείας τε καὶ ἰσχύος γραφικῆς’. Thus, Eustathios digresses in his own works too, imitating Pindar.

⁵⁷ Eustathios, *Commentary to Dionysios Periegetes’s Orbis descriptio*, ed. C. Müller, *Εὐσταθίου Παρεκβολαί*, in *Geographi Graeci minores*, vol. II (Paris, 1882), pp. 201–407, at 201. See also, *LBG*, Fasc. 6 (Vienna, 2007), p. 1231.

⁵⁸ Festa, ‘Longibardos’, pp. 107, 108. Cf. Ioannes Pediasimos, *Commentary*, preserved in *Vat. gr. 2299*, f. 46^v, also entitled *Αἱ παρεκβολαί τοῦ Βουλγαρίας χαρτοφύλακος*. Gallavotti, ‘Nota sulla schedografia’, p. 35 (though he is wrongly citing the folio numbering) states that the schedographic works bearing Pediasimos’s name could constitute Class IV of the schedographic tradition. An edition of Pediasimos’s schedographic secular text is under preparation. For the other three classes, as divided by Keaney, ‘Moschopulea’, pp. 304–11, see below, p. 79. Cf. H.G. Liddell, R. Scott and H. Stuart Jones, eds., *A Greek-English Lexicon with a Supplement* (Oxford, 1968¹²), p. 1334: ‘compilation of a set of critical remarks, as those of Eustathios on Homer, Pindar, Dionysios Periegetes’.

⁵⁹ Festa, ‘Longibardos’, pp. 104–106 and p. 113.8–17: ‘τὸν ὄκνον ἀποτιναζάμενοι καὶ τὸν ἀχθεινὸν τῆς νωθρείας καὶ νωχελίας καὶ νωθείας λίθον σκοπῶν ἐξορίσαντες οἰκείων, νοθείᾳ λόγων παλαιῶν ἑνασχολησόμεθα, τὸν μὲν νοθεύοντες τῶν λόγων, τὸν δὲ καὶ λογισμῶν προφέροντες οἰκείων, τὸν δὲ καὶ βιβλίων ἱστορικῶν ἐρανίζοντες, ἄλλον δὲ μυσταγωγῶν ἀκούσαντες ἡμῶν. εἰρήσθω δὲ τοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον ᾧ μὲν ἐκλογή λέξεων, ᾧ δὲ περίληψις νοημάτων, ἄλλω δὲ εἴ τι αἰρετόν· περὶ γὰρ τῶν τῆς κλήσεως λόγων οὐ διαφέρομαι τοῖς ὡς θέλουσιν αὐτὸ καλεῖν ἡρημένοις’ (my italics). Cf. the term ‘τυμβωρυχία’ and the verb ‘τυμβωρυχῶ’ for the appropriation of the ancient texts, used by Synesios of Cyrene

Longibardos states that for such a composition he collected material from books of history and what himself had learned from his own teachers.⁶⁰ His aim was to assemble as much lexicographical material as possible from his sources, presenting them in the form of admonitions, which would prove useful to students who wished to expand their vocabulary. Despite a semblance of continuity, the text actually lacks cohesion. It is lengthy, written consecutively with very few paragraph divisions, with lists of words, names, places grouped in most cases (a) on the basis of *antistoi-cha*⁶¹ (word-play [e.g., λόγον and λόγων⁶²; ὁδοιπορικῶς and ὠδοιπορηκῶς⁶³]; (b) by their endings (referring to grammatical rules, cited in grammatical manuals. Longibardos however used only the examples and not the rules themselves. He also did not give any references in the margin as will be the case in later *schedographies*) (e.g., comparatives in -ότερος and -ώτερος [e.g., συνετωτέρων – σπουδαιοτέρων – ἐλλογιμωτέρων]⁶⁴, adverbs in -ί [e.g., ἀπονητί – ἀκονιστί – ἀμαχητί – ἀνιδιτί]⁶⁵ and -εῖ [e.g., ἀμαχεῖ – ἀμοχηθεῖ]);⁶⁶ (c) indicating the importance of prepositions that when compounded with verbs modify their meaning (e.g., ὑπερτίθου, ἐπιτίθου, συντίθου, ἀποτίθου)⁶⁷. The work was compiled in such a way that could be easily memorized,

and by Nikolaos Kataphloron respectively. Nikephoros Basilakes used the verb 'τοιχωρυχέω' for the usurpation of his own verses by his contemporaries (all these examples are cited by M. Loukaki, 'Τυμβωρύχοι καὶ σκυλευτὲς νεκρῶν: Οἱ ἀπόψεις τοῦ Νικολάου Καταφλῶρον γιὰ τὴν ρητορικὴ καὶ τοὺς ρήτορες στὴν Κωνσταντινούπολη τοῦ 12^{ου} αἰῶνα', in *Σύμμεικτα* 14 [2001], 143-66 at pp. 154, 163 with nn. 50 and 52). Theodoros Metochites, *Ἐπιστάσις καὶ κρίσις τῆς τῶν δύο ῥητόρων εὐδοκίμης-σεως τοῦ τε Δημοσθένους καὶ Ἀριστείδου*, ed. M. Gigante, *Saggio critico su Demostene e Aristide* (Milan, 1969), XXXIII. 22, p. 80, uses the term 'τυμβωρύχος' to refer to those who though imitating the ancient models fail to assimilate, integrate and incorporate properly the elements they had borrowed for their own works. Cf. the admonition given in the text entitled 'Περὶ τῶν ἐπιλαμβανομένων οὐκ ὀρθῶς καὶ νέων καὶ παλαιῶν σοφῶν', published by I. Ševčenko, *Études sur la polémique entre Théodore Métochite et Nicéphore Choumnos* (Brussels, 1962), 287-96, where 'the anonymous author encourages his addressees to find their own ways of expressing their thoughts, instead of slavishly imitating old patterns of style', cited by I.D. Polemis, 'The Treatise On Those Who Unjustly Accuse Wise Men, of the Past and Present: A New Work by Theodore Metochites?', *BZ* 102.1 (2009), 203-17, at 211.

⁶⁰ See above, n. 59.

⁶¹ Festa, 'Longibardos', p. 107.

⁶² Festa, 'Longibardos', p. 112.12-13.

⁶³ Festa, 'Longibardos', p. 126.8-9.

⁶⁴ Festa, 'Longibardos', p. 112.5-6. On the left margin at the head of the list of names in -αίων, we have in red ink: ἀρχὴ τῶν διὰ τοῦ αἰῶν ὀνομάτων τῶν διὰ τῆς αἰ διφθόγγου γραφομένων, referring to the endings with diphthong -αι. While further down, where the names in -εων are given, the title of the section is ἀρχὴ τῶν ψιλῶν, referring this time to the short -ε of the ending -εων (e.g. in cod. *Laur. Plut.* 55.7, on f. 350^v; cf. Festa, 'Longibardos', pp. 148 and 149).

⁶⁵ Festa, 'Longibardos', p. 112.22-23.

⁶⁶ Festa, 'Longibardos', pp. 112.23-113.1.

⁶⁷ Festa, 'Longibardos', p. 124.6-7.

provided the text was grouped or divided into paragraphs, as it appears in Festa's edition, thus enabling the student to become adept in orthography and syntax (as the title of the work *Παρεκβόλαια περι συντάξεως καὶ ἀντιστοίχων* denotes),⁶⁸ and to express himself with accuracy and competence.

Longibardos's collection of words seems to have been well-known. Apart from the manuscript evidence, it appears in literary sources. Anna Komnene (1083-1153/4) refers to τοὺς λεγομένους Λογγιβάρδους ('the so-called Longibardos' or 'followers of Longibardos') as one of the compilers of such 'collections of every kind of words', along with 'a certain Stylianos', or 'followers of Stylianos' (Στυλιανὸς τινὰς) and others, including members of the clergy of Saint Sophia.⁶⁹ At the time she was composing the *Alexiad* (ca. 1148), Anna lamented the neglect of the study of literature, grammar, the great poets and prose writers, along with the experience emanating from them, echoing in this Dionysios Thrax's definition of grammar: 'the experience one derives from the study of poets and prose writers'.⁷⁰ These aspects of education, Anna says, 'were not considered even as of

⁶⁸ Festa, 'Longibardos', p. 107.

⁶⁹ Anna Komnene, *Alexiad*, XV. 7.9, I, p. 485.19-23: 'παρίημι δὲ Στυλιανὸς τινὰς καὶ τοὺς λεγομένους Λογγιβάρδους καὶ ὅσους ἐπισυναγωγὴν ἐτεχνάσαντο παντοδαπῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ τοὺς Ἀττικοὺς καὶ (τοὺς) γεγονότας τοῦ ἱεροῦ καταλόγου τῆς μεγάλης παρ' ἡμῖν ἐκκλησίας, ὧν παρίημι τὰ ὀνόματα'. Though we have no biographical details on Stylianos, two different *schede* bearing the name of their composer, 'τοῦ κυροῦ Στυλιανοῦ' are contained in codd. *Pal. gr.* 92, f. 194^v and *Vat. Reg. gr. Pio II* 54, f. 394^r. In addition, Christophoros of Mitylene mentions twice in his *Poems* (9 and 10) a certain Stylianos who was *proximos* in the school of St Theodoros of Sphorakion, pp. 5-6. See also, Agapitos, 'Anna Komnene', esp. pp. 98-101. Concerning Longibardos, it is not certain whether by 'the so-called Longibardoi' Anna was referring to the name of a certain person, or she used this expression as a generic reference to his Italian provenance: see Festa, 'Longibardos', pp. 102-103. A certain Ioannes Longibardos is the addressee of one of Psellos's letters, *Oratoria Minora*, 18, pp. 65-69, *Εἰς τὸν Λογγιβάρδον Ἰωάννην καταναγκάζοντα αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ ἐρμηνεύσαι τάχιον τὰ μαθήματα*. Whether there is a connection first between Anna's Longibardos and 'ours' and whether Ioannes Longibardos mentioned by Psellos refers also to this one, or to Ioannes Italos, we cannot tell at this stage. See also R. Anastasi, 'Ancora su Anna Comnena e la Schedografia', *Quaderni del Siculorum Gymnasium* 15 (1985), 77-95. For the possibility of the Italo-Greek provenance of Longibardos, see G. Schirò, 'Ἡ Βυζαντινὴ Λογοτεχνία τῆς Σικελίας καὶ τῆς Κάτω Ἰταλίας', *Ἑλληνικά* 17 (1962), 170-87, at 182 and Fr. Mosino, 'Ibico e Ippi', *Quaderni di Cultura Classica*, n.s. 21.3 (1985), 125-26, where the author underlines the South-Italian origin of Longibardos and the Stylianoi (originated in Stilo in Calabria), and argues that Longibardos's commentary gives the impression of an Italian-Greek provenance. On the schedographic tradition in Otranto, see Silvano, 'Schedografia bizantina', 121-67.

⁷⁰ Anna Komnene, *Alexiad*, XV. 7.9, I, p. 485.23-25: 'οὐδ' ἐν δευτέρῳ λόγῳ τὰ περὶ τούτων τῶν μετρώρων καὶ ποιητῶν καὶ αὐτῶν συγγραφέων καὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τούτων ἐμπειρίας'. Dionysios Thrax, *Τέχνη*, p. 5: 'Γραμματικὴ ἐστὶν ἐμπειρία τῶν παρὰ ποιηταῖς τε καὶ συγγραφεῶν ὡς 'ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ λεγομένων'; cf. ed. and trans. by Lallot, *La grammaire*, p. 42; Callipo, *Dionisio Trace*, p. 56. See also V. Law, *The History of Linguistics in Europe from Plato to 1600* (Cambridge, 2003), p. 55; cf. Anastasi, 'Comnena e la Schedografia', p. 87; E. Fryde, *The Early Palaeologan Renaissance (1261-c.*

secondary importance; the interest at the time was simply amusements'.⁷¹ Anna's criticism most probably refers to the over-elaboration of *schedography*, which, as mentioned above, culminated in the middle of the twelfth century and was carried to extremes with the introduction of puns.⁷² In fact, this trend was not a novelty. Already Ioannes Mauropous (end 10th c. – post 1085?) voiced his disapproval at the disregard of the grammatical rules and the obscurity of the language used in *schedographies*, and went on to distinguish between a *logographos* (prosewriter), who delighted in clarity of expression, and a *schedographos* whose aim was the opposite.⁷³

This development in *schedography* stipulated the acquisition by the student of a rich vocabulary from the ready-made lists of words (like those of Longibardos), before proceeding to the next stage of his studies, which involved playing with words by making use of the vast vocabulary he accumulated. The method adopted at this second stage consisted of exercises in which the rules of grammar and syntax were intentionally transgressed with the aim of producing a text incorrectly composed, as Eustathios of Thessalonike confirms, in order to test the student's ability.⁷⁴ Thus the words were either joined incorrectly, or intertwined with others, or separated by others, thus presenting a different reading and meaning. An example is offered in *Vat. Pal. gr.* 92, ff. 132^v-133^r, containing a *schedos* by an anonymous composer, drafted especially for the advanced students to be examined on it on competition day:

1360) (Leiden – Boston – Cologne, 2000), p. 41; Robins, *The Byzantine Grammarians*, pp. 127-29, 147.

⁷¹ Anna Komnene, *Alexiad*, XV, 7.9, I, p. 485.25: 'πεττεία δὲ τὸ σπούδασμα καὶ ἄλλὰ τα ἔργα ἀθέμιτα'.

⁷² Cf. Eustathios, *Commentary to Iliad*, ad Ω 112, ed. M. van der Valk, *Eustathii Archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes*, vol. IV (Leiden, 1987), p. 877.18: 'τοῖς παίζειν τὰ σχεδικά ἐθέλουσιν'. For the over-elaboration, the embellishment ('κομμωτικὸν τῶν ὀνομάτων') of the speech as a phenomenon of the twelfth-century rhetoric which is evident also in *schedography* — one of the preparatory stages for rhetoric — see Loukaki, 'Τυμβωρύχοι', pp. 157-59. For the relation between riddle and rhetoric see P. Roilos *Amphoteroglossia: A Poetics of the Twelfth-Century Medieval Greek Novel* (Washington, D.C. – Cambridge, Mass. – London, 2005), pp. 140-43 with nn. 119-29; I. Gregoriades, 'Τὰ βυζαντινὰ λογοπαίγνια καὶ ἡ θύραθεν ρητορική κατά τον δωδέκατο αἰώνα', *Ἑλληνικά* 47.2 (1997), 289-97.

⁷³ Ioannes Mauropous, *Works*, no. 33, p. 18. 30-32; PG 120, col. 1149: 'τὸ γὰρ σαφές τε καὶ πρόδηλον ἐν λόγοις λογογράφοις ἥδιστον, οὐ σχεδογράφοις'. Cf. Lemerle, *Cinq Études*, p. 240.

⁷⁴ Eustathios, *Commentary to Odyssey*, ad ι 366, vol. I, p. 348.29. For the obscurity as a way to single out the serious student, see I. Sluiter, 'Commentaries and the Didactic Tradition', in *Commentaries – Kommentare*, ed. G.W. Most (Göttingen, 1999), pp. 173-205, at 180 and 186.

Original version in Vat. Pal. gr. 92

ἐκ παραινετικῶν, λόγον ἀμιλλητήριον,
| **ρήτων, νέων** δέχου χορὲ, υἱὲ ζυγὸν παι-
δεῖ(ας) | ἀνάλαβε **ἐξέτι** νέων **ἀν' ὧμον**· καὶ τὸ
ἀντέχεσθαι | **αὐτῆς** διαπαντὸς **ἴδη ἡνεκῶς**
μὴ **ἀπόθου**, | ἂν γάρ τι μίσος πρὸς ἔργα
ἐπίπον' **εἰ** ἔχων, | ἥκιστ' αἶνον ὡς νωθρός,
καὶ **ἐταῖρος** τῷ, | ῥαθυμεῖν λάβης· μὴ μάτην
μίσει, τὸν διηρ-τισμένον **πη, λῖν**, εἰ μὴ
Θ(εὸν) **βούλει** εὐρεῖν, **τ(ὼν)** | **αὐτῶν** σοι
ἐχθρόν (ex ἐχθρῶν)· μὴ δ' **αἴτη** αἴτιος ἔσο
| **λυπῶν, ἀνημμένον** γὰρ δεικνύει καθ'
ἑαυτοῦ | ἐπ' **ὀργισμῶν** ὁ τοῦτο ποιῶν,
τὸν **ὑπὲρ ἄνω** | πάντων φλογμόν· ποίει
σεαυτὸν συναγωγῇ || (f. 133^v) προσφιλή,
καὶ **μεγιστᾶν** ταπείνου, ὅπως μὴ
εὐ-ρήσεις πολλὰ **πη, κράτα**, λυποῦντα
σε· ἄρκοῦσι ταῦτα πρὸς δοκιμὴν τοῖς
τρίτοις.

Version with possible corrections

ἐκ παραινετικῶν λόγων, ἀμιλλητήριον
ρήτὸν νέον, δέχου χορὲ, υἱὲ ζυγὸν παι-
δεῖας ἀνάλαβε, **ἐξαίτει** νέων **ἀνόμων**· καὶ τὸ
ἀντέχεσθαι **αὐτοῖς** διαπαντὸς **ἢ διηνεκῶς**
μὴ **ἀπώθου**, ἂν γάρ τι μίσος πρὸς ἔργα
ἐπίπον' **ἢ** ἔχων, ἥκιστ' αἶνον ὡς νωθρός,
καὶ **ἐτέρως** τῷ ῥαθυμεῖν λάβης· μὴ μάτην
μίσει τὸν διηρτισμένον **πυλεῖν**, εἰ μὴ
Θεὸν **βούλοι** εὐρεῖν, **τὸν αὐτὸν** σοι
ἐχθρόν· μὴ δ' **ἔτι** αἴτιος ἔσο
λοιπῶν, ἀνειμένον γὰρ δεικνύει καθ'
ἑαυτοῦ ἐπ' **ὀργισμὸν** ὁ τοῦτο ποιῶν,
τὸν **ὑπεράνω** πάντων φλογμόν· ποίει
σεαυτὸν συναγωγῇ || προσφιλή
καὶ **μέγιστα νῆ** ταπείνου, ὅπως μὴ
εὐρήσης πολλὰ **πικρά τὰ** λυποῦντα
σε· ἄρκοῦσι ταῦτα πρὸς δοκιμὴν τοῖς
τρίτοις.

It was this complicated word-web that the student had to unravel and correct. Eventually, attention was paid only to the external intertwined structure of a text, on the grounds of homophony, neglecting its essence, namely, its meaning. Such a trend altered *schedography*, from an exercise aiming at teaching the grammatical structures and style⁷⁵ with simplicity and directness⁷⁶ to what would commonly be known as schedographic riddles or convolutions (σχεδικοί γρίφοι or ἔλιγμοί⁷⁷), coils (σχεδικαὶ πλεκτάναι⁷⁸),

⁷⁵ According to Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, 1.5.1, I, pp. 122-23: 'iam cum oratio tris habeat virtutes, ut emendata, ut dilucida, ut ornata sit (quia dicere apte, quod est praecipuum, plerique ornatui subiciunt), totidem vitia, quae sunt supra dictis contraria: emendate loquendi regulam, quae grammatices prior pars est, examinet' (my italics) ('style in general has three virtues: correctness, clarity, and ornament (appropriateness, which is of prime importance, is commonly put under "ornament")').

⁷⁶ See Lemerle, *Cinq Études*, p. 218, with reference to Psellos's remarks that his students preferred the new to old rhetoric, *Orat.* 25, *Oratoria Minora*, p. 89.2 (Lemerle's reference was made to *Vat. gr.* 672, ff. 180-184 as the work was then unedited).

⁷⁷ Cf. Eustathios, *Commentary to Iliad*, ad Λ 559, vol. III, p. 253.14: 'ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκδιδόντων ἄρτι τοὺς σχεδικούς γρίφους'; ad Λ 781, vol. III, p. 327.15-16: 'ὁ γοῦν τὰ σχεδικὰ γριφεύων μάμην (*pro ὕμνῳ* ἄμμιν) ἂν παρακούσοι ἐνταῦθα οἷα τῶν τοιούτων ἐθάς'; idem, *Commentary to Odyssey*, ad ι 366, vol. I, p. 348.29-31: 'οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι ... γρίφους ἐμελέτησαν πλέκειν οὐς ὠνόμασαν σχέδη' (my italics).

⁷⁸ Theodoros Hexapterygos, *Epitaphios in Stephanum Choregetopolium*, ed. A. Sideras, 'Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἦτοι τοῦ Ἐξαπτερύγου κύρ Θεοδώρου ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ Χορηγητοπο(ύ)λου κύρ Στεφάνου', in *25 unedierte byzantinische Grabreden* (Thessalonike, 1990), pp. 225-46, at 234.7: 'τὰς σχεδικὰς εἰσδύνει πλεκτάνας', p. 245.15-16: 'οἱ περὶ τὰς σχεδικὰς πλεκτάνας'; Gregorios Pardos, *On Syntax*,

twists (σχεδικὰ πλέγματα⁷⁹), puzzles (σχεδικὰ αἰνίγματα⁸⁰), labyrinths (σχεδουργικοί λαβυρίνθοι⁸¹), reefs (ὑφαλοι), mine (σχεδικὴ μεταλλεία⁸²), even half-beast (σχεδικὴ μιζοθηρία⁸³)! Among the most famous representatives of this style of *schedography* are Theodoros Prodromos (ca. 1100-ca. 1156/58 or 1170?),⁸⁴ his teacher Stephanos Skylitzes (born in 1096) and his own stu-

p. 207.410-11: 'ταῦτα νῦν μόνα παραλάβωμεν, ὡς χρήσιμα καὶ εἰς τὴν διπλοὴν (sic) τῆς σχεδικῆς πλεκτάνης' (my italics).

⁷⁹ Michael Choniates, *Schedos*, ed. S.P. Lampros, *Μιχαὴλ Ἀκομινάτου τοῦ Χωνιάτου τὰ σφωζόμενα*, vol. 2 (repr. Groningen, 1968), pp. 358-68, at 365.13: 'τῶν σχεδικῶν πλεγμάτων'. His *schedos*, composed in Kea ca. 1205, is based on word play. On this *schedos*, see I.D. Polemis, 'Σχόλια σὲ δύο κείμενα τοῦ Μιχαὴλ Χωνιάτη', in *Εὐεργεσίη. Τόμος Χαρακτήριος στὸν Παναγιώτη Ἱ. Κοντὸ* [= Παρουσία 12-13, 2004-2005], eds. I.K. Promponas and P. Valavanis, vol. A' (Athens, 2006), pp. 413-22.

⁸⁰ Eustathios, *Commentary to Iliad*, ad E 902, vol. II, p. 227.16: 'οἱ τρόφιμοι τῶν σχεδικῶν αἰνιγμάτων'; idem, *Orat.* 7, ed. P. Wirth, *Eustathii Thessalonicensis opera minora* (Berlin – New York, 2000), pp. 100-140, at 131.23-24: 'τὴν καὶ νῦν αἰνιγματικὴν δέησι πλέξασθαι τὴν ἐν σχεδικοῖς ἐλιγμοῖς'; Nikolaos Mesarites, *Epitaphios in Joannem Mesaritem*, ed. A. Heisenberg, *Quellen und Studien zur spätbyzantinischen Geschichte* (ed. H.-G. Beck) (Variorum: London, 1973), pp. 16-72, at 24.9-10: 'τὰ τῆς σχεδογραφίας αἰνίγματα καὶ αἱ λαβυρινθώδεις πλοκαί'.

⁸¹ Ioannes Tzetzes, *Letters*, 77, p. 114.8-9: 'αἱ μεγαλοφυεῖς τῶν παρὰ σοῦ πλακεισῶν σχεδουργικῶν λαβυρίνθων πλοκαί'; idem, *Historiae*, Chil. XI, Hist. 379, p. 451.568: 'τὰ σχεδουργῶν (σχεδουργῶν) νοήματα νῦν λαβυρίνθους'; Chil. IX, Hist. 280, p. 372.707: 'πλοκὴ λαβυρινθώδεις'; Eustathios, *Commentary to Iliad*, ad A 101, vol. III, p. 162.13: 'σχεδικῆς τεθρείας καὶ τοῦ κατὰ αὐτὴν λαβυρίνθου'; idem, *Commentary to Odyssey*, ad τ 436, vol. II, p. 211.7-8: 'ὅρα δ' ἐνταῦθα τό, ἔχνη' ἐρευνῶντες, ὑποδόσκολον ὃν τῇ φράσει καὶ λαβυρινθώδες κατὰ τὰ νῦν σχεδικά'; idem, *Opuscula*, ed. Th.L.F. Tafel (Amsterdam, 1964), p. 317.9-10: 'καὶ αὐτοὶ τῷ λαβυρίνθῳ τῶν σχεδικῶν ἐλιγμῶν ἐναπειλημένοι'; Theodoros Hexapterygos, *Epitaphios*, p. 225.10-16: 'σχεδικοὺς ἐλίττουσι λαβυρίνθους καὶ εἰς ἀδιέξοδον πλανῶσι τὸν σχεδογράφον καὶ εἰς κάματον ἀληκτον. ἦν ἡμῖν ἐκεῖνος πρὸ μικροῦ καὶ τὸν λαβυρίνθον εἰσώδευε καὶ τὰς ἑλικὰς καὶ πρὸς εὐχερὲς τὰς πολυελίκτους διεξώδευε καμπὰς καὶ τὰς σκολιάς(ς), ὡς εἰ καὶ ἦσαν εὐθύποροι καὶ κατ' εὐθυωρίαν καὶ πρὸς ἀπλανὲς διετείνοντο'; idem, p. 237.14-15, 'τοὺς λογικοὺς διεξώδευες λαβυρίνθους'; Nikephoros Basilakes, *Orationes*, p. 3.19, 'τοὺς λαβυρίνθους τούτους διετεχνώμην' (my italics).

⁸² Eustathios, *Commentary to Odyssey*, ad π 461, vol. II, p.132.19-20: 'βραχεῖαν τινὰ φλέβα σχεδικῆς μεταλλείας τῆς ἐξευρημένης ὕστερον, εἴτε καὶ ξέσμα τι λατομίας σχεδουργικῆς' (my italics).

⁸³ Cf. Nikolaos Mesarites's simile of the *schedography* as a Sphinx scaring the young student, *Epitaphios*, p. 24.1-10: 'κλεινὸς ὁ Οἰδῖπους τὸ αἶνιγμα τῆς σφιγγὸς συμβαλλόμενος, ἀλλὰ νεανίσκος ἤδη καὶ πρὸς ὅλην δορυφορίαν τυραννικὴν ἀξιώμαχος· οὗτος δὲ μορμουλτόμενος ὑπὸ παιδαριότητος κατὰ τὸ αἶνιγμα τῆς σφιγγὸς τοῖς αἰνιγματισμοῖς τῆς σχεδικῆς μιζοθηρίας ἐπέβαλε, — καὶ αὕτη γὰρ προβαλλομένη κατὰ γυναικομορφίαν τὸ ἀδολεῖντον, ὑποκατιοῦσα ὡς λεωντῶδες, ἐνστερνίζεται τὸ δυστήρατον καὶ τὰ περιπέζια ὑπερβαίνουσα ἀεροτομεῖ ὡς πτερόεσσα, — οὐ πεπλανημένος ὡς ἐκεῖνος καὶ ἀπιστῶν ἑαυτῷ, ἀλλὰ συνιεὶ ἀληθῶς, τί καὶ βούλονται τὰ τῆς σχεδογραφίας αἰνίγματα καὶ αἱ λαβυρινθώδεις πλοκαί' (my italics).

⁸⁴ Theodoros Prodromos seems to be the most prominent of all. See Niketas Eugenianos's *Monody on Theodoros Prodromos*, where the old student underlines that what characterized most his former teacher was the *schedē* he composed, ed. L. Petit, 'Monodie de Nicéas Eugénianos sur Théodore Prodrome', *Vizantijskij Vremennik* 9 (1902), 452-63, at p. 462.10: 'λόγη γινώριζει τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας, τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἢ λεοντῇ, τὸν Ἀχιλλεῖα τὰ ὅπλα, σχέδη τὸν φέριστον Πρόδρομον' (my italics).

dent Niketas Eugenianos (ca. 1100 – ca. 1180), the historian Konstantinos Manasses (ca. 1130-1187) and the monk Ioannikios.⁸⁵

Objections, however, were leveled against this trend by their contemporaries. Ioannes Tzetzes (*post* 1110 – *post* 1180) criticized this schedographic method and blamed it for discouraging students from reading the classical texts,⁸⁶ teaching them to be satisfied with bits and pieces put together by the sellers of these concoctions.⁸⁷ The result of this was that most of *schedographical* compilations became rather uncouth (καὶ γὰρ ἐβαρβαρώθησαν οἱ πλείους σχεδουργίαις). But above all, Tzetzes condemned this method on the grounds that teachers, and eventually students, focused only on the external appearance of a text to the exclusion and detriment of its meaning.⁸⁸

This tendency, which by then had become an established practice (σχεδικὸς νόμος),⁸⁹ often knew no bounds, resulting in the formulation of new rules which disregarded and violated the established grammatical tradition (and thus barbarisms were created), as Eustathios of Thessalonike complained.⁹⁰ He confirms, as stated above, that this practice of introducing mistakes and convoluted expressions in the text was made by the teach-

⁸⁵ For lists of names of composers of *schedē*, see Browning, 'Il codice Marciano gr. XI.31' (from *schedē* preserved in codd. *Marc. gr.* XI, 31, *Laur. Conv. Sopr.* 2, *Par. gr.* 2556, *Monac. gr.* 201); Gallavotti, 'Nota sulla schedografia', 24-32 (*Vat. Pal. gr.* 92, ff. 122^v-239^v; *Vat. Reg. gr. Pio II* 54, ff. 303^v-453^v); J.J. Keaney, 'More Byzantine Schoolmen', *Byz* 63 (1993), 455-59 (*Vat. Pal. gr.* 92, not without errors). On names of *schedographoi* in cod. *Vat. Pal. gr.* 92, see Vassis, 'Τῶν νέων φιλολόγων παλαίσματα', p. 68; T.S. Miller, 'Two Teaching Texts from the Twelfth-century Orphanotropheion', in *Byzantine Authors. Literary activities and Preoccupations: Texts and Translations dedicated to the Memory of Nicolas Oikonomides*, ed. J.W. Nesbitt (Leiden – Boston, 2003), pp. 9-20, esp. 9-11.

⁸⁶ Cf. Ioannes Tzetzes, *Historiae*, Chil. IX, Hist. 280, p. 372.704-706: 'βίβλους ἀναγινώσκοντες τῶν παλαιῶν οὐδόλως, ἰὼς τόπους, χώρας, πράγματα γινώσκειν σαφεστάτως, ἰ καὶ θησαυροὺς ἀρύεσθαι, λόγους σοφῶν παντοίων'. Cf. Tzetzes's fierce criticism of *schedographers* whom he calls 'buffali' ('βούβαλοι σχεδεκδόται') for their ignorance of orthography, cited by M.J. Luzzatto, *Tzetzes lettore di Tucidide: note autografe sul Codice Heidelberg Palatino Greco 252* (Bari, 1999), pp. 19-20 with nn. 19-20. However, Tzetzes had also his critics. Isidore of Kiev, on cod. *Cremon.* 160, f. 103^r which contains Tzetzes, *Περὶ ἐγκλιτικῶν μορίων*, wrote in the margin vertically in red ink his own comments: ὄντως ὦ τζέτζι οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ μακρὸς λήρος ταυτί' ἀλλ' οὐδεὶς ἂν ἐμοῦ καταγνοίη ὡς ταῦτα μεταγράψαντος' ἡπατήθη γὰρ γραμματικὸν ἀκούων εἶναι σε. And he also added in black ink: τζέτζι παραληρήματα, ὅθεν οὐκ ἐγράφησαν πάντα μυριόσφαλτα, edited by Martini, *Catalogo di manoscritti greci*, vol. 1.2, p. 309, and by Manfredini, 'Un codice copiato da Isidoro di Kiev', p. 269.

⁸⁷ See Lemerle, *Cinq Études*, p. 237 with n. 106.

⁸⁸ Cf. Ioannes Tzetzes, *Historiae*, Chil. IX, Hist. 280, p. 372.703 and 707-708: 'τῶν ἀμαθῶν καπῆλων δὲ πλοκῇ λαβρινθῶδει ἰ μόνη τὸν νοῦν προσέχοντες καὶ κεκαπηλευμένη'.

⁸⁹ Eustathios, *Commentary to Iliad*, ad B 373, vol. I, p. 367.3-4.

⁹⁰ Eustathios, *Commentary to Iliad*, ad θ 304, vol. II, p. 585.13-17, esp. ll. 16-17: 'τὸ δὲ ὀπιεῖν, ἐξ οὗ ἡ ὀπιουμένη, οὐ διὰ μόνου τοῦ ὅ διχρόνου ἀλλὰ σὺν τῷ ἰ ἔχει τὴν παραλήγουσαν κατὰ παλαιὰν παράδοσιν. Διὸ οὐδὲ κινεῖται ὁ τοιοῦτος ἐνεστὼς εἰς μέλλοντα καὶ τοὺς ἐφεξῆς χρόνους. εἰ καὶ ἡ σχεδικὴ τὸλμα ἐθρασύνετο ἐν τῷ ὀπύθῃ, νεωτερισμένη κατὰ τῶν παλαιῶν' (my italics).

ers on purpose (ἐπίτηδες) and not accidentally (οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ παρατυχόντος),⁹¹ in order to test the students' ability. The students, therefore, theoretically were given the opportunity to display the extent of their knowledge when correcting a given text on the basis of syntax, orthography, rules of grammar, and meaning.⁹² In reality, however, the method seems to have been less productive, at least in the case of the less talented pupils. In fact Eustathios, comparing the level of knowledge of students in the past and of his own times, remarks on the competence of the old generation.⁹³ Apart from these drawbacks, this method was considered to have been tiresome and demanding both for teacher and student, as Eustathios and later Theodoros Hexapterygos (ca. 1180-1236) stressed.⁹⁴

To counterbalance this trend, a different method was introduced by the distinguished teacher Nikephoros Basilakes (1115-ca. 1180). Rejecting the former, old-fashioned *schedography*, the 'labyrinths', as he says in the *Preface* to his book, he introduced a new approach, trying to avoid the flaws and deficiencies of the *schedographic* method used not only by his predecessors but also by his contemporaries.⁹⁵ His aim was to enable

⁹¹ Eustathios, *Commentary to Odyssey*, ad ι 366, vol. I, p. 348.29. Cf. Guarino of Verona's similar advice to those who taught Greek to foreign students: Battista Guarino, *Program of Teaching and Learning*, pp. 268-69; cf. below, pp. 144-45.

⁹² See Vassis, 'Graeca sunt, non leguntur', pp. 14-19 with reference to examples from cod. Vat. Pal. gr. 92, ff. 179^v-180^r and 211^v, with a diplomatic transcription of two *schedē* containing mistakes as in the MS, and a parallel edition with the restored texts. For similar examples in codd. Par. gr. 2556, f. 86^r and Vat. Pal. gr. 92, f. 174^{r-v}, see Polemis, 'Τέωργιος Μαῖτωρ', 301-06.

⁹³ Eustathios, *Commentary to Iliad*, ad B 373 seq., vol. I, p. 367.1-4: 'τὸ δὲ "τάχ' ἡμύσειε" παλαιὸν μὲν ἄνδρα οὐκ ἂν παρήγαγεν, ὡς ἐθάδα τῶν τοιούτων· τοῦ δὲ νῦν γένους τινὲς πλανηθεῖεν ἂν δοκοῦντες ἀκούειν τάχει, εἶτα κατ' ἰδίαν μύσειε, νόμῳ δηλαδὴ σχεδிகῶ' (my italics); idem, *Commentary to Odyssey*, ad ι 366, vol. I, p. 348.29-39: 'οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι ... γρίφους ἐμελέτησαν πλέκειν, οὐς ὠνόμασαν σχέδι· τὴν ἀρχὴν μὲν λεπτοῦς τινὰς καὶ οἴους ῥᾶον ἐκδιαδράσκεσθαι, τέλος δὲ ἄδρους καὶ δυσδιαφύκτους. καὶ οἱ μὲν παλαιοὶ τὸ ῥηθὲν τοῦ Ἐπίχαρμου νόημα, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἐπιγράμματος, καὶ ὅσα δὲ ἀρχαῖα τοιαῦτα, θαυμασίως ἐκάλουν ὡς ἐνομοθέτησεν ὁ Ἐπίχαρμος, λόγον ἐν λόγῳ αὐτὰ εἰπών, διὰ τὸ, ὡς ἐν αἰνίγματι ἄλλον μὲν εἶναι τὸν λαλούμενον λόγον, ἕτερον δὲ τὸν νοούμενον. οἱ δὲ τὰ σχεδிகὰ λαλοῦντες ἀκολουθῶς καὶ αὐτοὶ νοήματα καλοῦσιν ἅπερ γριφεύονται, διὰ τὸ καὶ τὸν γραμματέα παῖδα μὴ τοῦ λεγομένου ἀλλὰ τοῦ νοουμένου γίνεσθαι. παρεσημάνθη δὲ ἀναγκαίως περὶ τινων τοιούτων καὶ ἐν τοῖς εἰς τὴν Ἰλιάδα. ὦν ἐν καὶ τό, βῆ ρ' Ἰσὸν τε καὶ Ἀντιφον ἐξαναρίζων. ἐνθα οὐ Ῥῆσον λέγει τὸν περιφρόνουν Θρᾶκα Ὅμηρος, ἀλλὰ τινὰ, Ἰσὸν καλούμενον'.

⁹⁴ Eustathios, *Opuscula*, p. 317.9-13: 'καὶ αὐτοὶ (οἱ γραμματικοὶ) τῷ λαβυρίνθῳ τῶν σχεδικῶν ἐλιγμῶν ἐναπειλημμένοι, καὶ λέξεων εὐπόρως οὐκ ἔχοντες, ἀλλ' ὡς εἰπεῖν λιμώττοντες, αἷς περιεργότερον χρῆσονται, καὶ τῶν τοιούτων κατεξανέστησαν, καὶ χορεύσαντες οἷον ἀδιαφώρως αὐτὰς συνείλον εἰς ἕν'; idem, *Commentary to Odyssey*, ad π 461, vol. II, p. 132.20: 'οἱ τεχνώμενοι πόνους τοῖς γραμματικεομένοις ἐξευρίκασι'. Cf. Theodoros Hexapterygos, *Epitaphios*, p. 225.11-12: 'εἰς ἀδιέξοδον πλανῶσι τὸν σχεδογράφον καὶ εἰς κάματον ἄληκτον'.

⁹⁵ However, since no sample of Basilakes's *schedography* so far has been found, we have to accept his own words. On Basilakes's comments on teachers' antagonisms, see I. Polemis, 'A Note on the *Praefatio* of Nikephoros Basilakes', *BZ* 94.2 (2001), 605-607.

students to speak with elegance, and not ‘like a barbarian’.⁹⁶ His method, which came to be known in his own times as ‘Basilakesm’ (ἦν ἤδη λεγόμενον τὸ βασιλακίζειν ἐν σχεδοπλόκοις),⁹⁷ equivalent to ‘Gorgiasm’ (γοργιάζειν ἐν σοφισταίς),⁹⁸ paid equal attention to both the external and internal part of a text, namely, style and meaning.⁹⁹ According to Basilakes, this new approach attracted swarms of students who fleeing from the old-fashioned *schedography* (ἀρχαιοτρόπου καὶ παλαιᾶς σχεδικῆς) responded to his own method (ἦν καὶ τὸ φαινόμενον καταμελιτοῖ καὶ τὸ κρυπτόμενον ἀγλαΐζει).¹⁰⁰

In turn, the increasing number of students created a problem for the availability of *schedē*. It seems that shortage of *schedē*, with which teachers ‘fed’ their students, was a perennial problem.¹⁰¹ The solution was found in

⁹⁶ Nikephoros Basilakes, *Orationes*, p. 3.18-23: ‘οὐ τὸν ἀρχαῖον μέντοι τρόπον τοὺς λαβυρίνθους τούτους διετεχνώμην· ἀγλευκὲς γάρ μοι ἐδόκει καὶ ἀρχαιολογίας καὶ τέχνης ἀξέστου τὸ μὴ ξὺν ἡδονῇ λέγειν ἢ καὶ ὅλως ὑποβαρβαρίζειν. ὅθεν οὐκ ἀνίην τοὺς γρίφους καὶ τὰς πλεκτάνας, καὶ τὰ ἐκτὸς μὲν εἰς ἀγλαΐαν ὑπογράφων [*leg.* ὑπογράφων], ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ τὰ ἐντὸς ἱκανῶς βοστρυχίζων καὶ διαπλέκων εἰς ὥραν’.

⁹⁷ Nikephoros Basilakes, *Orationes*, p. 3.29.

⁹⁸ Nikephoros Basilakes, *Orationes*, p. 3.30.

⁹⁹ See A. Garzya, ‘Intorno al prologo di Niceforo Basilace’, *JÖB* 18 (1969), 57-71, esp. pp. 59-62; idem, ‘Il Prologo di Niceforo Basilace’, *Bollettino del Comitato per la preparazione della edizione nazionale dei classici Greci e Latini* 19 (1971), 55-71, esp. p. 66; Polemis, ‘Σχόλια’, pp. 413-22, at 415. See also Fryde’s comments, *Palaeologan Renaissance*, p. 215, on ‘the preoccupation of Byzantine schools with form rather than substance that Hermogenes who is negligible as a thinker, and less than negligible as a guide to literary creativity, could have retained so dominating an influence for so long’, citing M. Hadas, ‘Hellenistic literature’, *DOP* 17 (1963), 23-35, at pp. 32-33, and E.B. Fryde, *Greek Manuscripts in the Private Library of the Medici, 1469-1510* (Aberystwyth, 1996), I, pp. 126-27. The same principles are reflected in Guarino of Verona’s advice that ‘students ... should *not* admire only the words and the order of expression while missing the sense. [...] So students should first take in ideas and moral content, then turn to flowers of language’: Battista Guarino, *Program of Teaching and Learning*, pp. 298-99. Cf. also Michael Psellos, *Funeral Oration on Niketas*, pp. 92 [Sathas] and 175 [Polemias] respectively: ‘τοιούτος Ὁμηρίδης ἐκεῖνος ἦν, οὐ κατὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς προσέχων τῷ γράμματι, οὐδὲ θελγόμενος τῷ μέτρῳ τὴν ἀκοήν, οὐδὲ τῷ φαινομένῳ διδούς, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀπόθετον κάλλος ζητῶν, λόγῳ καὶ θεωρίᾳ διασχὼν τὴν ὕλην καὶ εἴσω τῶν ἀδύτων γενόμενος’.

¹⁰⁰ Nikephoros Basilakes, *Orationes*, p. 3.25-28.

¹⁰¹ A common simile described collections of *schedē* as a table on which the ‘food’ was laid to be ‘consumed’ by the students. Cf. Ioannes Mauroπους, *Letter to Gregorios*, ed. A. Karpozilos, *The Letters of Ioannes Mauroπους Metropolitan of Euchaita* (Thessalonike, 1990), Lett. 17, pp. 70-79, at 75.84-85: “σήμερον ἐστιάτωρ” ἡγουν διδάσκαλος’ (ed. Lagarde, p. 59, § 116.18); Another schedographic text, the so-called ‘Σχέδη μὸς’, makes use of the same metaphor: see J.-Th. Papademetriou, ‘Τὰ σχέδη τοῦ μὸς: New Sources and Text’, in *Classical Studies Presented to Ben Edwin Perry by His Students and Colleagues at the University of Illinois, 1924-60* (Urbana – Chicago – London, 1969), pp. 210-22. The metaphor of intellectual food was used by Michael Italikos, *Lettres et discours*, ed. P. Gautier (Paris, 1972), p. 156: ‘he was entertaining his guests τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων ἐδέσμασιν’ calling ‘λογικὴ τράπεζα’ the courses he was teaching (cited by Schirò, ‘La schedografia’, at p. 25) and Ioannes Mauroπους, *Works*, no. 1, p. 1.29: ‘γεῦμα μικρὸν δαψιλοῦς ἀνθοσμίου’. See also Hunger, *Literatur*, II, pp. 27-28.

recycling the old material, as Michael Psellos explicitly states. For, apart from composing 'new' *schedē*, he also taught his pupils the same ones he himself had used as a student, or was able to gather or borrow some from his colleagues.¹⁰² It also seems that prior to schedographic competitions old *schedē* were collected to be reused.¹⁰³ When a teacher, was unable to find an appropriate *schedos* among the old collections, he would have had to compose his own.¹⁰⁴ As in the past, in this period too, students were given passages to work out the meaning of homophones (*antistoicha*), characterized by *itacisms* and *parecheses*.

The question arises as to how students were taught and examined in *schedography*. So far, the only source we have discovered, which suggests the method followed by the teacher in the classroom is cod. *Vat. Reg. gr. Pio II* 54, f. 240^r. The anonymous composer of this *schedos* states: 'I will teach you, young men, a few rules (ὀλίγων λόγων) today, so that when we finish we can have some rest from our hard labour. Therefore, once you have written down the text (γραφὴν) without any mistakes, you will be praised by your teacher'.¹⁰⁵ One assumes that the teacher would first provide a certain *schedos*, though in this particular instance it is not clear whether this would be dictated, in which case mistakes, due to the homophones, were bound to be made by the students or that he would present them with a text containing intentional errors, which the students had to copy carefully and offer a correct version, on the basis of which they would be assessed.

In any case, an intermediary stage would most probably have involved reading the text aloud in the class, with the teacher or students offering suggestions on the meaning of the selected words which, despite the similarity of sound, conveyed different meanings. This stage would be followed by the teacher's comments, either in praise or otherwise. Another *schedos*

¹⁰² Michael Psellos, *Letter to Romanos the classmate*, p. 20.7-8: 'σχεδῶν, ὧν ποτε καὶ αὐτὸς σχεδογραφῶν ἔτυχον'; p. 20.13-16: 'ταμειῖον γὰρ σὺ σχεδῶν καὶ (τό γε ἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν) σίμβλον [...] ἀπανθισάμενος ἑαυτῷ καὶ συλλέξας [...] καὶ σχεδῶν καλλίστων ὁμοῦ καὶ πεπονημένων'.

¹⁰³ Cf. the *schedos* by an anonymous author/compiler in cod. *Vat. Pal. gr.* 92, f. 100^v: 'ὁ θριπηδεστάτων φροντίζων, πάντα ἐπαινέτην ἔχει σχεδῶν, ἐφρενωμένων, καὶ πεπαλαιωμένων· ὁ μὴ ἔδων τὰ τὸν παρωχημένον χρόνον γεγραμμένα σχεδάρια ἐσθίεσθαι παρ' ἱκός, τῷ ἐν γωνίᾳ ποῦ κείσθαι ἡμελημένων ἐν καιρῷ ἀγωνισμῶν, θειασμῶν ἀπολαύσει'.

¹⁰⁴ Cod. *Vat. Pal. gr.* 92, f. 168^r: 'τῷ ἀπορεῖν σχεδῶν παλαιῶν, ὅθεν ἂν ὑμῖν τὴν συνήθη παράθω-μαί τράπεζαν οἰκείων, λόγον (*leg. λόγων*) ἐκθεῖναι βιάζομαι πρὸς ἐστίαν σιν νῶν (*sscr. νόων*) νεολαία ...'; cf. Vassis, 'Τῶν νέων φιλολόγων παλαισμάτα', p. 44 with n. 41.

¹⁰⁵ Cod. *Vat. Reg. gr. Pio II* 54, f. 240^r: 'ὀλίγων λόγων ὧ παῖδες ὑμῖν μεταδώσομεν σήμερον· ἵνα καὶ ἡμᾶς καὶ ὑμᾶς τῶν περὶ λόγον (λόγους in *Oxon. Barocc. gr.* 112) ἰδῶν, ἀναπαύσωμεν· ἀπαισιτὶ λοιπὸν τὴν γραφὴν γεγραφοῦτες, αἴνων τύχῃτε παρὰ τοῦ διδασκάλου' (the same *schedos* also in *Oxon. Barocc. gr.* 112, f. 126^v).

in the same codex (f. 443^v) describes what was required on the part of a student, followed by possible punishment imposed on him by the teacher, including corporal, should he fail to prove his competence in the exercise: ‘Examine carefully, young man, when you write down the verbs, adverbs, declensions of substantives or pronouns, or the remaining parts of the speech, so that you may not stumble where you ought not, as a result of which you might suffer countless reproaches, slappings, and every possible punishment, whippings, pain and maltreatment’.¹⁰⁶

The same attitude to potential punishment for failing to display ability in coping with a *schedos* is reflected in a similar passage on cod. *Vat. Pal. gr.* 92, f. 70^v: ‘you were whipped with a stick made of cherry-wood full of thorns. This you have suffered from me, your teacher, (dispensed to you) in a fatherly way!’ This punishment apparently followed a disappointing performance in an oral examination of a *schedos*. The teacher expressed his disappointment at his students’ bad recitation, most probably during a competition, which eventually led to a wrong interpretation.¹⁰⁷ Diction, in fact, was an indispensable part of a student’s training.¹⁰⁸ As Eustathios of Thessalonike complains, students were not trained to utter the words clearly, but on the contrary they were taught (γυμνάζονται) to mumble (ὕπολαληθῆναι), without separating the syllables (ἀσυναλείπτως).¹⁰⁹ The result was that in the case of riddles of a *schedos*, as he points out, if one did not hear a word clearly, he interpreted the phrase wrongly.¹¹⁰ After all, Eustathios stressed that the importance of a student’s training was in

¹⁰⁶ Cod. *Vat. Reg. gr. Pio II* 54, f. 443^v: ‘ἐρεῦνα ὧ νέε ἐν τῷ γράφειν τὰ ῥήματα καὶ τὰ ἐπιρρήματα· τὰς τε κλίσεις, τῶν ὀνομάτων, καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀντωνυμιῶν, γραφὰς καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ μέρη τοῦ λόγου, ὅπως οὐ προσπαΐσης ὧ οὐ δεῖ· κἀντεῦθεν μυρίου ὑποστῆς ὀνειδισμοὺς καὶ κολαφισμοὺς, καὶ πᾶσαν αἰκίαν καὶ μάστιγα καὶ τιμωρίαν καὶ θλίψιν καὶ κάκωσιν’ (the same *schedos* also in *Oxon. Barocc. gr.* 112, f. 158^{r-v}).

¹⁰⁷ Cod. *Vat. Pal. gr.* 92, f. 70^v: ‘ἐλυπήσατέ με ὧ παῖδες, οὐ καλῶς ἀπαγγείλαντες τὸ σχέδος ὑμῶν, οὐδὲ ἐρμηνεύσαντες ὡς ἔδει ...’.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Battista Guarino, *Program of Teaching and Learning*, pp. 270-71: ‘we would have the master adhere to the following practice: the boys should both write and practice orally the grammatical exercises they are set. If they only respond in writing, they will not know how to reply extemporaneously when called upon, as they will have grown used to thinking over every detail for a long time; but if, on the other hand, they are taught to respond from memory only, they will often not know the letters used to link the syllables. But if, as we have said, they get used to doing both at the same time, they will attain an unencumbered facility in both writing and speaking, which will also be greatly increased by the habit of speaking continually in Latin’.

¹⁰⁹ Eustathios, *Commentary to Iliad*, ad T 225, vol. IV, p. 321.15-17: ‘ἐνθα ὅρα τὸ “γαστέρι δ’ οὗ πως ἔστι”, φρασθὲν τῇ συναλιφῇ, ὡς δόξαι ἂν τοῖς τὰ σχεδικά εἰθισμένοις δοῶπον ὑπολαληθῆναι ἀσυναλείπτως, ὡς ἐκεῖνοι γυμνάζονται’ (my italics).

¹¹⁰ Eustathios, *Commentary to Iliad*, ad Λ 781, vol. III, p. 327.15-16: ‘ὁ γοῦν τὰ σχεδικά γριφεύων μάμμιν (*pro ὕμιν ἄμμιν*) ἂν παρακούσει ἐνταῦθα οἷα τῶν τοιούτων ἐθάς’ (my italics).

interpreting correctly what he heard, in order to grasp the meaning of a given phrase.¹¹¹

Some interesting information on these schedographic riddles is provided by Nikolaos Mesarites in his *Description of the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople*. Mesarites states that the most advanced students not only were tested in these riddles and competed with each other in the schedographic exams, but they were trained in distorting the meaning of the written words, ‘transforming them into riddles’ (ἐς τὸ γρίφον μετασκευάζουσιν). This presupposes that students were trained to transform *schedē* into ‘riddles’ and *vice versa*, namely to ‘solve’ such riddles using the same technique.¹¹²

Special care, however, was provided for beginners (ἀρτιμαθεῖς, εἰσαγωγικοί, ἀσθενέστεροι) or ‘freshmen’ (βρεφώδη, βρεφύλλια) in order not to discourage them by the difficulties of the exercise.¹¹³ The teachers, ‘imitating nature’, started with simpler *schedē* before they proceeded to the more complicated ones,¹¹⁴ intended for advanced students (ἰσχυρότεροι, τελεώτε-

¹¹¹ Eustathios, *Commentary to Iliad*, ad B 373, vol. I, p. 367.2-3: ‘τινὲς πλανηθεῖεν ἂν δοκοῦντες ἀκούειν’ (my italics). See above, p. 67, n. 93.

¹¹² Cf. Anna Komnene’s statement that some of the students were composing the so-called *schedē*. For a different interpretation of the ‘ξυγγραφεῖς ... σχεδῶν’, see Agapitos, ‘Anna Komnene’, pp. 93-94. See above, p. 58, n. 50. The training in composing riddles at school could prove useful at a later stage when orators employed them in an attempt to distinguish themselves. For example, Eustathios of Thessalonike in his *Epitaphios for Manuel I Komnenos*, states that ‘ἐστρυφνύθη πρὸς διαφορὰν ὁ παρὼν ἐπιτάφιος’ (‘the present *Epitaphios* was rendered more difficult and elaborate in order to be different’, transl. by E.M. Bourbouhakis, ‘Not Composed in a Chance Manner’: *The Epitaphios for Manuel I Komnenos by Eustathios of Thessalonike. Text, Translation, Commentary* [Unpublished Dissertation, University of Harvard, 2006], p. 113).

¹¹³ Cf. above, pp. 31-32, n. 9.

¹¹⁴ Cod. Vat. Pal. gr 92, ff. 76^v-77^r: ‘μιμεῖται τὴν φύσιν ὁ λόγος ὡς νεολαῖα ὡς γὰρ ἐκείνη γάλακτι πρῶτον τρέφει τὰ νεογνά, εἰς ἀκμὴν δὲ ἡλικίας ἐλάσαντα, στερεωτέραις δεξιούται τροφαῖς, οὕτω τοι καὶ ὁ λόγος. νῦν μὲν ἀτελὴ καὶ οἶον, βρεφώδη σε βλέπων, νηπιῶδες τὸ βρῶμα σοι παρατίθουσιν· ὀπηνίκα δὲ γνώσεις αὐξυνθεῖεν σοι, παρ’ αὐτῷ τοι αἱ δαΐσαι (leg. ἐδέσαι ?) θρέψουσιν τραπεζῶν διώξεις τὲ ἱκαναί, καὶ ἐγκερῶσαι (leg. ἐγκαίρωσαι ?), ποτίσουσι κραταιότερον νᾶμα· ἀρκεῖ τὸ μικρὸν τοῖς μικροῖς παιδαρίοις· τὸν ἥλιον βλέπουσιν ἄρτι τοῦ σχεδῶς καὶ πρὸς τροφὴν χρῆζουσι γάλακτος μόνου’ (cf. a *schedos* on f. 136^{r-v}, ed. Vassis, ‘Τῶν νέων φιλολόγων παλαιόματα’, pp. 40-41); f. 68^r: ‘μικρὰ τοῖς μικροῖς ὑμῖν ὡς παῖδες προσδιαλέγομαι, ἐπεὶ περ ἔτι, ἀπαγεῖς (sscr. οὐ στερεοὺς) ὁρῶ ὑμᾶς· μὴ δ’ ἔτει τὸν λογισμὸν κατωχυρωμένον (sscr. στερεὸν) ἔχοντας, ἀλλ’ ἀσθενῇ καὶ ἐξίτηλον sscr. ἀδύνατον) τὴν διάνοιαν περιφέροντας’ (the same *schedos* is contained in codd. Vat. gr. 1953, f. 74^v; Vat. gr. 18, f. 53^v; Oxon. Barocc. gr. 112, f. 100^v); f. 110^v: ‘μικρὼν ὑμῖν παῖδες λόγων μεταδώσω τὴν σήμερον, καὶ σαφηνείας πάσης πεπληρωμένον· τοῦτο μὲν ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀσθενεῖς ἔτι ἐστέ, καὶ τὸν νοῦν ἀπαγίωτοι· καὶ οὐτ’ ἔτει σθένος ἐν λόγοις οὐτε ἴδει προσεκτίσασθε’. Cf. also Athens, Benaki Museum 75 (TA 152), f. 177^{r-v}: ‘ὥσπερ τὸν ἐξινωμένον (sscr. καὶ ἀδύνατον) καὶ ἐξητονημένον (sscr. καὶ ἀσθενῇ καὶ ἄτονον) στόμαχον φέροντα· καὶ μὴ δυνάμενον (sscr. καὶ μὴ ἰσχύοντα) ὡς φίλτατε πέττειν (sscr. καὶ χωνεύειν) ἰσχυρότεραν τροφὴν οὐ χρὴ μεταλαμβάνειν, πλείστων βρωμάτων, οὕτω καὶ τὸν κατὰ σὲ ἀτελὴ (sscr. καὶ ἀνίσχυρον) καὶ ἀπαγίωτον (sscr. καὶ ἀβέβαιον), ἀνοϊκειόν (sscr. καὶ ἀπρεπὲς) ἐστὶ μακροῖς γρίφοις (sscr. καὶ δυσ-

ροι, σπουδαῖοι, ὑψηλότεροι τὸν βαθμόν), also known as ‘third grade’ (τρίτοι).¹¹⁵ In the absence of references to the ‘second grade’ in our sources, it is difficult to tell in what particular way this level differed from the ‘first’ and ‘third’, though it is reasonable to assume that the exercises were of medium level of difficulty. A *schedos* by an anonymous compiler, cited in cod. *Vat. Pal. gr.* 92, f. 132^v (ἀρκοῦσι ταῦτα πρὸς δοκιμὴν τοῖς τρίτοις) gives an idea of what the ‘third’ level’s students were expected to do.¹¹⁶ Τρίτοι had to show and prove their knowledge in correcting the given text by applying the rules of grammar and syntax. Bearing in mind the difficulty of the course, it is not surprising that teachers used to compose admonitory *schedē* trying in this way to teach grammar and at the same time to encourage their students to study hard but also to compete with each other. The simile of a battlefield with the student fighting against his fellow students is clearly expressed in the same codex (f. 173^r): ‘as the spear honours the soldier, the forceful arguments skilfully used cause the prose-writer (λογογράφον) to prepare himself in defense; while the schedographer (σχεδογράφον), who is skilful at solving riddles is crowned with victory and the highest prize is conferred on him’.¹¹⁷

At all levels the teacher was entrusted with a difficult task. For, apart from the composition of new *schedē* and the selection among the existing ones, he often faced perennial problems arising out of the students’ ignorance, indifference and laziness, especially before and during the schedographic competitions when the reputation of the teacher and school were at stake, to the extent that the teacher may well have felt worn out. Such a case is attested in an amusing confession written by the Metropolitan of

νοήτοις) τὲ ἴδει ληπτοῖς λόγοις (sscr. καὶ μαθήμασι) καταβαρύνεσθαι· καὶ λοιπὸν ἀρκέσθητι τοῖς μικροῖς λόγοις (sscr. καὶ μαθήμασι)’.
¹¹⁵ Cf. Vassis, ‘Τῶν νέων φιλολόγων παλαίσματα’, pp. 40-42. It is possible that this distinction among different levels is reflected also in the titles of some *schedographies*, e.g., codd. *Laur. Plut.* 55.7: ‘ἀρχὴ σὺν θεῷ ἀγίῳ τῶν εισαγωγικῶν, σχέδος πρῶτον’; *Laur. Conv. soppr.* 28: ‘ἀρχὴ σὺν θεῷ ἀγίῳ τοῦ μικροῦ σχεδίου’; *Vat. gr.* 1953: ‘ἀρχὴ σὺν θεῷ ἀγίῳ τῶν μικρῶν σχεδῶν’; *Vat. gr.* 952: ‘ἀρχὴ σὺν θεῷ ἀγίῳ τῶν λεγομένων δευτέρων σχεδαρίων’; see Gallavotti, ‘Nota sulla schedografia’, pp. 4-9, 21-24, including a so far unique case of the use of the term *χωρικά* in the title of the second part of the *schedography* in *Laur. Conv. soppr.* 2, f. 112 (‘κοντάκιον ἀρχὴ σὺν θεῷ ἀγίῳ τῶν χωρικῶν πρῶτον ἀρχθέν’). Another interesting case is that of *Vat. gr.* 18 in which there are three schedographic collections grouped in three *kontakia*; on f. 36^v.6, we read: ‘τόμος τὸ κοντάκιον’. In *Monac. gr.* 272 (dated to the thirteenth century) the term κοντάριον τῶν ισαγωγικῶν is used; see I. Hardt, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum graecorum Bibliothecae Regiae Bavariae*, vol. 3 (Munich, 1806), pp. 135-36.

¹¹⁶ See above, p. 64.

¹¹⁷ Cod. *Vat. Pal. gr.* 92, f. 173^r: ‘καὶ γὰρ δόρυ, στρατιώτην δεξιούται, λογογράφον τ’ εὖ εἰ ἐξόμενον ποιεῖ, τὰ τῶν λόγων ἴδη δεξιῶς μεταχειριζόμενον· ἀλλὰ καὶ σχεδογράφον περὶ τὸ νοεῖν δεξιὸν δῆθ’ ἥσης στέφει καὶ βραβεῖς ἐγκαλλωπίζει οἷα ὑπέρτερον’.

Rhodes (‘τοῦ Ῥόδου’) in the form of a *schedos* contained in the same codex (ff. 227^v-228^r):

How do you think I feel, my friends, with the impending contests? Naturally, I am devoured by anxiety concerning them, while at the same time I tear my soul clearly realizing that the contestants are as if made of stone (εἰ λιθείους). For I have recently composed a test for beginners (τῶν εἰσαγωγικῶν δοκίμιον), expecting to clear the dung of Augeas.¹¹⁸ So, I hope to achieve no less today, perhaps even more. For this reason, I offer prayers to God to release me from this painful duty, or even worse, should such a thing happen to me. For I do not think that I preside over a contest prepared for those who belong to a higher level (ὑψηλοτέροις τὸν βαθμόν), even though they pretend to do so, but for beginners (εἰσαγωγικοῖς) who think that what they are told will perchance penetrate their supposedly deaf ears.¹¹⁹

The humorous *double entendre* of εἰ λιθείους / ἡλιθίους could not have escaped his audience!¹²⁰

On the other hand, the difficult task the students had to cope with can hardly be underestimated. For, they had to learn by rote a certain amount of material and memorize lists of words, in order to build their vocabulary and be able to work out schedographic exercises of different levels of difficulty. Eustathios of Thessalonike, as mentioned above, was critical of the shoddy way the students were taught new words in his time, for often they were given the wrong explanation. By way of example, he cites ὀπός, that is vegetable juice which the students of the ‘schedographic riddles’ were taught to consider as an alternative for milk (γάλα), which in fact is not so. As Eustathios explains, ὀπός is the milky juice drawn from a plant or fig and used as rennet to produce cheese.¹²¹

¹¹⁸ Cf. a similar reference to the dung of Augeas by Tzetzes in his notes to Thucydides, Luzzatto, *Tzetzes lettore*, p. 27.

¹¹⁹ Cod. Vat. Pal. gr. 92, ff. 227^v-228^r: ‘πῶς με οἶσθε ὦ παρόντες, ἔχειν ἐπ’ ἡῶν τῶν τῶν ἀγωνισμῶν· εἴπερ ἅμα μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς φροντίδος διαβιβρώσκομαι ὡς ἰκός· ἅμα δὲ καὶ εἰ λιθείους ἄντικρυς τοὺς ἀγωνιζομένους κατανοῶν διακναίομαι τὴν ψυχὴν· ἔναγχος γὰρ τῷ (*leg.* τὸ) τῶν εἰσαγωγικῶν δοκίμιον συστησάμενος, καὶ τὴν Αὐγέου κόπρον δόξας ἀνακαθαίρειν, οὐδὲν ἔλαττον σήμερον εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον, ἔξιν ἐλπίζω, ἐφ’ ᾧ καὶ ἱκετικῶν ἄπτομαι, χειρόνως πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, λόγων· ἀπαλλάξαι με τῆς ἐπωδύνου ταυτησὶ λειτουργίας εἴ τι συμφέρει μοι τέως· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑψηλοτέροις τὸν βαθμόν, ἐκείνων ἀγνοοθετεῖν ἄρτι δοκῶ κἂν ψεύδωνται τὸν ὀνομασμόν· ἀλλ’ εἰσαγωγικοῖς καὶ οἰομένοις τάχ’ ἀτρίτοις ὡς διενηχεῖσθαι τὰ πρὸς τούτους λεγόμενα ...’.

¹²⁰ Cf. cod. Oxon. Barocc. gr. 112, f. 131^{r-v}: ‘ὥς ἔοικε ὦ παῖδες, λίθος ἀπόκροτος καὶ σκληρὸς ὑμᾶς προήνεγκε· καὶ πέτρα ὀρεῖα ἢ προβολῆς θαλάσσιος ἐξέφυσεν· ἡ δρὺς ἐβλάστησε· πόθεν γὰρ οὕτως ἀναίσθητοι καὶ ἡλίθιοι τυγχάνετε· ῥάνις ἐνδελεχῆς κοιλαίνει πέτραν· ὑμῶν δὲ τὸν λογισμόν, οὐδὲν ὀνίνησι τὰ τοσαῦτα διδασκάλια· Θεὸς τὸ λοιπὸν τὴν ὑμῶν φύσιν, τρέποι· καὶ πρὸς τὸ κρεῖττον ἐξαμείψοι τοὺς τρόπους’.

¹²¹ Eustathios, *Commentary to Iliad*, ad E 902-4, vol. II, pp. 227.16-228.3: ‘ὀπὸς οὐ τὸ γάλα

Eventually, it became necessary for teachers to compile lists of words, this time giving also their meaning, adapted to the schedographic demands. These word lists resulted in breaking off, or at least weakening, the traditional close relation between grammar and literature, in the sense that the student was compelled to focus on learning and memorising long lists of words rather than learning and enjoying the text. The extensive use of these lists as quick reference instead of ‘wasting time’ searching in books deprived generations of students of studying poetic and prose texts, at the expense also of their grammatical knowledge and experience, something that was strongly criticized by a number of *literati*, as we have seen above.¹²² It is possible that the popularity of these lists may have increased due to the economic crisis in this period, which must have affected the book production.¹²³ These word lists would have been useful also for the schedographic competitions, where a good stock of words would have been an advantage in tipping the scales at the contest. ‘For as the touchstone tests the purity and impurity of gold’, according to the anonymous composer of a *schedos*, ‘in the same way the competition differentiates the young man who is strong in words from the one who is weak, feeble and mediocre’.¹²⁴

The participants in the contests, representing also their schools and

ἔστιν, ὡς μανθάνουσιν οἱ τρόφιμοι τῶν σχεδικῶν αἰνιγμάτων [...] ἀλλὰ [...] ἡ τὸν τυρὸν συμπίπτουσα πνευτῖα [...] καὶ τὸ γαλακτώδες τῆς συκῆς, ναὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ ὕγρον, ὃ τὰ φύλλα πρὸς τοῖς κλάδοις συνέχει’ (my italics).

¹²² For a different view see Photios, *Bibliotheca*, cod. 167 (ed. R. Henry, *Photius Bibliothèque*, t. II (codices 84-185) (Paris, 1960) at 159) on the *Gnomologium* of Ioannes Stobaeus: ‘Χρήσιμον δὲ τὸ βιβλίον τοῖς μὲν ἀνεγνωκόσι αὐτὰ τὰ συντάγματα τῶν ἀνδρῶν πρὸς ἀνάμνησιν, τοῖς δὲ οὐκ εἰληφόσι πείραν ἐκείνων, ὅτι διὰ συνεχοῦς αὐτῶν μελέτης οὐκ ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν καὶ ποικίλων νοημάτων, εἰ καὶ κεφαλαῖωδη, μνήμην καρπώσονται. Κοινὸν δ’ ἀμφοτέροις ἡ τῶν ζητουμένων, ὡς εἰκός, ἀταλαίπωρος καὶ σύντομος εὔρεσις, ἐπειδάν τις ἀπὸ τῶν κεφαλαίων εἰς αὐτὰ τὰ πλάτη ἀναδραμεῖν ἐθελήσειε. Καὶ πρὸς ἄλλα δὲ τοῖς ῥητορεύειν καὶ γράφειν σπουδάζουσιν οὐκ ἄχρηστον τὸ βιβλίον’.

¹²³ G. Cavallo, ‘Oralità scrittura libro lettura. Appunti su usi e contesti didattici tra antichità e Bisanzio’, in *Libri di scuola e pratiche didattiche dall’antichità al rinascimento. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi Cassino, 7-10 maggio 2008*, 2008, eds. L. Del Corso and O. Pecere, 2 vols. (Cassino, 2010), I, pp. 11-36.

¹²⁴ Codd. *Vat. Barb. gr.* 102, f. 141^r and *Vat. Reg. gr. Pio II* 54, f. 280^r: ‘... ὥσπερ γὰρ ἡ λυδία λίθος ἐλέγχει τὸν καθαρὸν χρυσόν, καὶ τὸν μὴ τοιοῦτον, οὕτω καὶ ὁ ἀγὼν τοναῖον’ (sscr. ἰσχυρόν) περὶ λόγους ἀπελέγχει νέον, καὶ ἀσθενῆ, καὶ ἐξινωμένον (sscr. ἀσθενῆ), καὶ ἐξητονημένον’. Cf. cod. *Oxon. Barocc. gr.* 112, f. 103^{r-v}: ‘καὶ λίθος λίθῳ συντριβόμενος· λαμπρότερος ἀναδείκνυται καὶ νέος νέφω συναμιλλώμενος· καὶ συναγωνιζόμενος, ἰσχυρότερος ἀναφαίνεται· διεγείρεται γὰρ συχνάκις συμπλεκόμενος τοῖς ἀνθαμίλλοις γε νέοις· καὶ δεδοικῶς οὐκ εἶδεται τὸ λογικὸν στάδιον εἰ δεδυκέναι μέλλει αὐτό· θαρεῖ (*leg.* θαρρεῖ) δὲ μάλλον, ὡς ἰδικῶς ἐν λόγοις’ (the same *schedos* also in *Vat. gr.* 18, f. 94^v). Cf. Battista Guarino, *Program of Teaching and Learning*, pp. 266-67: ‘competition and rivalries between students make them keener’.

teachers, were prepared to work hard in order to achieve the desirable results and acquire fame and obtain praise not only from their own teacher but also from the general audience, as schedographic contests attracted public interest. Some of these contests were attended, if not established, by the Emperor himself,¹²⁵ and it is very possible that the Patriarch was also present on some occasions.¹²⁶ Though there were different levels of difficulty in these contests, known as grades (βαθμοί)¹²⁷ and cycles (κύκλοι),¹²⁸ it seems that there were open to any age. As Theodoros Hexapterygos states, Stephanos Choregetopoulos competed not only with older students but also with more advanced ones (ὑπερβάθμοι).¹²⁹

The tendency for exaggeration, which culminated in the second stage of *schedography* despite certain exceptions, seems to have come to an end sometime in the thirteenth century, as the manuscript evidence suggests. It is possible that the political upheavals brought about by the conquest of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade in 1204 compelled the Byzantines to reconsider certain questions referring not only to social and economic sectors but also to educational ones. How far they innovated or to what extent they returned to the old patterns of education is difficult to tell.¹³⁰ But what is clear is that the thirteenth-century *schedography* of Manuel

¹²⁵ Theodoros Hexapterygos, *Epitaphios*, p. 237.5-7: 'νὺν δ' οὐ καλῆς ἀμίλλης καιρὸς ἐφίσταται, καθ' ὃν ἔδει καὶ βασιλέως ἐνώπιον συρρῆξαι μάχην καὶ τοῖς σχεδογραφοῦσιν ἀντιπυρεῖν'. Cf. Konstantinos Manasses, *Oration*, ed. K. Horna, 'Eine unedierte Rede des Konstantin Manasses', *WSI* 28 (1906), 171-204, at p. 181.264-65: 'ἵσταται ποτε καὶ παισὶ τροφίμοις γραμματικῆς ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς βασιλέως [i.e., Manuel I Komnenos] ἀγών'. For the role of Ioannes Mauroπους in *schedography* see Hondridou, 'Συμβολή', pp. 152-56.

¹²⁶ Cf. Vassis, 'Τὼν νέων φιλολόγων παλαίσματα', p. 49.

¹²⁷ Nikolaos Mesarites, *Epitaphios*, p. 24.14-15: 'σὺν τοῖς ὑπερήλιξιν ἀγωνιζομένῳ καὶ τὸν τῆς σχεδογραφίας βαθμὸν ὑπερέχουσιν'. On Ioannes Mesarites see Flusin, 'Un lettré byzantin', pp. 67-83.

¹²⁸ Ioannes Apokaukos, *Letter* 62, ed. N.A. Bees, 'Unedierte Schriftstücke aus der Kanzlei des Johannes Apokaukos des Metropolitens von Naupaktos (in Aetolien)', *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher* 21 (1971-1974), 57-160, at p. 118.22: 'καὶ τοὺς τῆς σχεδογραφίας κύκλους διέκαμψα'.

¹²⁹ Theodoros Hexapterygos, *Epitaphios*, pp. 234.22-235.1: 'κάντεϋθεν καὶ τοὺς ἐν μαθήμασιν ἡλικας ὑπερπαίει καὶ ὑπερτείνει τοὺς ὑπερβεβηκότας. κἂν ὑπέτεινε τὸν βαθμὸν, ὑπεραναβαίνει τοὺς ὑπερβαθμίους. κἂν ὑποβάθμιος, ὥς καὶ νεόφυτον εὐγενές, καρπὸν προΐσχει γερανδρῶν ἡδύτερον, εὐχυμότερον. ἀμέλει, προβαίνει καὶ εἰς βαθμὸν ἐπιστατικὸν καὶ τὴν μέσῃν τάξιν ἀποκληρώσασθαι'. The 'ἐπιστατικὸς βαθμὸς' echoes the 'ἐπιστατοῦντες' in the school of the Anonymous Professor of London, *Letters*, pp. 8*-9*, *Letter* 80 (p. 71), *Letter* 96 (p. 85). Cf. also the terms 'ἐπιστάτου τοῦ ἔργου', 'superstes', 'magistri', 'μάστορες', 'ἐπιστατοῦντες', 'πρόκριτοι', used for the supervisors of construction works and the term 'μαθητάδες' used respectively for their apprentices in the Late Byzantine Constantinople: see K.-P. Matschke, 'Builders and Building in Late Byzantine Constantinople', in *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life*, ed. N. Necipoğlu (Leiden – Boston – Köln, 2001), pp. 315-328.

¹³⁰ See also Mergiali, *L'enseignement et les lettrés*, pp. 15-42.

Moschopoulos (*ca.* 1265-*ca.* 1316) became the standard method of teaching grammar by replacing its more elaborate predecessors. Known in its printed version as *Περὶ σχεδῶν*,¹³¹ Moschopoulos's work contains 22 short *schedē* ('κείμενον', *Oxon. Barroc. gr.* 112, f. 1^r — fifteenth century —)¹³² of both secular and religious content, accompanied by brief commentaries ('ἐρμηνεία', 'ἐξήγησις' *Oxon. Barroc. gr.* 112, f. 1^r and 1^v) on lexicography, orthography, grammar, morphology, syntax and etymology. Though it is not possible at this stage to say exactly when the collection of 22 *schedē* was established,¹³³ there is no doubt that the *Περὶ σχεδῶν*, along with the other Moschopouleian manual of grammar, the *Ἑρωτήματα Γραμματικά*,¹³⁴ both set out in the form of question and answer, became the basis for the teaching of orthography, grammar and syntax in Byzantine schools.¹³⁵

Konstantinos Laskares in the Preface to his *Grammar* records the almost absolute 'dominance' of Moschopoulos in his time (καὶ σχεδὸν μόνος Μοσχόπουλος ἐμονάρχησεν). Following the tradition of his predecessors, Moschopoulos collected the previous material, abbreviated, amended, completed and tailored it in accordance with the current needs and demands. For, as Laskares says, the very size of a grammar book deterred the Greeks from studying the subject, and no Latin old enough to learn was able to do so.¹³⁶ Moschopoulos's 'correcting' procedure is also evident in some of the

¹³¹ The title *Περὶ σχεδῶν* was given by the first editor Stephanus. For the various titles under which this work appears in MSS, see Gallavotti, 'Nota sulla schedografia', pp. 4-9, 21-24. Due to the unavailability of Stephanus's edition Joseph Kurzbeck published a reprint edition (μετατυπωθεῖσα), with very few corrections, of Moschopoulos's *Περὶ σχεδῶν* in Vienna in 1773. The volume was sponsored by Konstantinos Alexander Philippides of Gaios, Knight of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and Counsel of the Empress of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In the preface to his edition, Kurzbeck provides Moschopoulos's biography with reference to his works. As far as the *Περὶ σχεδῶν* is concerned, Kurzbeck stated that this work concerns orthography or rather etymology by means of the *technologia*, including meanings of most words along with their derivatives (here, most probably, synonyms) (περὶ ὀρθογραφίας μᾶλλον, ἢ περὶ ἑτυμολογίας ἐν σχήματι τεχνολογικῷ ... καὶ αἱ τῶν πλειόνων λέξεων σημασίαι. καὶ τινων αἱ παραγωγαί, καὶ τεχνολογία).

¹³² For a description of this Ms, see H.O. Coxe, *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae*, Pars Prima (Oxford, 1853), cols. 185-186.

¹³³ Cf. Gallavotti, 'Nota sulla schedografia', p. 18. Keaney, 'Moschopulea', pp. 319, 321 suggested that the Moschopouleian schedographic activity should be dated to the first decade of the fourteenth century.

¹³⁴ Ed. I. Vualder, *Grammaticae artis graecae methodus, Manuale Moschopulo auctore* (Basel, 1540).

¹³⁵ See Webb, 'A Slavish Art?', p. 85.

¹³⁶ Konstantinos Laskares, *Proemium*, PG 161, cols. 932-33: 'Οἱ γὰρ παλαιότατοι εὐτυχίας οὐσης τῷ γένει ἐπιμελέστατα περὶ γραμματικῆς ἔγραψαν· ἵνα μὴ βίβλω τὸ πᾶν αὐτῆς παραδοίεν. Σαφές δὲ τὸ λεγόμενον ἀπὸ τε τῶν Διονυσίου τοῦ Θρακῆος, Ἀριστάρχου τε καὶ Τρύφωνος, Ἀπολλωνίου τε καὶ Ἡρωδιανοῦ ἐρωτημάτων· ἐν οἷς δεῖ καὶ μνήμης καὶ χρόνων καὶ πλούτου. Οἱ δὲ πολλῶ μετ' αὐτοὺς τὰ ἐκείνων συντεμνοντες (*leg.* συντέμνοντες) συνέστειλαν, οἷα Θεοδοσίος καὶ Χοιροβοσκός καὶ ἄλλοι· ὧν τὰ

titles accompanying both these works in MSS. For example, in cod. *Oxon. Barocc. gr.* 104, f. 1^v (end of fifteenth century¹³⁷), the title appears as ἀρχὴ συν θεῷ ἀγίῳ τῶν σχεδῶν τῶν διωρθωθέντων (sic) παρὰ τοῦ ἰσοφωτάτου κυροῦ μανουὴλ τοῦ μοσχοπούλου. In the *editio princeps* of his *Erotemata* we read, 'Ἀρχὴ συν θεῷ ἀγίῳ τῶν ἐρωτημάτων βραχυνθέντων (cf. codd. *Laur. Plut.* 56.28, sixteenth century¹³⁸: διορθωθέντων; *Neap.* II D 18, beginning of sixteenth century, ante 1531¹³⁹: ὀρθωθέντων) παρὰ τοῦ μανουὴλ μοσχοπούλου,¹⁴⁰ while the scribe of cod. *Vat. gr.* 20, f. 1^v (first half of fourteenth century¹⁴¹) opted for 'Ἀρχὴ συν θεῷ τῶν ἐρωτημάτων μεταπλασθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ κυροῦ μανουὴλ τοῦ κρήτης. These alternative readings indicate clearly that these books were remodelled and recast by Moschopoulos.¹⁴²

K. Krumbacher postulated that the *Περὶ σχεδῶν* was a kind of appendix to the *Ἐρωτήματα*.¹⁴³ This assumption seems to be confirmed by the extant MSS.¹⁴⁴ For the two works often appear together in the same codex, with the *Ἐρωτήματα*, namely the grammatical theory, preceding the *Περὶ σχεδῶν*, which provides the application of the theory. In addition, there are a number of references to the *Ἐρωτήματα* in the *Περὶ σχεδῶν* which link the two

ἐρωτήματα Μοσχόπουλος καὶ οἱ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ βραχύναντες διὰ τὴν δυστυχίαν τοῦ γένους τὰ παλαιὰ ἐπεκάλυψαν· καὶ σχεδὸν μόνος Μοσχόπουλος ἐμονάρχησεν, οὗ τὸ ἔργον εἰ καὶ βραχὺ τοῖς τότε ὡς πρὸς τὰ ἐκείνων ἔδοξεν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μεταταῦτα μακρὸν καὶ ἀνιάρων καὶ πᾶσιν ἀκροαταῖς οὐκ ἐφάρμοστον. Ὅθεν ὀλίγοι τε ἐν Ἑλλάδι περὶ γραμματικῆς ἐσπούδαζον ὀκνοῦντες τὸ μῆκος, οὐδεῖς τε Λατίνους ἐν ἡλικίᾳ ὧν μαθεῖν οἷός τ' ἐγένετο. Μανουὴλος δὲ ὁ Χρυσολωρᾶς, ἀνὴρ τῶν σπουδαίων τὴν πατρίδα προλιπών, εἰς Ἱταλίαν ἀφίκτο, πρῶτος τε τὰ ἡμέτερα Ἱταλοῦς διδάσκειν ἀρξάμενος, ἐπιτομὴν μετριώτεραν συνέταξε καθ' ἣν οὐκ ὀλίγους, τῶν Ἱταλῶν ἐν Φλωρεντίᾳ ἐπαίδευσεν ...'. However Laskares (*On the Noun and Verb*, Epilogue, ed. R. Proctor, *Epilogue of Konstantinos Laskaris to his Treatise on the Noun and the Verb*, in *The Printing of Greek in the Fifteenth Century* [Oxford, 1900], pp. 207-208, at 207) criticized these abridgments, 'οὐ δεῖ τοὺς μαθητὰς μόναις ἀρκεῖσθαι ταῖς ἐπιτομαῖς ὥσπερ σκιαγραφίαις οὖσαις'.

¹³⁷ For a description of this MS, see Coxe, *Catalogi codicum*, cols. 173-74.

¹³⁸ For a description of this MS, see A.M. Bandini, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae medicae Laurentianae*, vol. II (Leipzig, 1961), cols. 329-30.

¹³⁹ For a description of this MS, see M.R. Formentin, *Catalogus codicum graecorum Bibliothecae Nationalis Neapolitanae*, vol. II (Rome, 1995), pp. 21-22.

¹⁴⁰ See also a similar title in codd. *Neapolitani* II C 37, f. 41^r and II D 15, f. 1^r, ed. P. Ippolito, 'Σχεδάρια Bizantini nei manoscritti della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli', *Rendiconti della Accademia di Archeologia lettere e belle arti*, n.s. 52 (1977), 277-288, at p. 280.

¹⁴¹ For a description of this MS, see I. Mercati and P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Codices Vaticani Graeci*, vol. I: *Codices 1-329* (Rome, 1923), pp. 19-20.

¹⁴² See also A. Hilgard, ed., *Grammatici Graeci*, vol. 4.1-2, pp. xxxvii-Lii, esp. xxxvii and L-Lii with a list of codices preserving *Erotemata*, among which *Monac. gr.* 340 (fourteenth century), with the title 'τοῦ μοσχοπούλου κυροῦ μανουὴλ σύνοψις ἡκριβομένη (sic) ἀρχὴ συν θεῷ ἀγίῳ τῶν ἐρωτημάτων' (Hardt, 3, 342).

¹⁴³ K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur von Justinian bis zum Ende des oströmischen Reiches (527-1453)* (Munich, 1897), p. 547; cf. Ippolito, 'Σχεδάρια', p. 281.

¹⁴⁴ E.g., codd. *Vat. gr.* 20, *Vat. gr.* 2232, *Vat. Urb. gr.* 153, *Amb. E* 82 sup., *Par. gr.* 2546, *Par. Coislin.* 348, *Neap.* II C 37, *Neap.* II D 14 and *Neap.* II D 15.

works, regardless of whether they are contained or not in the same codex. For example, in cod. *Vat. Pal. gr.* 92, f. 51^v (dated to the last decade or two of the thirteenth century) the scribe refers to the *Ἑρωτήματα* as an earlier stage of the teaching.¹⁴⁵ Similarly, in cod. *Vat. gr.* 1527 the grammatical rule of certain words in the *analysis* of the *schedē* is omitted for brevity's sake, while reference is made once more to the *Ἑρωτήματα*.¹⁴⁶ The same occurs in *Vat. gr.* 18 and *Vat. Reg. gr. Pio II* 54, which include references to the *Ἑρωτήματα*.¹⁴⁷ However, this does not provide conclusive proof that the *Ἑρωτήματα* referred to in the above mentioned Vatican codices are in fact Moschopoulos's own *Ἑρωτήματα*, for they may belong to other authors who have composed similar works. Such a hypothesis is supported by Konstantinos Laskares, who in the Epilogue to his treatise *On the Noun and the Verb* refers to *Ἑρωτήματα* as works composed by different authors, from Dionysios Thrax to Theodoros Gazes (ca. 1400-1475/76).¹⁴⁸

What is certain, however, is that Moschopoulos drawing from the previous tradition, selected the *schedē* which he included in his composition, not only reducing their number (to 22) but also condensing the first *schedos*.¹⁴⁹ He also adopted a more flexible approach, most probably with a view to making his work more accessible. At times he was more selective in his *analysis* of the *schedē* concerning grammatical rules and vocabulary, while in other cases he was more analytical and explanatory.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁵ Cod. *Vat. Pal. gr.* 92, f. 51^v: '... ἦν, ποίου μέρους· λόγος ἐστὶν ῥήματος καὶ κανονίζεται ὡς ἔμαθες εἰς τὰ ἐρωτήματα' (my italics). On the dating of this MS see Gallavotti, 'Nota sulla schedografia', p. 20; I. Polemis has identified the second scribe of the codex with Νίκανδρος (who was active in the Despotate of Epirus in mid-thirteenth century), see Polemis, 'Μία υπόθεσις', pp. 561-65.

¹⁴⁶ Cod. *Vat. gr.* 1527, ff. 93^r, 97^v, 102^v and 105^v: 'καὶ ἔμαθες ἐν τοῖς ἐρωτήμασι'. Cf. Robins, *The Byzantine Grammarians*, p. 136, for the progressive brevity noticed in the case of Priscian's *Partitiones* and also in Choiroboskos's *Epimerimoi in Psalmos*.

¹⁴⁷ Codd. *Vat. gr.* 18, f. 23^r: 'καὶ ἔμαθες ἐν τοῖς ἐρωτήμασι'; this MS is dated to the fourteenth-fifteenth century by Mercati and Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Codices Vaticani graeci*, p. 17; *Vat. Reg. gr. Pio II* 54, ff. 372^r, 372^v, 376^r: 'ὡς ἔμαθες εἰς τὰ ἐρωτήματα', ἦν (*leg.* ἦν) ἔμαθες ἐν τοῖς ἐρωτήμασι', 'καὶ ἔμαθες ἐν τοῖς ἐρωτήμασιν'.

¹⁴⁸ Konstantinos Laskares, *On the Noun and Verb*, Epilogue, p. 207: '... τὰ παλαιὰ ἐρωτήματα Διονυσίου τοῦ Θρακός, Ἀπολλωνίου καὶ Ἡρωδιανοῦ καὶ Ἀρκαδίου, ἀφ' ὧν οἱ νεώτεροι ἀρυσάμενοι τὰ ἑαυτῶν συνέθηκον ἐν Ἑλλάδι — Θεοδόσιος καὶ Χοιρόβοσκος, Μοσχόπουλος τε καὶ Πτωχοπρόδρομος καὶ ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς Σχολάριος, καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ ὁ πρὸ ἡμῶν Μανουήλος ὁ Χρυσολωρᾶς, πρῶτος ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ, καὶ ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς Θεόδωρος ὁ Γαζής, καὶ ἄλλοι κατὰ καιροὺς καὶ πόλεις βραχύτατα συνθέντες Ἰταλοῖς χαρίζομενοι' (cf. the same passage with slight variations, *PG*, 161, col. 937). Cf. idem, *On the Noun and Verb*, Epilogue, p. 207: 'τὸν γὰρ ἀκριβῆ γραμματικὸν πάμπολλα ἀναγνῶναι δεῖ, οὐ μόνον τὰ εὗρισκόμενα παλαιὰ καὶ νέα ἐρωτήματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰλλα διάφορα'.

¹⁴⁹ For a transcription of the first *schedos* preserved in cod. *Vat. Pal. gr.* 92 in a lengthier form than the Moschopouleian one, see Gallavotti, 'Nota sulla schedografia', p. 32.

¹⁵⁰ See Keaney, 'Moschopulea', pp. 309 and 312. Cf. also the criticism of the Moschopoulos's *Ἑρωτήματα Γραμματικά* by Konstantinos Laskares, *Proemium*, *PG* 161, col. 933: '(Μοσχόπου-

J. Keaney, who examined Vatican manuscripts containing *schedographies*, categorised them in three classes. Class I, consists of codd. *Vat. Barb. gr.* 102 (ff. 3-148), with 125 *schedē* (Keaney examined only 41, but 42 in fact); *Vat. Pal. gr.* 92 (ff. 1-239), with 34 *schedē*, and the second part of *Vat. Reg. gr. Pio PP. II* 54 (B) (ff. 151^r-462^r) with 36 *schedē*. Class II, whose grammatical analysis depends on Class I consists of codd. *Vat. gr.* 18 (ff. 1^r-105^v), *Vat. Reg. gr. Pio PP. II* 54 (A) (ff. 53^r-146^r) and *Vat. gr.* 1527 (1^r-130^v) bearing 22, 22 and 20 *schedē* respectively, used as a model by Moschopoulos. Class III is represented by the edition of the Moschopouleian *schedography* by Stephanus. Gallavotti, 'Nota sulla schedografia', in his investigation of *schedography* which extended to other manuscript collections, came to the conclusion that Class II and Class III may have developed independently of each other, though deriving from common archetype.¹⁵¹

For the Moschopouleian lexicographical entries, Keaney has pointed out that Moschopoulos used two new sources, the *Scholia to Aristophanes* and Harpokration's *Lexicon*.¹⁵² But above all Keaney considers Moschopoulos's contribution to have been the wide use of literary quotations from classical and post-classical and Christian authors (Aristophanes, Plato, Aristotle, Lucian and Gregory of Nazianzus), from which he drew his examples to explain grammatical rules.¹⁵³ For the same reason, Moschopoulos used quotations also from other authors, including Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, Sophocles, Euripides, Theokritos, Philostratos and Synesios, whom he edited and/or annotated.¹⁵⁴ To the list of the authors Moschopoulos quoted or referred to should now be added Demosthenes, Lysias, Hippokrates, Kallimachos, Libanios and Menander.¹⁵⁵ However, this approach was not original. Long before Moschopoulos, Choïroboskos in his *Ἐπιμερισμοὶ* had used quotations from classical and post-classical authors to clarify his exposition of grammatical rules and theory.¹⁵⁶ This method is confirmed

λου) οὗ τὸ ἔργον εἰ καὶ βραχὺ τοῖς τότε ὡς πρὸς τὰ ἐκείνων ἔδοξεν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μεταταῦτα μακρὸν καὶ ἀνιάρων καὶ πᾶσιν ἀκροαταῖς οὐκ ἐφάρμοστον'.

¹⁵¹ For a revised study of these classes, see J.J. Keaney, 'A New Fragment of Sophocles and its Schedographic Context', *AJPh* 122 (2001), 173-77, p. 174.

¹⁵² Keaney, 'Moschopulea' does not explore further lexicographical sources; he simply states that Moschopoulos also drew from Class II (esp. pp. 311, 312, 321).

¹⁵³ Cf. Keaney 'Moschopulea', p. 312; Fryde, *Palaeologan Renaissance*, pp. 219-20.

¹⁵⁴ See Keaney 'Moschopulea', p. 318.

¹⁵⁵ Manuel Moschopoulos, *Περὶ σχεδῶν*, ed. Stephanus, pp. 37, 132, 133, 135, 142, 184, 198 (Demosthenes); p. 200 (Lysias); pp. 20, 105, 134, 184 (Hippokrates); p. 16 (Kallimachos); p. 174 (Libanios); p. 184 (Menander).

¹⁵⁶ Georgios Choïroboskos, *Ἐπιμερισμοί*, ed. Gaisford, index, pp. 193-258.

by Theodoros Metochites (1270-1332) who learned his grammar with the help of 'poetic recitations and examples'.¹⁵⁷

For the grammatical rules in his *Περὶ σχεδῶν*,¹⁵⁸ Moschopoulos made use of Herodianos's *Ἐπιμερισμοί*,¹⁵⁹ and *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῆδίας*,¹⁶⁰ together with *Περὶ διχρόνων*.¹⁶¹ Choïroboskos, *Ἐπιμερισμοί* and *Προλεγόμενα σὺν θεῷ εἰς τοὺς ῥηματικούς κανόνας ἀπὸ φωνῆς Γεωργίου Χοιροβοσκοῦ*, Ps-Theodosios, *Περὶ Γραμματικῆς*, Theognostos, *Κανόνες ἢ περὶ Ὄρθογραφίας*, Th. Magistros, *Ἐκλογή ὀνομάτων καὶ ῥημάτων ἀττικῶν* should now be added to the list of grammatical manuals on which Moschopoulos based his own work.¹⁶²

Keaney had pointed out that Moschopoulos composed his *schedography* bearing in mind the school reality. Through the use of quotations he 'facilitated the students' transition from ὀρθογραφία to the reading of classical authors'.¹⁶³ The transition from the first stage of mastering the language to the second stage, which introduces the student to literature, is echoed in the remark made by the anonymous composer of the *schedography* in cod. Vat. gr. 1527, f. 111^r: 'and you will learn further about this myth (of the birth of Helen of Troy) in the poets'.¹⁶⁴ Similar expressions,

¹⁵⁷ Theodoros Metochites, *Ἀστρονομικῆς κατ' ἐπιτομὴν στοιχειώσεως βιβλίον πρῶτον*, ed. B. Bydén, *Theodore Metochites' Stoicheiosis Astronomike and the Study of Natural Philosophy and Mathematics in Early Palaiologan Byzantium* (Göteborg, 2003), p. 418.28-35: 'καὶ τοίνυν ἔτη γεγωνῶς τρία ἐπὶ τοῖς δέκα, τῶν μὲν τῆς γραμματικῆς ἐκλογισμῶν καὶ ὀρισμάτων περὶ τὴν λέξιν καὶ τῆς ἀκριβείας καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν γλῶτταν διὰ βασάνου πάσης καὶ διακρίσεως ἀφοπλίσεως, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τῆς εἰς ταύτην ἐκ ποιητικῶν ἀκουσμάτων καὶ ὑποδειγμάτων συμμαχίας καὶ παρασκευῆς καὶ ὀρθότητος, εἰς τὴν ἐξῆς χρῆσιν ἀπαλλάττομαι, τάχιστα μὲν, οὐκ ἔξω δ' ἴσως τοῦ καιροῦ, οὐδ' ἀνικάνως ἔχων, ἀπαλλάττομαι δ' οὖν' (my italics).

¹⁵⁸ Stephanus' s edition differs from the manuscripts. See also below, Appendix IV.

¹⁵⁹ Aelios Herodianos and Ps.-Herodianos, *Partitiones*, ed. J.F. Boissonade, *Ἡρωδιανὸς Ἐπιμερισμοὶ e codd. Parisinis*, (London, 1819; repr. Amsterdam, 1963), pp. 1-282.

¹⁶⁰ For Aelios Herodianos and Ps.-Herodianos, *On Prosody*, see above p. 51, n. 9.

¹⁶¹ Cf. Keaney, 'A New Fragment', esp. pp. 175-76, who traces Aelios Herodianos and Ps.-Herodianos's *Περὶ διχρόνων* (ed. Lentz in *Grammatici Graeci*, vol. 3.2, pp. 7-20), as another source Moschopoulos used. However, the passage Keaney quotes in his article can also be found in Herodianos and Ps.-Herodianos's *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῆδίας*, p. 530.7-22 (Keaney traced a different passage of *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῆδίας* as a Moschopouleian source).

¹⁶² For Choïroboskos's *Προλεγόμενα σὺν θεῷ εἰς τοὺς ῥηματικούς κανόνας ἀπὸ φωνῆς Γεωργίου Χοιροβοσκοῦ* see above p. 51, n. 13; for Ps-Theodosios's *Περὶ Γραμματικῆς* see above p. 49, n. 2; for Theognostos's *Κανόνες ἢ περὶ Ὄρθογραφίας*, see above p. 51, n. 17; Magistros, *Ecloga nominum et verborum Atticorum*, ed. F. Ritschl, *Thomae Magistri sive Theoduli monachi ecloga vocum Atticarum* (Halle, 1832; repr. Hildesheim, 1970), pp. 1-411. It cannot be ascertained at this stage whether Moschopoulos drew from Magistros or whether they both used a common source unknown to us. The sources Moschopoulos used in his *Peri schedon* deserve further research. See also below, Appendix IV.

¹⁶³ Keaney 'Moschopulea', p. 312.

¹⁶⁴ Cod. Vat. gr. 1527, f. 111^r, (also in cod. Laur. Plut. 55.37, f. 64^r): 'καὶ μαθήσῃ ἐν τοῖς ποιηταῖς πλατύτερον τὰ περὶ τούτου'.

such as 'you will learn' (μαθήση) or 'you will find' (εύρήσεις), appear in MSS with *schedographies*.¹⁶⁵ Theodoros II Laskares also stressed the 'sequence and interdependence' of these two stages.¹⁶⁶

In the structure and phraseology Moschopoulos used in analyzing the *schedē* in his *Περὶ σχεδῶν*, he seems to have followed Georgios Choïroboskos.¹⁶⁷ The order of the *schedē* adopted by Moschopoulos is determined by their interconnection, as it becomes clear in cod. *Vat. gr.* 1527 from the frequent reminder, such as 'you have learned this' (καὶ ἔμαθες),¹⁶⁸ 'you have learned this earlier' (καὶ προέμαθες), and 'it has been already cited' (καὶ προεγράφη, ὅπερ προεγράφη), referring to previous examples where the grammatical rule under discussion was explained in a more analytical way. In some cases, the exact point of previous reference is cited in cod. *Vat. gr.* 1527, e.g., f. 64^r: ὅπερ προεγράφη εἰς τὸ πρεσβεία (cf. f. 20^v); f. 45^r: προεγράφη καὶ αὐτὸ εἰς τὸ φῶτισον (cf. f. 24^v); f. 111^r: καὶ ἔμαθες εἰς τὸ ἔλεος (cf. ff. 38^v-39^r). These cross-references do not appear in Stephanus's *editio princeps* (1545) which is considered to be the 'official' Moschopouleian composition, for the simple reason that so far there has been no critical edition of this work.¹⁶⁹

In order to get a clearer view of the Moschopouleian *schedography* as a textbook used by teachers and students, we shall give an analysis of the layout of a page in an attempt to evaluate its use in the classroom. The best example so far is cod. *Vat. gr.* 1527. Each *schedos* is introduced by an elaborate or simple vignette or decorative pattern, followed by a large initial letter (see Plate II). Marginal space, covering approximately 1/4 of the page, has been reserved in the left and bottom margin for annotation. The *schedē* are copied in larger letterforms in contrast to the smaller size used in the interlinear notes and the *analysis* that follows the short *schedos*. In the main text of the *schedos* interlinear space (ca. 1-2 lines) allows the insertion of *glosses*, that is, synonymous simpler words or short explanations of difficult words.¹⁷⁰ In this MS the *glosses* usually appear in the same ink as in the main text, while in some codices red ink was used to help the reader, student and/or teacher. Greek numerals inserted above words in

¹⁶⁵ Codd. *Vat. gr.* 18, f. 40^v: 'μαθήση'; *Vat. Pal. gr.* 320: 'εύρήσεις τὴν φύσιν σημαίνουσιν παρὰ ποιηταῖς καὶ τοῖς ῥήτορσιν', cited by Keaney, 'Moschopulea', p. 313.

¹⁶⁶ See above, p. 50, n. 6.

¹⁶⁷ See Robins, *The Byzantine Grammarians*, pp. 130-38, where he cites an extract from Choïroboskos's *Ἐπιμερισμοί*.

¹⁶⁸ M.L. Agatì, 'Una "tecnologia" inedita al carme *de utroque genere foeminarum* di Giovanni Pediasimo', *Bollettino dei Classici* s. III, 7 (1986), 152-62, at p. 156, where she states that the use of the expression καὶ ἔμαθες indicates the *usum scholarum* of the text.

¹⁶⁹ A critical edition of this work is currently in preparation.

¹⁷⁰ On *glosses* see below, p. 94 with n. 9.

the *schedos* act as guides for the correct syntactical order of clauses and/or parts in the sentence (see Plate II). The *analysis*, separated from the *schedos* by a space, is introduced by an elaborate major initial. Minor initials distinguish different sections of the analysis (see Plate IV). The beginning or ending of words or whole words analysed, according to grammatical rules, appear in the margin in red ink for quick reference (see Plate III). Usually there is no interlinear space left for *glosses* in the analysis; an exception of this is cod. *Vat. gr.* 1527. Incidentally, this codex was most probably produced for a Latin reader/student, as the interlinear and marginal notes appear also in Latin (see Plate V).¹⁷¹

Moschopoulos's *analysis* follows the four established rules of orthography: ἀναλογία, διάλεκτος, ἐτυμολογία and ἱστορία,¹⁷² examining almost every word in the *schedos*. Grammatical rules in the *analysis* are distinguished by the term κανονίζεται. Exceptions to the rule are also given. This approach tallies with Ps.-Theodosios's definition of orthography, namely that the term refers not only to the correct spelling of a word, but also to the rule that demonstrates why a particular spelling is correct.¹⁷³ The grammatical rules are followed by examples, which, according to Ps.-Theodosios, constitute rules in themselves, for they correct mistakes and in that sense they are equal to a rule, 'hence, it can be said that a rule is an example, and an example is a rule'.¹⁷⁴

Almost every word that can be declined or conjugated is analysed in terms of properties. For teaching purposes this section is composed in the familiar form of *question and answer* (Ἑρωταποκρίσεις)¹⁷⁵. In the cases

¹⁷¹ On this MS, see below, pp. 147-48.

¹⁷² See above, pp. 55-57, with n. 36.

¹⁷³ Ps.-Theodosios, *Grammar*, p. 61.22-32: 'Ἰστέον δέ, ὅτι δύο σημαίνει τὸ τῆς ὀρθογραφίας ὄνομα· ἔστι γὰρ ὀρθογραφία λέξις ἡ ὀρθῶς γεγραμμένη· ἔστι καὶ ὁ κανὼν ὁ ἀποδεικτικὸς τῆς ὀρθῶς γεγραμμένης λέξεως [...] αὐτὸς ὁ κανὼν ὀρθογραφία καλεῖται'.

¹⁷⁴ Ps.-Theodosios, *Grammar*, p. 100.3-11, adds: 'ἃ γὰρ αὐτὸς (i.e., the grammarian) μετὰ τοὺς κανόνας ἐκτίθησιν ὀνόματα καὶ παραδείγματα ὀνομάζει, τί ἄλλο ἢ κανόνες εἰσὶ καὶ αὐτά; ὥστε γὰρ πρὸς τὸν κανόνα λέγομεν ἀπευθύνειν τὰ λοξὰ τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ στρεβλά, καὶ τῷ κανόνι ἰσάζοντα ἐκεῖνα ὀρθῶς ἔχειν κρίνομεν· οὕτω καὶ πρὸς τὸ παράδειγμα ἀφορᾶν καὶ τὰ τῷ παραδείγματι εἰσκότα ἐκεῖνα ὁγίως ἔχειν λέγομεν· ἔστιν ἄρα καὶ ὁ κανὼν παράδειγμα καὶ τὸ παράδειγμα κανὼν'.

¹⁷⁵ On Erotapokriseis, see A. Garzya, 'Appunti sulle erotapocriseis', *Vetera Christianorum* 29 (1992), 305-314; A.M. Ieraci Bio, 'L' ΕΡΩΤΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ nella letteratura medica', in *Esegesi, parafrasi e compilazione in età tardoantica: atti del terzo Convegno dell'Associazione di studi tardoantichi*, ed. C. Moreschini (Naples, 1995), pp. 187-207; A.-L. Rey, 'Les erotapokriseis dans le monde byzantin: tradition manuscrite des textes anciens et production de nouveaux textes', in *Erotapokriseis: Early Christian Question-and-Answer Literature in Context: Proceedings of the Utrecht Colloquium, 13-14 October 2003*, eds. A. Volgers and C. Zamagni (Leuven – Paris – Dudley, Mass., 2004), pp. 165-189; Y. Papadoyannakis, 'Instruction by Question and Answer: The Case of Late Antique and Byzantine Erotapokriseis', in *Greek Literature in Late Antiquity. Dynamism, Didacticism, Classicism*, ed. Scott F. Johnson (Aldershot – Burlington, 2006), pp. 91-106.

of substantives, the question is ‘to which part of speech does it belong?’ (ποίου μέρους λόγου ἐστίν;), and the answer is ‘of a noun’ (ὀνόματος). The next questions include the form of the noun in nominative singular, gender, subclass, and case: πῶς ἐστίν ἡ εὐθεΐα; ποίου γένους; ποίου εἵδους; ποίας πτώσεως; In the case of verbs the first section concerning its identification (ποίου μέρους λόγου ἐστίν; ῥήματος) is followed by conjugation and tense (ποίας συζυγίας; ποίου χρόνου;), the stem (τὸ θέμα πῶς ἐστί;) and the form of present tense first person singular, along with other tenses. This section is followed by questions on etymology and meaning/s (πόθεν γίνεται/παράγεται; πόσα σημαίνει;), and finally the grammatical rule (κανονίζεται). Here are two examples from cod. Vat. gr. 1527:¹⁷⁶

Noun: Κύριος (f. 3^{r-v}): Κύριε ποίου μέρους λόγου ἐστίν ὀνόματος· ποίου γένους· ἀρσενικοῦ· ποίου εἵδους· παραγώγου· ποίου εἵδους τῶν παραγώγων· παρωνύμου· τί ἐστὶ παρωνύμου· τὸ παρ’ ὀνομα ποιηθέν· οἶον, Θέων· Τρύφων· καὶ πόθεν γίνεται· παρὰ τὸ κύρος ὃ σημαίνει τὴν ἐξουσίαν· καὶ πόσα σημαίνει τὸ κύρος· δύο· τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας καὶ τὸ κύριον ὄνομα· ὡς τό, κύρος κατὰ τῆς πλάνης εἴληφας Κύρε Μακάριε· καὶ εἰ μὲν σημαίνει τὸ κύριον ὄνομα, ποίου γένους· ἀρσενικοῦ· καὶ πῶς κλίνεται· τοῦ Κύρου· εἰ δὲ σημαίνει τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας, ποίου γένους οὐδετέρου· καὶ πῶς κλίνεται· τὸ κύρος τοῦ κύρεος (post corr. e κύρεος) καὶ κύρους· καὶ πόθεν γίνεται· παρὰ τὸ κύρω· τὸ ἐπιτυγχάνω· Κύριε ποίας πτώσεως· κλητικῆς τῶν ἐνικῶν· ἡ εὐθεΐα· ὁ Κύριος καὶ κλίνεται τοῦ Κυρίου· ἡ κλητική, ὦ Κύριε· ὁ κανὼν· τὰ εἰς ὅς ἀρσενικὰ εἰς οὐ ἔχοντα τὴν γενικὴν, εἰς Ἐ ποιεῖ τὴν κλητικὴν· τὸ κῶ ψιλόν· διατί· πᾶσα λέξις ἀπὸ τῆς κῶ συλλαβῆς ἀρχομένη, διὰ τοῦ ὦ ψιλοῦ γράφεται, οἶον κύριος· κῶμα· κυμαίνω τὸ ταρασσώ [...].

Verb: τεχθῆναι (f. 10^r): τεχθῆναι, ποίου μέρους λόγου ἐστὶ ῥήματος (post corr. e ῥήματος)· ποίας συζυγίας· δευτέρας τῶν βαρυτόνων· ποίου χρόνου· ἀόριστου πρώτου παθητικοῦ· τὸ θέμα πῶς ἐστί· τέκω οὐ ὁ μέλλων τέξω· ὁ παρακείμενος τέτεχα, ὁ παθητικὸς τέτεγμαι· ἄχρηστος οὗτος· ἀόριστος ἐτέχθην· ἐτέχθης· ἐτέχθη· καὶ τὸ ἀπαρέμφατον, τεχθῆναι· ὁ κανὼν· πᾶς παθητικὸς ἀόριστος κατὰ τὸ τρίτον ἑαυτοῦ πρόσωπον τὴν αἰ προσλαβών, τὸ ἀπαρέμφατον ποιεῖ· τὸ τε ψιλόν διατί· τὰ διὰ τοῦ ἐκῶ ῥήματα, διὰ τοῦ ἔ ψιλοῦ γράφεται· οἶον, πέκω τὸ πλέκω· τέκω· κρέκω τὸ ἡχῶ· ῥέκω καὶ τὰ ὅμοια· καὶ ἄλλως πᾶσα λέξις ἀπὸ τῆς τε συλλαβῆς ἀρχομένη, διὰ τοῦ ἔ ψιλοῦ γράφεται· οἶον, τέγος τὸ στέγος· τέθριππον τὸ ἐκ τεσσάρων ἵππων ἄρμα [...].

Generally the *schedē* were adapted to meet different needs. This is clear in the following examples where the *analysis*, and in some cases the text, of the same *schedos* appears to be slightly different.¹⁷⁷ This is the case not only in different MSS (see below, Appendix III), but also in the same MS¹⁷⁸:

¹⁷⁶ For a transcription of two complete *schedē* contained in cod. Vat. gr. 1527, see below, Appendix II.

¹⁷⁷ In the transcriptions of these particular texts abbreviations and suspensions are included in round and pointed brackets respectively, in order to show differences in their copying.

¹⁷⁸ On f. 408^r.6-408^v.11 there are some interlinear *glosses*, which however are not legible in the microfilm.

Vat. Reg. gr. Pio II 54, ff. 347^v.6-348^v.19 *Vat. Reg. gr. Pio II 54, f. 408^r.6-408^v.11*

Μίμησαι τὸν μύρμηκα ὦ νεανία. (καὶ) ὥσπερ ἐκεῖν(ος) σπεύδει συλλέγειν (καὶ) θησαυρίζειν τῶν τ(ῆς) γῆς κόλπων ἔσω, οὕτω (καὶ) σὺ ἐντ(ὸς) τοῦ σοῦ νοῦ, τὰ ἐκδι-
δόμ(εν)ά σοι ῥησεῖδια (καὶ) λεξεῖδια, θη-
σαυρίζων ἔσο·.

Μίμησαι τὸν μύρμηκα ὦ νεανία· (καὶ) ὥσπερ ἐκεῖν(ος) σπεύδει συλλέγειν **τὴν τοῦ χειμῶ-
νος τροφήν**, (καὶ) θησαυρίζειν τῶν τῆς γῆς
κόλπων ἔσω, οὕτω (καὶ) σὺ ἐντ(ὸς) τοῦ σοῦ
νοός, τὰ ἐκδιδόμενά σοι ῥησεῖδια (καὶ) λεξεί-
δια, θησαυρίζων ἔσο **αἶε**·

μίσ(ος) μίασμα μιαρ(ός), (καὶ) μιμοῦμαι
ῥῆμα, ἱ (καὶ) τὰ λοιπ(ά), **προέμαθες**· εἰς τὸ
ἀπὸ μι,

μίμησαι κανόνισ(ον)· μιμέω μιμῶ· ὁ ἀόρι-
στ(ος) ἐμίμησ(α) (καὶ) ὁ μέ(σος) πρ(οσ)τα-
κτικ(ός), μίμησαι· τὸ μι τὸ πρῶτ(ον)· ἱ δ(ια)τί,
πᾶς ἀναδιπλασιασμ(ός). τὸ μῆ τὸ δευτ(ε)ρ(ον)
(*leg.* δεύτερον) ἡ δ(ια)τί· ἡ (δὲ) πρῶτ(η) συ-
ζυγ(ία) τῶν περισπωμ(ένων)· τὸ σᾶι δίφ(θογ-
γ)(ον) δ(ια)τί· διὸ (καὶ) διὰ, διφ(θόγγου)
γράφεται·

τὸν μύρμηκα· ἡ εὐθ(εία) (*leg.* εὐθεῖα)· ὁ
μύρμηξ· τὸ μῆ ἡ δ(ια)τί· τῶν εἰς ἡξ (ἡξ, ἱ
sscr.) ληγόντων ἀρσενικ(ῶν) ὀνομ(ά)τ(ων)·
ἡ μ(έν) γραφ(όνται) ταῦτ(α) οἶ(ον) κάχληξ
ὄρηξ· ῥῆξ (καὶ) τὰ ὅμοια· ἱ (δὲ) ταῦτ(α)·
οἶ(ον) καλίθριξ (*leg.* καλλίθριξ) κύλιξ· ὁμη-
λιξ· ἱξ ὁ σκώληξ· στίξ· ἡ τάξις (καὶ) τὰ ὅμοια.

μίμησ(αι) κανόνισ(ον)· μιμέω μιμῶ, ὁ μέλ-
λ(ων) μιμήσω· ὁ ἀόριστ(ος) ἐμίμησ(α)· (καὶ)
ὁ μέ(σος) πρ(οσ)τακτικ(ός), μίμησ(αι)· τὸ μῆ
τὸ (δεύτερον) ἡ δ(ια)τί· ἐκ τοῦ μιμῶ μιμήσω
μέλλοντ(ος)·

νεανία, ἡ εὐθ(εία) (*leg.* εὐθεῖα), ὁ νεανίας
τοῦ νεανίου, τὸ νῆ, ἱ δ(ια)τί τὰ διὰ τοῦ ἱας
ἀρσ(ε)νι(κὰ) βαρύτονα, (καὶ) ἄλλως· ἀλαζο-
νίας (ἀλαζονίας -ει- sscr.), **ἐγρ(άφη)**·

ὁ νεανί(ας), ὁ ἀλαζονίας ὁ γοητίας ὁ τραυμα-
τί(ας). ἐπὶ μ(έν) ἀρσ(ε)νι(κῶν) ἱ· ἐπὶ (δὲ)
θηλυ(κῶν) δίφ(θογγον)· (καὶ) ἔστιν ἡ εὐ-
θ(εία) (*leg.* εὐθεῖα)· ἡ ἀλαζωνεία (*leg.* ἀλα-
ζονεία), τῆς ἀλαζωνεί(ας) (*leg.* ἀλαζονείας).
ἡ γοητεία, τῆς γοητεί(ας). ἡ τραυματεία, τῆς
τραυματεί(ας)· **(καὶ) ἕτερα τούτ(οις) ὅμοια**·

ἐκεῖνος, τὸ κῆι δίφ(θογγον) **δ(ια)τί** τὰ διὰ τοῦ
ινῶς προπερισπώμ(ε)ν(α), διὰ τοῦ ἱ γραφ(ο-
νται)· οἶ(ον), Ἀντωνῖν(ος)· Ἰουστῖν(ος)· Κων-
σταντῖ(νος)· (καὶ) τὰ ὅμοια, πλ(ήν) τοῦ θρη-
ν(ος) ὁ ὀδυρμ(ός), κτήν(ος) τὸ ζῶον· σμῆν(ος)
τὸ ἡ πλῆθ(ος)· (καὶ) τῆν(ος), ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐκεῖ-
ν(ος)· ἂ διὰ τοῦ ἡ γραφ(ονται). ἐκεῖν(ος) (δὲ)

(καὶ) ξεῖν(ος) ὁ ξένος, (καὶ) στεῖν(ος) ὁ στε-
νὸς τόπος· δίφ(θογγ)(ον)

θησαυρίζει συζυγ(ίας) δ̄ τ(ών) βαρυτόν(ων)·
τὸ θη ῆ **δ(ια)τί** τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς θι (θι post corr. ex
η) συλλαβ(ῆς) διὰ τοῦ ι γρ(άφονται), οἶ(ον)
θίας(ος)· θιασώτης (θιασώτης post corr.
ex η) (καὶ) τὰ λοιπά· πλὴν τοῦ Θηβαῖ(ος)·
ἐθνικ(όν)· θηγάνη (leg. θηγάνη) ἡ ἀκόνη·
θηητ(όν) τὸ θαυμαστ(όν)· θηλάζω· θήλεια,
θηλῆ (leg. θηλή)· ὁ μαστ(ός)· θήλυ· ἐξ οὗ
(καὶ) θηλ(υκ)(όν)· θημ(ών) (leg. θημών) ὁ
σωρ(ός)· (καὶ) θημωνία· θήρ θήρατρ(ον)·
θήραμα, θηρεύω· θηρεία θηρευτής, θησεύς,
θησείδης· αἱ διὰ τοῦ ῆ γρ(άφονται)· θειά-
ζω (δὲ) τὸ θαυμάζω, ἐξ οὗ (καὶ) θειασμ(ός)
(καὶ) θειαστής (post corr. e θειαστής), (καὶ)
θεῖ(ος) διφ(θόγγ)ω (leg. διφθόγγω)·

χειμῶν χειμῶν(ος)· δίφ(θογγ)(ον)· κ(αὶ)
μ(έ)γ(α)· χιών (δὲ) χιόν(ος) ι (καὶ) μικρ(όν)·
χιτών (δὲ) χιτών(ος)· ι (καὶ) μ(έ)γ(α)· ἐξ οὗ
(καὶ) χιτωνίσκος·

τ(ών) τ(ῆς) γῆς κόλπ(ων) **δ(ια)τί**· ὅτι τὸ ἔσω
ἔξω, πόρρω· ὀπίσω, ἄπο (ἄπο post corr. ex
αν-) ἀντὶ τοῦ μακρ(άν), δίχα (καὶ) χωρίς,
(καὶ) ὅσα τοπι(κὰ) ἐπιρρήμ(α)τ(α), μετ(ὰ) γε-
νι(κῆς) συντάσσεται·

ἔσω, ποιού μέρ(ους) λ(ό)γ(ου) ἐστί· ἐπιρ-
ρήμ(α)τ(ος)· τὸ σῶ μ(έ)γ(α) **δ(ια)τί**· τὰ εἰς ῶ
λήγοντ(α) ἐπιρρήμ(α)τ(α) διὰ τοῦ ῶ μ(ε)γ(ά)-
λ(ου) γρ(άφονται)· οἶ(ον) ἄνω, κάτω ἔξω,
πρόσω, ἀντὶ ἔμπροσθεν· πόρρω, ὀπίσω·
πλὴν τοῦ δεῦρο· (καὶ) ἄπο· μεθό· καθό· διό·
ταῦτ(α) γ(άρ) διὰ τοῦ ο μικρ(οῦ) γρ(άφο-
νται)· ἀποτάτω (δὲ), (καὶ) πορρωτάτω, μ(ε)-
γ(ά)λ(ω)·

ῥησεῖδιον· πόθ(εν) γί(νε)τ(αι)· ἐκ τοῦ ῥῆσις
ῥήσε(ως), ἡ δοτικῆ· ῥήσεϊ, (καὶ) ἐξ αὐτ(ῆς)
ῥησεῖδι(ον)· (καὶ) ἐν συναιρέσει ῥησεῖδιον,
τὸ σεῖ δίφ(θογγ)(ον) **δ(ια)τί**· κ(α)τ(ὰ) συναί-
ρε(σ)(ιν) τοῦ εῖ (καὶ) ι εἰς τ(ῆν) εῖ δίφ(θογ-
γ)(ον)· (καὶ) ἄλλως, τὰ διὰ τοῦ εἰδι(ον) ὑπο-
κοριστικὰ, ἀπὸ δοτικ(ῆς) τῶν εἰς εἰς (ditto-
graphy) θη(λυκᾶ) (leg. θηλυκὰ) π(αρα)λη-

ἔσω ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔσωθ(εν)· ψιλ(όν) (καὶ) μ(έ)-
γ(α)· αἶσω (δὲ) ἐπὶ μέλλοντ(ος) ἀντὶ τοῦ καύ-
σω, δίφ(θογγον) (καὶ) μ(έ)γ(α)· **(καὶ) κανονί-
ζεται οὕτως** αἶθω τὸ καίω, ὁ μέλλ(ων) αἶσω,

γόμε(εν)α, κ(α)τ(ὰ) μ(έν) τήν π(αρα)λήγου-
σ(αν) διὰ τοῦ ἰ γρ(ά)φονται, κ(α)τ(ὰ) (δέ)
τήν προπ(αρα)λήγουσ(αν) διὰ διφ(θό)γγου·
οἶ(ον) ῥῆσις ῥήσε(ως) ῥησεῖδ(ιον)· τάξις τά-
ξεως ταξεῖδι(ον)· λέξις λέξεως λεξεῖδι(ον)·
ἄλυσις ἀλύσε(ως) ἀλυσεῖδιον· || ἐξ οὗ (καί)
ἀλυσειδωτὸς χιτών· (καί) τὰ ὅμοια· **(καί) ἄλ-
λως**, τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς ἦ· (καί) εἰς ᾠ· **ἐγράφη**·
τὸ σι ἰ **δ(ια)τί**· τὰ διὰ τοῦ ιὼν οὐδέτερα προ-
π(αρ)χ(ο)ξύτονα· διὰ τοῦ· ἰ· **οἶ(ον)** λόγιον·
ᾧσι(ον)· τίμι(ον)· **(καί) τὰ ὅμοια· πλ(ήν)** τοῦ
ᾗρει(ον) τὸ κρεῖττον· βρένθει(ον) γένει(ον)
δάνειον· μορμολύκει(ον)· ὄστρει(ον)· (καί)
τέλει(ον)· διὰ διφ(θό)γγου· **ὁμοίως** (καί) τὰ
περικτι(κὰ) (καί) προπε(ρι)σπώμ(εν)α, διὰ
διφ(θό)γγου· **οἶ(ον)** ἀγγεῖ(ον)· βαλανεῖ(ον)·
γηροτροφεῖ(ον)· γηρωκομεῖ(ον) (*leg.* γηροκο-
μεῖον)· γυναικεῖ(ον)· δοχεῖ(ον)· ἐργαλεῖ(ον)·
λιστρεῖ(ον)· ὁ δεσμ(ός)· ἱατρεῖ(ον)· καπη-
λεῖ(ον)· κοινεῖ(ον)· κουρεῖ(ον)· μαγειρεῖ(ον)·
μεῖ(ον)· πορνεῖ(ον)· πορνοβοσκεῖ(ον)· ση-
μεῖ(ον)· στοιχεῖ(ον)· ταφεῖ(ον)· στυπεῖ(ον)·
(καί) τὰ ὅμοια· οὕτω (καί) τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν διὰ
τοῦ εὐώ ῥημ(ά)τ(ων)· γινόμε(εν)α διὰ τοῦ
ἰ· γρ(ά)φονται· **οἶ(ον)** βιβλί(ον)· πυξί(ον)
(πυξ- post corr. ex -o-) τρυβλί(ον)· **(καί) τὰ
λοιπ(ά)**·

ἔσο, ἀντὶ τοῦ ὑπαρχ(ε), **κανόνισ(ον)**· ἔω τὸ ἔσο ἀντὶ τοῦ ὑπαρχ(ε), ψιλ(όν) (καί) μικρ(όν)·
ὑπάρχω **γί(νε)τ(αι) π(αρά)γωγ(ον) ῥῆμα**·
ἐμί· (καί) πλ(εονασμ)ῶ (*leg.* πλεονασμῶ) τοῦ
ἰ· εἰμί· τὸ παθητι(κ)(όν), ἔμαι· (καί) ὁ π(αρα)-
τατι(κός) ἡμην· ἦσο, (καί) τὸ πρ(οσ)τακτι-
(κ)(όν) ἔσο· τὸ σὺ μικρ(όν) **δ(ια)τί**· καθόλ(α)
τὰ δεύτερα πρόσωπ(α)· **(καί) ἄλλως**· ἔσο ἀντὶ
τοῦ ὑπαρχ(ε), μικρ(όν)· ἔσω (δέ) ἀντὶ τοῦ
ἔσωθ(εν), μ(έ)γ(α)·

σπεύδει, **κανόνισ(ον)**· σπεύδω, τὸ (δεύτερον)
|| σπεύδεις· τὸ (τρίτον) σπεύδει· τὸ δεῖ δι-
φ(θό)γγον **δ(ια)τί· πᾶν ῥῆμα εἰς ῶ λήγ(ον)**
ἔχει (*leg.* ἔχει) τὸ (δεύτερον) διὰ διφ(θό)γγου,
ὁμοίως (καί) τὸ (τρίτον)·

ὁκνηρῆ· τὸ κῆν ἦ **δ(ια)τί· τα εἰς γὼς (καί) εἰς
λὼς (καί) εἰς ρὼς, (καί) ἔμαθες**,

ὥσπερ καθώσπ(ε)ρ μ(έ)γ(α)· ὅσπερ (δέ) (καὶ)
ὅστις μικρ(όν)· τίς σὺ, ψιλ(όν)· τίνι σοι δί-
φ(θογγον)·

διδόμενα, **κανόνισ(ον)**, δίδωμι· (καὶ) τὸ πα-
θητι(κόν), δίδομαι, (καὶ) ἡ μετοχ(ή), ὁ δι-
δόμ(ενος)· τοῦ διδομ(ένου)· (καὶ) τὸ οὐ-
δ(έ)τ(ε)ρ(ον), τὸ διδόμε(ενον) (*leg.* διδόμε-
νον)· ἡ αἰτιατικὴ (*leg.* αἰτιατική). τῶν πλη-
θυντι(κ)(ών), τὰ διδόμ(εν)α·

ἀεὶ (καὶ) αἰεῖ (*leg.* αἰεῖ)· δίφ(θογγα) τὰ (δεύ-
τερα)· ἐῖ (*leg.* ἐῖ) (δέ) τῇ ἰδίᾳ (*leg.* τῇ ἰδίᾳ),
ψιλ(όν) (καὶ) ῖ·

In the case of the following *schedos* which appears twice in the same MS, there is no change in the text; the only difference is the extent of the analysis:

Vat. Reg. gr. Pio II 54, ff. 353^v.11-354^r.16

Vat. Reg. gr. Pio II 54, f. 367^r.20-367^v.5

τίνα ἀγωνιζόμε(εν)οι
Οἱ περὶ λόγον σπουδάζοντες, οὐδέποτε σχο-
λάζ(ειν)

(καὶ) χρωστοῦσιν· (καὶ) πάντοτ(ε) (καὶ) κοπι(ᾶν)
ὀφείλουσιν· ἀλλ' ἀεὶ τὸ πονεῖν ἀσπά-
ζεσθ(αι)·

(καὶ) κοπι(ᾶν) ἀπαρνεῖσθαι
(καὶ) τὸ ἰδίειν οὐκ ἀπαναίνεσθ(αι)· (καὶ)
τ(αῖς) ἀγίαις

πῶς
μνήμαις τῶν ἀγ(ί)ων λογικῶς πανηγυ-
ρίζ(ειν) (καὶ)

ἐπευφραίνεσθ(αι)· οὕτω γ(άρ)· ποιοῦν-
τες διὰ

(καὶ) μοῖρα
ταχέος αἴση σοφ(ῶν) καταριθμοῦντ(αι),
(καὶ) πᾶ(σ)(ιν) ||

(καὶ) θαυμάζοντ(αι)
ἐπαινοῦντ(αι) (καὶ) ἐκθειάζοντ(αι):
ἀσχολοῦμ(αι): κάμνω: μοχθῶ· διατρίβω·
(καὶ) πονῶ·

ἰδίῳ· κοπιῶ· κακοπαθῶ· σπουδάζω ἐπὶ
τάδε· οἱ(ον) περὶ λόγον· περὶ πρωτεῖ(ον)·
γρ(άφεται) μικρ(όν)·

(καὶ) ποτὲ
Οἱ περὶ λόγον σπουδάζοντες, οὐδέποτε
σχολάζ(ειν)

τί ποιοῦσιν πάντοτ(ε) (καὶ) κοπι(ᾶν)
ὀφείλουσιν· ἀλλ' ἀεὶ τὸ πονεῖν
ἀσπάζεσθ(αι)·

(καὶ) κοπι(ᾶν) ἀπαρνεῖσθ(αι)·
(καὶ) τὸ ἰδίειν οὐκ ἀπαναίνεσθ(αι)· (καὶ)
τ(αῖς) ἀγίαις

μνήμαις τῶν ἀγίων λογικῶς
πανηγυρίζ(ειν) (καὶ)

ἐπευφραίνεσθ(αι)· οὕτω γάρ· ποιοῦ-
ντες, ||

(καὶ) μοῖρα
διαταχέ(ος) αἴση σοφῶν καταριθμοῦντ(αι),
(καὶ) πᾶσ(ιν)

(καὶ) θαυμάζονται
ἐπαινοῦνται καὶ ἐκθειάζοντ(αι):

ἐρίζω (δὲ) (post corr. e δέ), ἀμφισβητῶ·
μάχομαι· ἀγωνιῶ· ἀμιλλώμ(αι) (*leg.* ἀμιλ-
λώμαι) περὶ τοῦδε οἵ(ον)· περὶ λόγων· περὶ
πρωτεῖ(ων)· γρ(άφεται) μεγάλ(ω)·

μνήμαις· ἡ εὐ(θεία) (*leg.* εὐθεῖα)· ἡ μνήμ(η)·
τὸ μῆνι ἡ δ(ια)τί· (+: ἐκ τ(οῦ) μνῶ μνήσω
μέλλοντ(ος)· (καὶ) ἄλλως· add. in marg.)
πᾶ(σα) λέξ(ις) ἀπὸ τῆς μνῆ συλλ(αβῆς) ἀρ-
χομ(έν)η· διὰ τοῦ ἡ γρ(άφεται)· οἵ(ον)·
μνήμ(ων) μνήμ(η)· μνησίστρατ(ος) μνησι-
στράτει(ος) λόγος· μνησίθε(ος) μνημοσύνη·
μνηστεία (καὶ) μνηστή, ἡ μνηστευθεῖσα,
μνήστωρ, μνηστήρ· μνήμα τὸ μνημ(εῖ)(ον)·
μνημόνηρι(ον) (*leg.* μνημόριον) (καὶ) μνή-
στις (*leg.* μνήστις) ἡ μνήμ(η)· πλὴν τοῦ μνεῖα
(*leg.* μνεῖα) ἡ μνημοσύνη· (καὶ) μνεῖα οἱ ναοὶ·
μνῖαι (μνῖον sscr.) (δὲ) τὰ βρύα, διὰ τοῦ ἱ·

ταχέ(ως) μέγα, διὰ ταχέος μικρ(όν)·

ταχέ(ως) μέγ(α)· διὰ ταχέος, μικρ(όν):

ἀριθμ(ός) (καὶ) μνηθμ(ός) (καὶ) ἰσθμ(ός)· ἱ·
βρυχηθμ(ός) (δὲ) (καὶ) ὀγηθμ(ός) (*leg.* ὀγκη-
θμός), (καὶ) ἡθμ(ός) τὸ σακελιστήρι(ον)· ἡ·

The words listed and explained in the *schedography* would ultimately form a separate *Lexicon*. This is attested by the schedographic *Lexicon* preserved in *Par. gr.* 400 (copied in the most part by Ioannes Malakes in the second quarter of the fourteenth century), ff. 87^r-108^v.¹⁷⁹ This work, composed by an anonymous author, is in political verse, in order, one assumes, to help students memorize these word-lists.¹⁸⁰

Even though Moschopoulos's *schedography* prevailed not only in his own times but even later, it is remarkable that in the fifteenth century part of the schedographic tradition continued to follow the old method

¹⁷⁹ Anonymous, *Schedographic Lexicon*, ed. Boissonade, *Anecdota graeca*, vol. IV (Paris, 1832; repr. Hildesheim, 1962), pp. 366-412, at 366: *Par. gr.* 400, f. 87^r: 'ἀρχὴ σὺν θεῷ τοῦ λεξικοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀντιστοιχῶν τοῦ πρώτου σχεδῶς, εἰς μέτρον στίχων πολιτικῶν, εἰς νόησιν γραμμάτων καὶ τέχνης ἀντιστοιχῶν καὶ νόησιν λέξεων'. For a description of this MS, see H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Première partie: *Ancien fonds grec: Théologie* (Paris, 1886), pp. 42-43. See also *Repertorium* II, no. 225 and N. Gaul, "Ἀνασσα Ἄννα σκόπει – Fürstin Anna, bedenke! Beobachtungen zur Scedo- und Lexikographie in der spätbyzantinischen Provinz", in *Zwischen Polis, Provinz und Peripherie: Beiträge zur byzantinischen Geschichte und Kultur*, eds., L.M. Hoffmann and A. Monchizadeh (Wiesbaden, 2005), pp. 663-704, esp. 666ff.

¹⁸⁰ This *Lexicon* is tailor-made for Class II since it is compiled with words drawn from *schedographies* of that Class; see Keaney, 'Moschopulea', p. 305.

of Longibardos. This becomes evident in Konstantinos Arabites's hitherto unpublished *schedography*.¹⁸¹ Apart from this text we do not possess any further information about Arabites. So far nothing else is known about his dates, life and work. From the first paragraph of his *Παρεκβόλαιον*, it appears that he had composed also another (rhetorical?) text related to the court (δικαστηρίου in the interlinear gloss in the Vatican MS that preserves this section of the text). Arabites expressed his disappointment for the quality of this composition as a result of his inadequate skill. He compares himself to a beggar begging for 'bread' from those who live in luxury, and has offered as a servant, he says, 'a humble table', alluding probably to another work of his that remains unknown. It is possible that this lack of confidence made him call his *Παρεκβόλαιον ἡ μικρὰ ὠφέλεια*, in juxtaposition to Longibardos's *Παρεκβόλαιον ἡ μεγάλη ὠφέλεια*, reflecting both his great respect to his predecessor and an awareness of the limits of his own contribution. It is possible that Arabites's text either went back to the eleventh-century compilation of the word-lists, which offered no grammatical analysis whatsoever but could be easily memorized, or most probably followed a tradition that had never lost its appeal.¹⁸²

The complete text of Arabites's *Παρεκβόλαιον* is preserved in two fifteenth-century codices, **C** (= *Cremon.* 160, ff. 86^r-89^v) copied by Isidore of Kiev (1380/1390-†1463), where Arabites's text precedes an excerpt from Longibardos's text¹⁸³; and **L** (= *Laur. Plut.* 55.7, ff. 346^r-354^r [alternative folio numbering: 353^r-361^r]) copied by an anonymous¹⁸⁴ where Longibardos's complete *Παρεκβόλαιον* precedes Arabites's one. A small section of the text is preserved in *Vat. gr.* 2299 (ff. 43^{r-v}) (datable *post* 1300)¹⁸⁵ and *Laur. Plut.* 56.17 (ff. 124^v-127^v) of the 15th century¹⁸⁶. The Vatican codex, bearing the

¹⁸¹ For Arabites, see also *PLP* 1221; W. Bühler, 'Ein neues Testimonium für Archilochos, *fr.* 244 *West*. Mitteilungen aus griechischen Handschriften' *Hermes* 114 (1986), 372-74. I am grateful to Prof. Vassilis for this reference.

¹⁸² For the term 'Παρεκβόλαιον', see above, pp. 59-60.

¹⁸³ See above, p. 59, n. 54.

¹⁸⁴ See above, p. 59, n. 54.

¹⁸⁵ This manuscript remains uncatalogued. It was very briefly described by Giuseppe Cozza Luzi (1837-1905), monk (in 1860) and then abbot (from 1870) of the monastery of Grottaferrata, and later *scriptor graecus* and vice-librarian of the Vatican Library from 1882. *Vat. gr.* 2299 comprises ff. i, 73[+ 1a, 51a, 65a], i, extracted from various mutilated and worn codices sometime between 1878 and 1889, when the codex was bound (the coats of arms of Pope Leo XIII [1878-1903] and Cardinal-Librarian John-Baptist Pitra [1869-1889] are impressed on the cover). The folios were glued over paper folios (mm 230 x150). I am grateful to Dr Paolo Vian, Director of Manuscript Department of the Vatican Library and Professor Francesco D'Aiuto for this information. Gallavotti, 'Nota sulla schedografia', p. 33 stated that the codex is datable after 1300.

¹⁸⁶ For a description of this MS, see M. Bandini, *Catalogus*, col. 316, who erroneously

title + παρεκβολὰς μάθανε τοῦ ἀρραβίτου +++, contains only the first paragraph of the text along with interlinear space and glosses, added above the line, explaining the difficult words. Below the first paragraph follows an analysis of the 'schedos', according to the schedographic tradition, which breaks off at the end of f. 43^v. The *Laur. Plut.* 56.17 preserves the first and part of the second paragraph. No title, interlinear space, or glosses are provided, though each paragraph is accompanied by an analysis-commentary added right below, according to the schedographic tradition. The analysis is very similar to the one in the Vatican MS. though in some cases more elaborate.

Konstantinos Arabites's *schedography* comprises thirty-three independent *schedē* [1-33] of variable length and topics. The aim of Arabites's *schedography* was to enable the advanced student to enrich his vocabulary. The *Παρεκβόλαιον* is introduced by admonitions [1-2] modelled on Longibardos's *schedography*, stressing the hard work involved in the learning process, encouraging the student in his effort to acquire knowledge. Each *schedos* consists of lists of words connected through a story or description, focusing usually, though not always, on a single topic, ranging from moral teaching [9] and warfare [5], to sailing [22], the catalogue of ships in the *Iliad* [7], and styles of hair [10]. Occasionally, the text of a *schedos* includes more than one subject which are not linked, for example, *schedos* [9] diverts from moral teaching to a list of herbs. This would indicate that Arabites's lexicographical approach took priority over cohesion. Thus, his tendency was to pile up words, especially proper names and rare types of words, a number of which so far remain unidentified (e.g., εὐθρεΐα, κουλεΐαν, κολυψεΐα, μιτεΐα, πολυΐδωρ, φιλοικτία), especially towards the end (24 ad. fin., 26-29, 32-33). As in Longibardos's *Παρεκβόλαιον* we do not know whether these words were Arabites's creation or he drew from a source unknown to us. This tendency often makes the text difficult to understand.

An examination of the *schedē* in this *Παρεκβόλαιον* indicates that it is strictly based on Longibardos's model in terms of listing words connected grammatically but not always thematically, without providing any grammatical or etymological analysis. Thus it is rather a collection (*συλλογή*)¹⁸⁷ of words and extracts, ostensibly intertwined into a text, aiming at enabling the student to acquire the Hermogenic δεινότης, forcefulness, in terms of rhetorical mastery.¹⁸⁸ This was an arduous task on the part of the

states that the whole codex contains the Moschopouleian *schedography*.

¹⁸⁷ See P. Odorico, 'La cultura della ΣΥΛΛΟΓΗ. 1) Il cosiddetto enciclopedismo bizantino 2) Le tavole del sapere di Giovanni Damasceno', *BZ* 83.1 (1990), 1-21.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria* 12.5.1, V, p. 247, '... these are the weapons he (i.e., the orator) needs to have at hand, this is the knowledge with which he needs to be armed, in

diligent student who had to work hard to learn and differentiate all these hundreds of words in order to be able to use them properly when needed. It is noteworthy that from the middle of paragraph 26 till the end of the text, the author follows a strictly alphabetical order. He starts with words starting with alpha (e.g., Ἀχιλλέως, Ἀργολικῇ), he then proceeds with words starting with beta (e.g., βλιμάζεσθαι, βλίτυρι κλπ), then with gamma (e.g., Γρηνίκω, Γραικῶν κλπ) and so on and so forth until omega in the last paragraph of his text, [33], citing Ὀρείθυιαν, ὦοις, ὠνηματισίοις, ὠτοόκεια and ὠά. These lists are easy to memorize for they are based on word play, thus enabling the student to differentiate among synonymous and homophone words. It is possible that τὸ πλήθος νέων φίλων λόγων he mentions in the beginning of his work is the lists of new words he gathered, rather than the new philologists he created.

In both MSS preserving the complete text, the *Παρεκβόλαιον* is structured in sections which are not clearly linked in terms of order or content. Each *schedos* usually begins with a fresh line, introduced by a rubricated minor initial without any heading, with the exception of two cases: *Παρεκβόλαιον τῆς κόμης* [10] and *Παρεκβολαί τῆς ἀκτίνος* [23]. In some cases the *schedē* are copied consecutively, separated by a full stop followed by an empty space. Each codex was copied by a single hand. Some corrections (usually added above the line or in erasures, or crossed out) were introduced by the same hands. In copying the text both scribes used extensively conventional ligatures, abbreviations, suspensions and superposition of letters. A similar punctuation system was employed by both scribes to indicate various degrees of pause: lower point (.), middle point (·), comma (,) upper point (¸) used interchangeably, and full stop (: ~). The rich punctuation system followed by both scribes, especially by Isidore, shows that the text was probably dictated. Passages from other authors (including Homer and the Fathers) cited in the text are not distinguished by any marginal sign or in any other way, being fully incorporated in the text. Both copyists used consistently accents and breathings, though not always correctly, and *apostrophe* for elision. The use of enclitics for the verbs ἐστὶ and φασί, the indefinite pronouns τίς, τί, and the particle τὲ is not consistent. Following the medieval convention, **L** joined words used adverbially and separated compound words, which was not followed by Isidore. The *diple stigme* is used quite extensively in both **L** and **C**, either to distinguish *iota* and *upsilon* when combined in ligatures or arbitrarily. The *diaeresis* sign was used correctly by the scribes over *iota* and *upsilon* when not forming

addition, of course to a facility with words and Figures, an understanding of Invention, practice in Disposition, a good Memory, and charm of Delivery'.

a diphthong. Mute *iota*, with a few exceptions, is omitted in both MSS. No marginal scholia were added either in **L** or **C** (with a single exception of an instruction for correction), though there are very few interlinear explanatory scholia in **L**, ff. 353^r, 355^v.

Arabites's sources comprise both secular and religious authors, including Homer, Hesiod, Aelios Herodianos and Ps.-Herodianos, Georgios Choiroboskos, Theodosios, Harpokration, Basil of Caesarea, John Chrysostom, John Damascene and Gregory of Nazianzus and Longibardos himself. It seems that Arabites drew his material from the grammatical manuals of Aelios Herodianos and Ps.-Herodianos, Choiroboskos and Theodosios. In compiling his *Παρεκβόλαιον* Arabites omits the grammatical rules cited in these manuals and uses only the examples of words (including exceptions to rules) for purely lexicographical purposes. Thus, Arabites's *Παρεκβόλαιον ἡ μικρὰ ὠφέλεια* clearly represents an inferior descendant of its eleventh-century model of Longibardos's *Παρεκβόλαιον ἡ μεγάλη ὠφέλεια*. In that sense, Arabites departs from the contemporary, widely used and fully developed Moschopouleian tradition, returning in a more exaggerated form to earlier patterns of teaching. With Arabites on the basis of the evidence collected, we seem to have reached the final stage of the genre of *schedography* in Byzantium.

CHAPTER III

BYZANTINE TEXTBOOKS WITH HOMER AND THE TRAGEDIANS: THE MANUSCRIPT EVIDENCE

As stated in Chapter I, Homer was the *par excellence* author in the Byzantine school, for he was considered ‘the Ocean’ from which all wisdom flowed.¹ According to Hermogenes, Homer was the ‘best among poets and orators’.² The *Iliad* in particular held a special place in the curriculum.³ In order to assess the step-by-step method of the teaching of Homer, we shall examine a rare case of a number of textbooks containing the Homeric text copied in the late fifteenth century by a single scribe, by the name of Michael Lygizos,⁴ a professional scribe who among other works copied the *Iliad* in at least three textbooks (Oxford, *Corpus Christi College* 470; London, *British Library, Harley* 1771; *Vaticanus Palatinus graecus* 310), and its *metaphrasis* in *Vaticanus graecus* 1710.⁵ What is most important is that each of these MSS, as we shall see, seems to represent progressive

¹ Michael Choniates, *Letters*, ed. Kolovou, 111, pp. 171-80, at 179.256-59: ‘... οὐδ’ (Ὀμήρου) ἅπαντες οἱ ρέοντες τοῖς λόγοις ἀρύνονται· μάλλον δὲ ὡς ἐξ Ὠκεανοῦ πάντας ποταμούς καὶ φρέατα πάντα φησὶν αὐτὸς Ὀμηρος, οὕτω καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ Ὀμήρου παντοδαποὶ λόγοι πηγάζουσιν’; Eustathios, *Commentary to Iliad*, vol. I, p. 1.7-16: ‘... ἡ Ὀμηρικὴ ποίησις, ἥς οὐκ οἶμαι εἶ τις τῶν πάλαι σοφῶν οὐκ ἐγεύσατο καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ὅσοι τῆς ἐξ ὧς σοφίας ἠρύσαντο. ἐξ Ὠκεανοῦ μὲν γὰρ ποταμοὶ πάντες, πηγαὶ πάσαι, φρέατα πάντα κατὰ τὸν πάλαι λόγον· ἐξ Ὀμήρου δέ, εἰ καὶ μὴ πᾶσα, πολλὴ γοῦν παρεισέφρυνε τοῖς σοφοῖς λόγου ἐπιρροή. οὐδεὶς γοῦν οὔτε τῶν τὰ ἄνω περιεργαζομένων οὔτε τῶν περὶ φύσιν οὔτε τῶν περὶ ἥθος οὔθ’ ἀπλῶς τῶν περὶ λόγους ἐξωτερικῶς, ὁποῖους ἂν εἴπῃ τις, παρῆλθε τὴν Ὀμηρικὴν σκηνὴν ἀξεναγώγιτος, ἀλλὰ πάντες παρ’ αὐτῷ κατέλυσαν, οἱ μὲν ὡς καὶ διάγειν παρ’ αὐτῷ μέχρι τέλους καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ συσσιτίων ἀποτρέφεσθαι, οἱ δὲ ὥστε χρεῖαν ἀποπλήσαι τινα καὶ συνεισενεγκεῖν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τῷ λόγῳ τι χρησίμον’. The predominance of Homer in the curriculum is also attested in the scholia of Melampus (or Diomedes) on Dionysios Thrax, *Τέχνη: Μελάμποδος γραμματικοῦ ἐρμηνεία τῆς τέχνης Διονυσίου τοῦ θρακῆς*, ed. A. Hilgard, in *Grammatici Graeci*, vol. 1.3, pp. 10-67, at 28.11-12: ‘οἱ ἀρχόμενοι ἀναγινώσκειν παῖδες πρὸ πάντων τῶν βιβλίων ἄπτονται τῶν Ὀμηρικῶν’; See also R. Browning, ‘The Byzantines and Homer’, in *Homer’s Ancient Readers: The Hermeneutics of Greek epic’s earliest exegetes*, eds. R. Lamberton and J.J. Keaney (Princeton, N.J., 1992), pp. 134-48.

² On the relation between poetry and rhetoric and Homer’s place in it, see B. Katsaros, ‘Ἡ ρητορική ὡς “Θεωρία Λογοτεχνίας” των Βυζαντινῶν’, in *Pour une ‘nouvelle’ histoire de la littérature Byzantine. Actes du Colloque international philologique Nicosie – Chypre 25-28 mai 2000*, eds. P. Odorico and P.A. Agapitos (Paris, 2002), pp. 95-106 at p. 98.

³ See R. Browning, ‘Homer in Byzantium’, *Viator* 8 (1975), 15-33 (repr. *Studies*, art. XVII); idem, ‘The Byzantines and Homer’, p. 146, stating that for the *Odyssey* there are ‘fewer [extant] papyri, fewer medieval manuscripts, less extensive commentary, no paraphrase’. See also Criboire, ‘Euripides “Phoenissae”’, pp. 245-46. Cf. the predilection for Homeric passages drawn especially from the *Iliad* and used in *schedography*, mentioned by Festa, ‘Note’, p. 445.

⁴ *Repertorium* I, no. 282; II, no. 386; III, no. 465.

⁵ For a description of these MSS, see below, Appendix V.

levels of teaching. It should be stressed that though Lygizos was active at the end of the fifteenth and early sixteenth century, after the Palaeologan period which this study is concerned with, the evidence suggests that he followed the tradition of an earlier period, and therefore his MSS have been included in our study. A short description of the MSS focusing on the layout of the text and the annotation will be followed by an analysis of the *glosses* and *scholia* with examples, demonstrating the relation of the MSS and the teaching method.⁶

O Oxford, Corpus Christi College 470 (examined in situ)⁷

3rd 1/4 15th c.; western paper; <I> + ff. 321 + <II>; 287 × 215 mm; 1 (15-16)

The codex preserves *Iliad* A-Π 149 (incomplete). Each Book is preceded by one or two *hypotheses*.⁸ The text is written in the inner part of each folio. The main characteristic of this codex is the wide interlinear space left for *glosses*⁹ written in red ink, up to f. 227^v (M 171) (including ff. 229^r-232^v: Λ 747- M 14, misplaced in the codex) after which they appear very sporadically.¹⁰ An examination of the interlinear *glosses* has revealed that their main source is the so-called D-scholia or *scholia minora*, 'either brief notes on single words which sometimes seem to go back to school-text glossaries of the classical period, or long and often rambling *ιστορίαι* from much later sources, not without signs of Aristarchan influence here and

⁶ For the importance of the *marginalia* as the best witness of the reader's level, see Cavallo, *Lire à Byzance*, pp. 133-37. See also P. Odorico, "... alia nullius momenti". A proposito della letteratura dei marginalia', *BZ* 78 (1985), 23-36.

⁷ For a description of codex O, see below, Appendix V. See also I. Hutter, ed., *Corpus der byzantinischen Miniaturenhandschriften*, vol. 5.1: Oxford College Libraries (Stuttgart, 1997), pp. 22-23 with plates 58-62; and N. Wilson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts of Corpus Christi College Oxford* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 31-32 with plates 62-63; Th.W. Allen, ed., *Homeri Ilias*, vol. I (Oxford, 1931), p. 32 (Our codex under siglum O⁹).

⁸ On the use of *hypothesis* in Greek texts, see P.E. Easterling, 'Hypotheses', in *Encyclopedia of Greek Tragedy*, vol. II, ed. H.M. Roisman (Chichester, West Sussex, 2014), pp. 706-10.

⁹ According to Heliodore, in *Scholia Londinensia*, ed. A. Hilgard, *Παρεκβολαὶ σὺν θεῷ διαφόρων γραμματικῶν περὶ γραμματικῆς μεθόδου, ἀρχόμεναι ἀπὸ τοῦ περὶ προσφθίας*, in *Grammatici Graeci*, vol. 1.3, pp. 442-565, at 469.10-26: 'γλῶσσά ἐστι λέξις ξένη μεταφραζομένη εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν διάλεκτον, ἢ λεγομένη μὲν προσεχῶς, μεταφραζομένη δὲ εἰς τὸ σύνθετος. Λύονται δὲ αἱ γλῶσσαι πενταχῶς. πρῶτον κατὰ ἐτυμολογίαν, ... δεύτερον κατὰ διάλεκτον, ... τρίτον κατ' ἐπίλυσιν, ... τέταρτον ἐξ ἀντιφραζομένου, ... πέμπτον κατὰ ἱστορίαν'. Cf. Lallot, *La grammaire*, pp. 77-79. Cf. Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, 1.1.35, I and 1.8.13-18, I, p. 80 with n. 17 and pp. 204-206 respectively. See also below, pp. 138-39.

¹⁰ Ff. 229^r-232^v (Λ 747-M 14), 252^v (N 284-289), 256^r (N 389), 257^v (N 443-448), 259^v (N 505-507), 260^r (N 508, 511), 261^v (N 558, 560), 267^r (N 726), 267^v (N 736), 271^v (Ξ 16-18), 272^r (Ξ 27) 275^r (Ξ 119 and 123), 275^v (Ξ 135), 276^v (Ξ 164-168), 277^r (Ξ 172, 178, 183), 278^r (Ξ 209), 280^r (Ξ 260), 280^v (Ξ 284), 281^r (Ξ 298, 302), 281^v (Ξ 308-309), 282^v (Ξ 339-350), 283^r (Ξ 351-365), 283^v (Ξ 366-380), 284^r (Ξ 387, 389), 285^r (Ξ 415-16), 286^v (Ξ 460-63), 288^v (Ξ 518-519, 522), 289^v (O 14, 16-17), 290^v (O 45-58), 291^v (O 75), 292^v (O 108-112), 297^r (O 242-246, 252), 298^r (O 271-274), 298^v (O 287-288), 300^v (O 356-359), 301^r (O 365), 304^v (O 470, 472), 311^r-317^r (O 676-746 and Π (30-134) and 318^{r-v} (Π 1-29).

there, on matters of history, mythology and geography'.¹¹ The following examples indicate their use, either in terms of syntax, translation or explanation. The glosses are written in red ink in the manuscript:

B 2 (f. 20^v): ὕπνος] ὁ -- B 3 (f. 20^v): Ἀχιλῆα] τὸν -- B 23 (f. 21^r): υἱέ] ὦ

B 9 (f. 20^v): κλισίην] τὴν σκηνὴν -- B 19 (f. 21^r): κλισίῃ] τῇ σκηνῇ -- B 306 (f. 40^r): ἐκατόμβας] θυσίας -- B 2 (f. 20^v): παννύχιοι] δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς -- B 24 (f. 21^r): παννύχιοι] δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς -- B 15 (f. 21^r): λισσομένη] παρακαλοῦσα -- B 334 (f. 41^r): ἀϋσάντων] βοησάντων -- B 309 (f. 40^r): σμερδαλέος] καταπληκτικός -- B 334 (f. 41^r): σμερδαλέον] καταπληκτικῶς -- Λ 385 (f. 213^v): παρθενοπίπα] γυναικομανὲς -- B 2 (f. 20^v): εὐδον] ἐκοιμῶντο -- B 19 (f. 21^r): εὐδοντ'] κοιμῶμενον -- B 23 (f. 21^r): εὐδεις] καθεύδεις -- B 10 (f. 20^v): ὥς ἐπιτέλλω] καθὰ προστάσσω -- B 11 (f. 20^v): θωρήξαι ἐκέλευε] καθοπλίσαι αὐτὸν πρόστασε -- B 306 (f. 40^r): ἔρδομεν] ἐθύομεν -- H 274 (f. 135^r): Διὸς ἄγγελοι ἦδ' (...) ἀνδρῶν] τοῦ οἱ καὶ τῶν -- H 276 (f. 135^r): Ταλθύβιός (...) Ἰδαῖος πεπνυμένω ἄμφω] ὁ συνετοὶ ἀμφότεροι

B 1 (f. 20^v): ἵπποκορυσταί] οἱ τοὺς ἵππους κορίσαντες καὶ καθοπλίσαντες -- B 10 (f. 20^v): κερηκομώντας Ἀχαιοὺς] τοὺς τὰς κεφαλὰς κομώντας -- Π 115 (f. 316^v): καυλὸν (left marginal scholion: καυλὸς τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ δόρατος τὸ εἰς τὸ ἐπιδορατίδα ἐμβαλόμενον)

The assistance provided to the student through such *glosses* ranges from the elementary (namely the article, which also serves as the case and gender indicator, or the conventional horizontal dash above proper names), to the explanation of difficult Homeric words. In some cases these are repeated, as for example the explanation of σμερδαλέον in a space of only 25 verses (B 309 and 334, ff. 40^r and 41^r), κλισίη in a space of only 10 verses (B 9 and 19, on ff. 20^v and 21^r), παννύχιοι in a space of only 22 verses (B 2 and 24, on ff. 20^v and 21^r), and εὐδω in a space of only 17 and then again after 4 verses (B 2, 19 and 23, on ff. 20^v-21^r) above. These repetitions perhaps may indicate the elementary level of the student, who needed to be reminded.

Large space, occupying half the page, is left on the outer margin evidently reserved for scholia, which in this instance are few and very brief.¹²

¹¹ G. S. Kirk, *The Iliad: A Commentary*, vol. I: *Books 1-4* (Cambridge, 1985; repr. 1990), p. 40, with a brief though comprehensive description of the history of the Homeric scholia (pp. 38-41). For a preliminary edition (Proecdosis 2000) of the *D-Scholia* see H. van Thiel, ed., *Scholia D in Iliadem* at <http://www.uni-koeln.de/phil-fak/ifa/klassphil/vanthiel/index.html>. For the *Scholia Vetera* see H. Erbse, ed., *Scholia graeca in Homeri Iliadem (Scholia Vetera)* 7 vols. (Berlin, 1969-88).

¹² Ff. 9^r, 10^r, 11^r, 35^v, 51^v, 63^v, 65^v-66^r, 76^v, 79^r, 80^v, 86^r, 103^r, 124^v, 132^r, 134^r, 148^v, 153^v, 170^r, 180^v, 208^v, 210^r, 221^{r-v}, 223^r, 225^r, 311^r-314^r, 316^{r-v}, 318^{r-v}. Cf. R.W. Hunt et al., *The*

They contain simple exegetical, lexicographical, grammatical and mythological material, appropriate for beginners.¹³ The scholia are usually short and succinct, for example, the grammatical scholion on Θ 186 (f. 148^v), ἀποτίνετον] ἐν πληθυντικοῖς, ῥῆμα δυϊκὸν ἀπέδωκεν, ἔθει ἀττικῶ. There are exceptions on ff. 63^v, 65^v-66^r, 311^v, 313^{r-v}, 318^r, 321^{r-v}, where scholia are comparatively longer: e.g., O 741 (f. 313^v), τῶ, ἐν χερσί] τῶ, ἐν χερσί διὸ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἡμῶν καὶ τῶ μάχεσθαι ἢ σωτηρία· οὐκ ἐν τῶ μελιχίοις ἡμᾶς καὶ προεῖναι τοῖς πολεμίοις· καὶ οὕτω μὲν Ἀρίσταρχος κατὰ δοτικὴν· ὁ δὲ Θραῦξ κατὰ εὐθεῖαν φησὶν· οὐ φιλανθρωπία καὶ προσήνεια πολέμου οἰκεία· ἀλλ' εἰρήνης; Π 9 (f. 318^r), εἰανοῦ] εἰανοῦ· ἦτοι τοῦ πέπλου· πέπλος δέ, ὡς ἐπιτοπολὺ τὸ γυναικεῖον ἱμάτιον· τὸ δὲ ἀνδρῶν, χιτῶν. Occasionally, instructions for the correction of a word-type appear on the right-hand margin: e.g., E 102 (f. 83^r), ἰππόδαμοι] γράφε μεγάλθυμοι.

L London, British Library, Harley 1771 (examined in situ)¹⁴

2nd 1/2 15th c.; paper; <I-III> + ff. 495 + <IV-VII>; 295 × 210 mm; 1(16)

The codex contains *Iliad* A -Ω 719 (incomplete). The format of this MS is similar to codex O. Each Book of the *Iliad* is preceded by one or two *hypotheses*,¹⁵ and its main text is written in the inner part of the folio. Once more wide interlinear space was left for the *glosses*, also written in red, up to f. 308^r (end of Book 15 [O]) and then occasionally. D-scholia also provide some material for the interlinear explanations, though it is not the main source for this codex:

B 1 (f. 21^r): ὑποκορισταί] πολεμισταί· οἱ τοὺς ἵππους καθοπλίζοντες -- B 334 (f. 31^r): αὐσάντων] ἤγουν ἀντιχησάντων -- B 309 (f. 30^v): σμερδαλέος] καταπληκτικὸς -- B 306 (f. 30^v): ἐκατόμβας (no interlinear *glossa* is provided) -- B 19 (f. 21^v): εὖδοντ'] κοιμώμενον B 10 (f. 21^r): ἐπιτέλλω] κелеύω -- B 11

Survival of Ancient Literature: Catalogue of an Exhibition of Greek and Latin Classical Manuscripts mainly from Oxford Libraries displayed on the occasion of the Triennial Meeting of the Hellenic and Roman Societies, 28 July-2 August 1975 (Oxford, 1975), pp. 6-7.

¹³ See above p. 95, with n. 11. Erbse, *Scholia graeca*, I, p. XI states that the D-Scholia seem to have been used at schools in post-classical Athens to enable students to understand Homer better.

¹⁴ For a description of this MS, see below, Appendix V. See also T.S. Pattie and S. McKendrick, *Summary Catalogue of Greek Manuscripts in the British Library*, vol. I (London, 1999), p. 89; W. Leaf, *The Iliad*, vol. I (Books I-XII) (London, 1900²), p. xxviii; Allen, *Homeri Ilias*, I, p. 12 (our codex under siglum Bm⁴). Digital images of the entire Ms are accessible on line at: http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?index=6&ref=Harley_MS_1771 (last accessed 21 June 2015).

¹⁵ On f. 335^v (Book 17 [P]) the *hypothesis* was never added in the space reserved for this purpose.

(f. 21^r): θωρήξαι ἔ] καθοπλίσαι τὸν Ἀτρείδην -- B 306 (f. 30^v): ἔρδομεν] ἐθύομεν -- B 8 (f. 21^r): βάσκ' ἴθι οἶλε ὄνειρε θοὰς ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν] ἐκ παραλλήλου· ἢ τὸ ἴθι παρακελευσματικόν· πορεύθητι

B 19 (f. 21^v): κλισίη] ἡ κοινῶς τέντα -- P 70 (f. 338^r): φέροι] νὰ ἔφερε -- Λ 310 (f. 211^r): ἔην] νὰ ὑπῆρχεν -- Λ 310 (f. 211^r): γένοντο] νὰ -- Λ 385 (f. 213^v): παρθενοπίπα] τζινευτά· ἢ ἐν τοῖς τόξοις καλλοπιζόμενε -- Π 115 (f. 312^r): καυλόν] τὸ ξιφάριν

On examination, the interlinear *glosses* seem to be addressed to a more advanced level of students, although some of the alternative words given seem to derive from vernacular. Explanations of the words usually are not repeated, e.g., B 2 (f. 21^r), παννύχιοι; B 15 (f. 21^v), λισσομένη; B 334 (f. 31^r), σμερδαλέον; B 2 (f. 21^r), εὔδον; B 23 (f. 21^v), εὔδεις, thus following a different convention from **O** (see above, p. 95). The only exceptions are *glosses* for 'οὕτως λέξας', 'οὕτως ἔφη' and 'οὕτως εἶπεν', which are repeated in most cases. The selectively chosen *glosses* in **L** indicate that the student had already built a substantial vocabulary and was capable of coping with the translation of the text. This also explains the reason why the interlinear *glosses* are not focused always on the translation, but in several cases the interlinear space is occupied by what we usually expect to find in the margins, namely, notes clarifying the text and providing additional information. For example, N 378 (f. 254^r), δοῖμεν δ' Ἀτρείδαο θυγατρῶν εἶδος ἀρίστην] ἡθοποιῶ εἰρωνική· ταῦτα, ἅπερ φησὶν ἐνταῦθα. This is a clear reference to the exercises known as *progymnasmata*. It is also important to note that certain *glosses* are given in the vernacular (e.g., κλισίη] ἡ κοινῶς τέντα; καυλόν] ξιφάριν; παρθενοπίπα] τζινευτά;) including the use of the particle νὰ (e.g., φέροι, νὰ ἔφερε). It would be important to find out whether these vernacular *glosses* were copied by Lygizos from his exemplar or inserted by him. Following the collation of cod. *Par. Suppl. gr.* 497¹⁶ dated to the thirteenth century and assumed by Allen to have been the direct exemplar of **L**, we have found that this codex not only does not preserve these vernacular forms but in fact gives no explanations in these specific cases. Therefore the question whether Lygizos himself introduced them in **L** or copied them from another codex still remains an open question. Whatever the case, the inclusion of such *glosses*, though admittedly very few, provides definite evidence for the introduction of vernacular *glosses* in Byzantine textbooks.¹⁷

¹⁶ For a description of this MS, see H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits du supplément grec de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1883), p. 56.

¹⁷ Cf. the similar case in **Ve**, f. 61^r, below, p. 130.

As far as the *marginalia* are concerned, the majority are selectively drawn from Eustathios's *Παρεκβολαί*,¹⁸ as the following examples show: B 1 (f. 21^r), μυθικῶς ἐνταῦθα διδάσκει ὁ ποιητὴς μὴ δεῖν εἶναι τὸν ἄρχοντα παννύχιον εὐδεῖν;¹⁹ B 3 (f. 21^r), ἐνταῦθα ἐφερμηνεύει ὁ ποιητὴς τὴν τοῦ Διὸς βουλὴν τὴν ἐν τῇ ᾠῇ ῥαψωδίᾳ.²⁰

An examination of these marginal scholia contained in **L** shows that they follow and fulfil the six constituent parts of grammar as stated by Dionysios Thrax's *Τέχνη*,²¹ which were adopted by Moschopoulos in his *Ἑρωτήματα*.²² These comprise the following: (a) ἀνάγνωσις, competent reading according to prosody; (b) ἐξήγησις, interpretation according to the existing figures of speech; (c) πρόχειρος ἀπόδοσις, simple explanation of difficult words and stories; (d) ἐτυμολογία, etymology, the study relating to the origin and the meaning of a word; (e) ἀναλογίας ἐκλογισμός, setting out of grammatical paradigms of relative categories; and finally the ultimate of the six parts (f) κρίσις ποιημάτων, literary criticism of the text. This adherence to Dionysios's definition in **L** is illustrated below.

First, there are interlinear and marginal scholia concerning prosody, for example with reference to ἄρσις and θέσις (Γ 75 [f. 51^r]), συνίησις (Γ 102 [f. 52^v]) and κοινὴ συλλαβή (B 585 [f. 39^v]). In certain cases we can also distinguish metrical signs over words in the text, e.g., B 20 (f. 21^v), Νηληϊῶ. The insistence on the correct reading is also evident in a number of scholia concerning the correct punctuation of the text, most essential for the accurate ἀνάγνωσις. For example, in the interlinear scholion with reference to K 6 (f. 183^r), τεύχων ἢ πολὺν ὄμβρον ἀθέσφατον ἢ ἐχάλαζαν] we read: ἢ ἐκ παραλλήλου· ἢ στίξε εἰς τὸν ὄμβρον· καὶ τοῖς ἐξῆς σύνταττε τὸ ἀθέσφατον.

¹⁸ The close relation between **L** and Eustathios, *Commentary to Iliad* has been noted by Allen, *Homeri Ilias*, I, pp. 152, 257-58.

¹⁹ Eustathios, *Commentary to Iliad*, ad B 1, I, p. 252.4-5.

²⁰ Eustathios, *Commentary to Iliad*, ad B 3, I, p. 253.14-15.

²¹ Dionysios Thrax, *Τέχνη*, pp. 5-6: 'Μέρη δὲ αὐτῆς (i.e., τῆς γραμματικῆς) ἐστὶν ἕξ· πρῶτον ἀνάγνωσις ἐντριβὴς κατὰ προσωδίαν, δεύτερον ἐξήγησις κατὰ τοὺς ἐνυπάρχοντας ποιητικοὺς τρόπους, τρίτον γλωσσῶν τε καὶ ἱστοριῶν πρόχειρος ἀπόδοσις, τέταρτον ἐτυμολογίας εὗρεσις, πέμπτον ἀναλογίας ἐκλογισμός, ἕκτον κρίσις ποιημάτων, ὃ δὴ κάλλιστόν ἐστι πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ τέχνῃ'. Cf. Law, *The History of Linguistics*, pp. 53-54. For a facsimile of the 'tree of grammar' see below, Plate I.

²² Manuel Moschopoulos, *Ἑρωτήματα Γραμματικά*, ed. Vualder, p. 3: 'Πόσα μέρη γραμματικῆς; ἕξ· πρῶτον, ἀνάγνωσις ἐντριβὴς κατὰ προσωδίαν. δεύτερον, ἐξήγησις κατὰ τοὺς ἐνυπάρχοντας ποιητικοὺς τρόπους. τρίτον, γλωσσῶν τε καὶ ἱστοριῶν πρόχειρος ἀπόδοσις. τέταρτον, ἐτυμολογίας εὗρεσις. πέμπτον, ἀναλογίας ἐκλογισμός. ἕκτον, κρίσις ποιημάτων. ὃ δὴ κάλλιστόν ἐστι πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ τέχνῃ'. Ruth Webb, in her thesis *The Transmission of the "Eikones" of Philostratos and the Development of "Ekphrasis" from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance* (University of London, 1992), p. 138, traced this method to Moschopoulos, without reference to Dionysios's treatise. In her subsequent article, however, 'A Slavish Art?', pp. 85, 90-91, Webb linked Dionysios's treatise with Moschopoulos's *Ἑρωτήματα Γραμματικά* and the teaching of poetry in the Byzantine school. Our detailed examination of the textbooks confirms this.

Alternatives explain difficult words in the text, followed by an explanation on the dialect: e.g., I 180 (f. 165^v), δενδίλλων] βλέπων συστρέφων (in the margin: ἰωνικὴ λέξις); I 6 (f. 160^r), ἄμυδις] αἰολικόν· διὸ καὶ ψιλοῦται; Λ 394 (f. 213^v), ὀρφανικοὶ] ὀρφανοὶ ἀττικῶς. In many cases the interest of the *marginalia* focuses on etymology, in an attempt to explain the meaning of words more fully, e.g., Δ 487 (f. 79^v), ἀζομένη] παρονομαστικὴ ἢ λέξις· γίνεται γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ ᾱ στερητικοῦ μορίου καὶ τοῦ ζέσις· ἢ μὴ ζῶν ἔχουσα· ἤγουν ὑγρότης; E 557 (f. 99^r), κεραΐζετον] ἀπὸ τοῦ κάρα καὶ τοῦ ἄζω τὸ ξηραίνω· λειπομένης γὰρ τῆς ζωτικῆς ὑγρότητος, ξηραίνεται τὸ ὄστον; Z 94 (f. 113^v), ἦνις] ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔνον· ὃ ἐστὶν ἐνιαυτοῦ· ἦς ἢ γενικὴ ἦνιδος· καὶ ἰωνικῶς ἦνιος· ἢ πληθυντικὴ αἰτιατικὴ, ἦνιας· καὶ κατὰ κράσιν ἦνις. There are also examples of ἀναλογίας ἐκλογισμός, as in H 212 (f. 133^v), προσώπασι] ὥς τὸ προβάτοις πρόβασι.

Special emphasis seems to have been placed on rhetorical figures, e.g., B 758 (f. 45^r), ναίεσκον· τῶν μὲν Πρόθοος θοὸς ἡγεμόνευε] παρὰ μὲν τοῖς νέοις ῥήτορσιν, ἐπαναστροφή· παρὰ δὲ τοῖς παλαιοῖς, παρονομασία; Δ 440 (f. 78^r), ἄμοτον] μεταφορικὴ ἢ λέξις· ἀπὸ τοῦ μότος τὸ μοτάριον, ἅτινα πρὸς ἀναπλήρωσιν τῆς σαρκός, τιθέασιν οἱ γιατροί; O 281 (f. 293^v), τοῖσι δ' ἔπειτ' ἀγόρευε Θόας Ἄνδραίμονος υἱός] προκατασκευή· ἄλλο προκατάστασις· καὶ ἄλλο προκατασκευή· ἢ μὲν προκατάστασις, στηρίζει τὸν λογισμὸν τοῦ ἀκροατοῦ· ἢ δὲ προκατασκευὴ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λογισμὸν· πρὸς τὸ μὴ εἰπεῖν ἐναντίον ἢ βλαπτικόν. Though these figures of speech are not elaborated, nevertheless they introduce and familiarize the student with the next stage of learning, namely rhetoric.

The analysis of the text ultimately leads to the most advanced part of grammar, that is, literary criticism (*κρίσις ποιημάτων*). Having become familiar with the style of the poet through the previous stages, the student was expected to be in a position to judge the authenticity or otherwise of a verse or part of a text. For example, in E 645 (f. 102^r), we read, τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον, κακίζεται ὥς μὴ ὄν τοῦ Ὀμήρου.

In addition to Thrax's grammar there are pure grammatical scholia giving tenses of verbs, e.g., Δ 126 (f. 68^v), ἐπιπτεσθαι] πέτω καὶ πῶ πτήμι πτήσω· πέπτασμαι· ἐπεπτάσθην· ἐπέπτασο· ἐπέπτατο· πτᾶσθαι· καὶ τροπὴ τοῦ ᾱ εἰς ε, πτέσθαι· καὶ ἐπιπτεσθαι; Λ 808 (f. 225^v), ἦην (post corr. ex ἦεν, η sscr.)] ἔω· ἔσω· ὁ δεῦτερος ἀόριστος ἦν καὶ ἦν. A number of scholia are devoted to syntax, which was not included in Thrax's definition of grammar, e.g., Z 465 (f. 125^r), σοῦ δ' ἔλκηθμοῖο πυθέσθαι] σημειῶσαι τὸ γὰρ πυνθάνομαι τὸ μανθάνω, αἰτιατικὴ συντάσσεται· ἐνταῦθα δέ, γενικῇ; E 203-204 (f. 88^r), ἀνδρῶν εἰλομένων· εἰωθότες ἔδμεναι ἄδδην ὥς λίπον] σημειωτέον ταύτην τὴν σύνταξιν, μέχρι τοῦ ὥς λίπον.

Emendations to the text are also introduced in L, in the form of instructions for the correct form, e.g., B 738 (f. 44^v), Ἀργισσαν] γράφε Ἀργεῖαν; Δ 168 (f. 69^v), ἔσσεται] γράφε ἔπεται. There are also simple philological scholia

referring to geography,²³ e.g., B 537 (f. 38^r), Χαλκίδα τ' Εἰρέτριάν τε] πόλις Εὐρίπου· Καλχίς δὲ φέρεται τὰ πρωτεῖα καὶ μητρόπολις Εὐβοέων λέγεται· δευτερεῖ δὲ ἡ Ἑρέτρια; E 709 (f. 104^r), Κηφισίδι] πόλις Βοιωτίας ὁ Κηφισσός· καὶ λίμνη Κιφισίς.

V *Vaticanus Palatinus graecus* 310 (examined in situ)²⁴

15th/16th c.; paper; ff. 288 (ff. 287 + f. 161a) 370 × 280 mm; 1/2 (17-32)

This codex, containing *Iliad* A 51 – Ω (complete) with its *metaphrasis*, seems to have been addressed to a different audience from that of **O** and **L**. To begin with, **V** does not have the usual format of a textbook, for there is no interlinear space (see Plate IV). In addition, the Homeric text is preceded this time by an *accessus*,²⁵ that is, an introductory passage containing notes on the origin of the Trojan war (f. 1^r) and Homeric poetry (f. 1^{r-v}); Anonymous, *Life of Homer* (*Vita V*) (Ὁμήρου γένεσις)²⁶ (f. 1^v); Herodotos's *Life of Homer* (Ἡροδότου περὶ γενέσεως) (ff. 1^v-4^v)²⁷; the *hypothesis* of *Iliad*, Book A (f. 4^v); D-Scholia on vv. 1, 2, 5 and 10 (f. 5^r), followed by the names of the Muses (τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἐννέα μουσῶν) (f. 5^r) and some grammatical rules on the declension of nouns and verbs (f. 5^{r-v}). Each of the rest of the Books (B-Ω) is also preceded by one or two *hypotheses*.

In contrast to **O** and **L**, the layout of the page in **V** consists of two columns. The inner column contains the Homeric text in black ink, while the outer column the *metaphrasis*, namely a word-for-word translation,²⁸ in

²³ Crihiore, 'Euripides "Phoenissae"', p. 255, points out that geography was not taught independently but 'its teaching was strictly connected to a literary text'.

²⁴ For a description of this MS, see below, Appendix V. See also H. Stevenson, *Codices Manuscripti Palatini Graeci Bibliothecae Vaticanae* (Rome, 1885), p. 174; Erbse, *Scholia graeca*, I, p. XXXIII; Allen, *Homeri Ilias*, I, p. 49 (our codex under siglum V²³). See also I. Vassil, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der sogenannten Psellos-Paraphrase der Ilias* (Hamburg, 1991), pp. 15 with n. 73, 107-109, 118-19, 145-48.

²⁵ Cf. Libanios's statement that he started his lesson μετὰ προλόγου (see above, p. 34, with n. 27). For the use of *accessus* in Latin textbooks, see R. Black, *Humanism and Education in Medieval and Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 314-18.

²⁶ Th.W. Allen, ed., *Homeri opera*, vol. 5 (repr. Oxford, 1969), pp. 247-50. On the *Lives of Homer*, see G. Nagy, *Homer the Preclassic* (Berkeley – Los Angeles – London, 2010), pp. 29-58.

²⁷ Allen, *Homeri opera*, vol. 5, pp. 192-218.

²⁸ For a clarification between the terms *paraphrasis* and *metaphrasis*, see A. Pignani, 'Parafrasi o metafrasi (a proposito della *Statua Regia* di Niceforo Blemmida)?', *Atti della Accademia Pontaniana*, n.s. 24 (1975), 219-25; L. Bottin, 'Metafrasi', *Bollettino dell'Istituto di filologia greca* (Padova) 4 (1977/8), 109-34; Pignani, 'La parafrasi come forma d'uso strumentale', *Akten XVI Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress*, Wien, 4-9 Oktober 1981 (= *JÖB* 32/3 [1982]) (Vienna, 1982), II.3, pp. 21-32; J. Hamesse, 'Parafrasi, florilegi e compendi', in *Lo spazio letterario del medioevo*, I. Il medioevo latino, vol. III: *La ricezione del testo*, eds. G. Cavallo, C. Leonardi and E. Menestò (Rome, 1995), pp. 197-220; J. Signes Codoñer, 'Towards a Vocabulary

red ink, copied in corresponding parallel lines (with the exception of certain scribal errors). The text-blocks in the two columns are interrupted by the insertion of separate blocks of scholia, which cover the whole width of the written surface. Consequently, the text is divided into sections. In Book Ω (ff. 274^v-287^r) only the Homeric text was copied; the column reserved for the translation was left blank, while no scholia were added.

Rubricated Greek numerals in the Homeric text refer the reader to the scholia placed below the text in consecutive order (see Plate VII). This procedure stops at E 773 (f. 71^r) where either the Greek numerals are replaced by reference marks or the scholia are separated by blank spaces. However, these scholia, which derive from a selection of the so-called *scholia vetera* or *maiōra*, do not provide full commentary, but simply contain explanations on some difficult points in the text. These comprise scholia by Aristonikos (e.g., A 324 [f. 13^r], δώσιν] ὕ[...] τὸ δὲ ἔλωμαι, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐλοῦμαι)²⁹; Herodianos (e.g., A 540 [f. 17^v], δολομήτα] ὕ τὰ εἰς ἧς βαρύτονα, τὸ ἡ παραληγόμενα· καὶ εἰς α̅ τὴν κλητικὴν ἔχοντα, προπερισπᾶται, ἀγκυλομήτα: πεδῆτα· πλὴν τοῦ ἀλάκηστα)³⁰; and Nikanor (e.g., A 59 [f. 7^v], Ἀτρείδη] ὕ μετὰ τὸ Ἀτρείδη, δεῖ στίζειν· ἐπεὶ αἱ προσαγορευτικαὶ τῶν περιόδων, αὐτοτέλευτοι εἰσίν).³¹ There are also other exegetical scholia, for example, A 193 (f. 10^v), ἔλκετο] ^α ἡ παράτασις τοῦ χρόνου, τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν λογισμῶν τάσιν δηλοῖ· τὸ δὲ μέγα, ἀφορμὴν δίδωσι τῆς καθόδου τῇ Ἀθηνᾶ· τὸ δὲ ἔως νῦν ἀντὶ τοῦ τέως· ὡς εἴως μὲν ἐπέπαυτο· ἐπεὶ, ποῦ ἡ ἀνταπόδοσις τοῦ ἔως· διδάσκει δὲ μὴ περαιτέρω χρῆσθαι τῆς ἐξουσίας τοὺς βασιλεῖς.³²

In addition, V contains a number of D-scholia (e.g., A 474 (f. 16^r), μέλποντες] ^η διδάσκει ἡμᾶς ὁ ποιητής, ὅτι πλέον τῶν θυσίων τέρπονται οἱ θεοὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις ἕκαστος ὕμνοις· ἐκάεργον δὲ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα ἐπιθετικῶς).³³ Other scholia derive from Porphyrios (e.g., A 117 [f. 8^v], ἀπολέσθαι] ^{ιγ} [...] Πορφύριος δὲ παραδιαζευκτικὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ καὶ [...]);³⁴ and Apollonios Dyskolos (e.g., Γ 47 [f. 38^r], ἐπιπλώσας] ^{στ} ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος σχηματίζει οὕτως τὸ ἐπιπλώσας· πλέω καὶ ἐπιπλώω· οὗ ὁ ἀόριστος, ἐπέπλωσα· ἢ μετοχή, ἐπιπλώσας· εἴτα ἀποκοπή, ἐπιπλώς· καὶ τὸ ἐπέπλωσ δὲ ῥῆμα· τοῦνεκα γὰρ καὶ πόντον ἐπέπλωσ, ὁμοίως ἐκ τοῦ ἐπιπλώσας ἀπεκόπη· ὅτι γὰρ τὸ ἐπέπλωσ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ θέματος τοῦ πλώμι, δηλὸν ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν εἶναι ὡς ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς ῥῖ κινήματων· οὐκ ἀπαρέμφατον ἐπιπλῶναι· οὐκ

for Rewriting in Byzantium', in *Textual Transmission in Byzantium: between Textual Criticism and Quellenforschung*, eds. J. Signes Codoñer and Pérez Martín (Turnhout, 2014), pp. 61-90.

²⁹ Cf. Erbse, *Scholia graeca*, I, p. 98.

³⁰ Cf. Erbse, *Scholia graeca*, I, p. 146.

³¹ Cf. Erbse, *Scholia graeca*, I, p. 27.

³² Cf. Erbse, *Scholia graeca*, I, p. 64.

³³ Cf. *Scholia D in Iliadem*, p. 53.

³⁴ Cf. Erbse, *Scholia graeca*, I, p. 44.

εὐκτικὸν ἐπιπλοίμην· οὐ προστακτικὸν ἐπίπλωθι, οὐκ ἄλλο οὐδέν· ἔδει δὲ καὶ τὴν μετοχὴν εἶναι, ἐπιπλούς· ὡς βιούς· ὅτι γὰρ οὐ δωρικῶς ἐτραπή εἰς τὸ ᾧ· ὡς βούς βώς, δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ μὴ προσκεῖσθαι αὐτοῦ ἐν χρήσει τὸ κοινόν).³⁵

Finally, there are scholia from the *Epimerismi Homerici* (e.g., A 189 [f. 10^r], μερμήριζεν] ^{ιστ}μερίζω καὶ μερμερίζω· ὡς δάρπω καὶ δαρδάπτω)³⁶, and from family *h* (e.g., A 272 [f. 12^r], τῶν οἱ νῦν] ^ζ τοῦτο τὸ σχῆμα, οἱ μὲν κλίσιν· οἱ δὲ μετάληψιν ὠνόμασαν· ὅταν ἡ τεθεῖσα πτώσις κλίνηται· τοὺς ὅσοι τὸ Πελασγικόν).³⁷

A comparison of the scholia in **V** with those published by Erbse shows that there are a number of variant readings and spelling errors in the codex.³⁸ The range of these scholia, together with certain omissions found in the traditional corpora (possibly a result of selection), indicate that the compiler accommodated his material to the needs of his audience from an even wider range of philological scholia.

Va Vaticanus graecus 1710 (*examined through microfilm*)³⁹

16th c. (ff. 1-8: end of 15th c.); paper; III + ff. 223; 300 × 208 mm; 1 (31-33)

The codex contains only the *metaphrasis* of *Iliad* A-Ψ (incomplete; Z up to v. 30 [f. 54^v]; Θ up to v. 453 [f. 70^r]; Υ up to v. 83 [f. 188^v], Φ and Ω are missing; on ff. 216^r-221^r, Ψ 397-749 are repeated — also in ff. 207^r-212^v). **Va** was copied by Lygizos, with the exception of ff. 1^r-8^v (A 1-527), 9^{r-v} (A 528-590), 137^v (O 253-285) which were copied by three different, so far unidentified, hands.

A collation of **V** and **Va** shows that they are closely related, for **V** contains the whole of the *metaphrasis*, including almost all corrections found in **Va**, where the corrected word is given in the margin, often preceded by the instruction γρ(άφε). In addition, certain identical passages remain

³⁵ Cf. Erbse, *Scholia graeca*, I, p. 368.

³⁶ Cf. Erbse, *Scholia graeca*, I, p. 62.

³⁷ Allen, *Homeri Ilias*, I, p. 152, followed by Erbse, *Scholia graeca*, I, pp. XXXIII, 85, classified the scholia of **V** in family *h*, to which Eustathios's *Commentary* belongs.

³⁸ E.g., A 114 (f. 8^v), ^ι... παθούσης *pro* πασχούσης; A 225 (f. 11^r), ^β... λοιδορεῖ *pro* ὀνειδεῖζει; A 177 (f. 10^r), ^{ιγ}... δηλὸν *pro* δόλιον; A 243 (f. 11^v), ^{στ}... ὑστερολογία *pro* ἀναστροφή; A 449 (f. 15^v), ^δ... πολυπαθείας *pro* πολυπληθείας; A 519 (f. 17^r), ^ε... τῆς προειρημένους *pro* τῆς προειρημένης; A 609 (f. 18^v), ^ζ... Ἄρης *pro* Ἄιδης - φίλους ἐλήθοντο τοκυίας *pro* φίλους λήθοντο τοκήας. A collation of **V** with its exemplar, *Par. gr.* 2766 (according to Allen), shows that Lygizos followed it closely, despite his mistakes, misreadings and a few omissions. In other words, the selection of the scholia in **V** mirrors and represents the selection of its exemplar. For a description of *Par. gr.* 2766, see H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Troisième Partie: Ancien Fonds grec: Belles Lettres (2542-3117) (Paris, 1888), p. 38. It should be noted that Antonios Damilas, who printed in Milan in 1488 the *editio princeps* of the Homeric epics, prepared by Demetrios Chalkokondyles, wrote a line on the top margin, of f. 174^r in the Paris codex. For *Par. gr.* 2766, see also Vassis, *handschriftliche Überlieferung*, pp. 118-19, 145-48, 183-89, 264.

³⁹ For a description of this MS, see C. Giannelli and P. Canart, *Codices Vaticani graeci: Codices 1684-1744* (Vatican, 1961), pp. 72-74.

without *metaphrasis* in both **V** and **Va**.⁴⁰ On the other hand, **V** contains passages of the *metaphrasis* which do not appear in **Va**,⁴¹ while there are very few passages of the *metaphrasis* in **Va** which do not appear in **V**.⁴² This would suggest that (a) **V** is a later copy based on **Va**, and (b) **V** incorporated additional material from another, so far unidentified, MS. A parallel transcription of the *metaphrasis* in **V** and **Va** below, illustrates their relation (differences are underlined) (see Plate VIII).

V, f. 100^v (I 31-41)

Βραδέως δὲ ἐφθέγγατο ὁ κατὰ τὴν μάχην
γενναῖος Διομήδης·
ὦ Ἀγάμεμνον· τῷ σῶ λόγῳ ἐν πρώτοις μαχή-
σομαι ἀσυνετοῦντα·
καθὼς νόμος ἔστιν ἐν δημοκρατείᾳ λέγειν· σὺ
δὲ μὴ ὀργισθῆς·
περὶ τῆς δυνάμεώς μου τὸ πρῶτον μετωνεί-
δησας ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν·
εἰπὼν εἶναι ἀπειροπόλεμον καὶ ἀδύνατον.
ταῦτα δὲ πάντα,
γινώσκουσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἳ τε νεώτεροι καὶ
οἱ γέροντες·
σοὶ δὲ τοῖν δυοῖν ἕτερον ἔδωκεν ὁ τοῦ σκο-
λιοβούλου Κρόνου παῖς·
τὴν μὲν βασιλείαν ἔδωκέ σοι εἰς τὸ τιμᾶσθαι
περισσότερον πάντων·
δύναμιν δὲ οὐκ ἔδωκέ σοι (in textu) ὁ κρά-
τιστον ἐστὶ καὶ μέγιστον·
ὦ κακόδαιμον· οὕτως λίαν ἐλπίζεις τοὺς
Ἑλληνας·
ἀπειροπολέμους τε εἶναι καὶ ἀδυνάτους ὥς
λέγεις·

Va, f. 71^v (I 31-41)

Βραδέως δὲ ἐφθέγγατο ὁ κατὰ τὴν μάχην
γενναῖος Διομήδης·
ὦ Ἀγάμεμνον· τῷ σῶ λόγῳ ἐν πρώτοις μαχή-
σομαι ἀσυνετοῦντι·
καθὼς νόμος ἔστιν ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ λέγειν· σὺ
δὲ μὴ ὀργισθῆς·
περὶ τῆς δυνάμεώς μου τὸ πρῶτον ὠνείδισας
ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν·
εἰπὼν εἶναι ἀπειροπόλεμον καὶ ἀδύνατον·
ταῦτα δὲ πάντα
γινώσκουσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἳ τε νεώτεροι καὶ
οἱ γέροντες·
σοὶ δὲ τοῖν δυοῖν ἕτερον ἔδωκεν ὁ τοῦ σκο-
λιοβούλου Κρόνου παῖς
τὴν ^{μὲν} βασιλείαν ἔδωκέ σοι εἰς τὸ τιμᾶσθαι
περισσότερον πάντων·
δύναμιν δὲ οὐκ ἔδωκέ σοι (in marg.) ὁ κρά-
τιστον ἐστὶ καὶ μέγιστον·
ὦ κακόδαιμον· οὕτως λίαν ἐλπίζεις τοὺς
Ἑλληνας·
ἀπειροπολέμους τε εἶναι καὶ ἀδυνάτους ὥς
λέγεις·

The similarities and differences in the Homeric text, the interlinear *glosses* and marginal *scholia* among **O**, **L** and **V** are illustrated below, in the parallel transcriptions of **O** and **L**, followed by the transcription of **V** with its *metaphrasis* and *scholia* (differences are underlined).⁴³

⁴⁰ Passages without *metaphrasis* in both **V** and **Va**: O 200-01, 205, 210, 212, 471-72, 482; Π 381; P 352-53; Σ 200.

⁴¹ Passages with *metaphrasis* in **V** but not in **Va**: N 184, 255; Π 341; P 341; Y 84-85, 88-503 (86-87 without *metaphrasis*).

⁴² Passages with *metaphrasis* in **Va**, but not in **V**: Y 202, 206, 213 (only one word).

⁴³ In the transcriptions of these particular texts abbreviations and suspensions are included in round and pointing brackets respectively, in order to show differences in their copying.

O, f. 20^v (B 1-10)

οἱ μὲν δὴ οἱ ἄνδρες· οἱ τοὺς ἵππους κορίσαν(τ)(ες)
κ(αὶ) καθοπλίσαντες

Ἄλλοι μὲν ῥὰ θεοὶ τε καὶ ἄνδρες ἱπποκορυσταὶ,

ἐκοιμῶντο δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς· κατεῖχε· γλυκὺς ὁ
εὖδον παννύχιοι· Δία δ' οὐκ ἔχε νήδυμος ὕπνος·

οὗτος ἐφρόντιζε κ(α)τ(ὰ) τὴν διάνοιαν
ὅπως τὸν
ἀλλ' ὃ γε μερμήριζε κατάφρενα, ὥς Ἀχιλῆα

ἀπολέση πολλοὺς τῶν
τιμήσῃ· ὀλέσῃ δὲ πολέας ἐπὶ νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶν·

κ(αὶ) αὐτὴ αὐτῷ ψυχὴν καλλίστην
ἦδε δέ οἱ κατὰ θυμὸν ἀρίστη φαίνετο βουλή·

τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ Ἀτρέως τῷ ἀπατηλὸν· ἢ ὀλέθριον·
πέμψαι ἐπ' Ἀτρεΐδῃ Ἀγαμέμνονι οὐλον Ὀνειρον·

αὐτὸν καλέσας· λόγους ἔλεγε
καί μιν φωνήσας, ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα

πορεύθητι· ἄπιθι· ταχείας
ὀλέθριε
βάσκ' ἴθι οὐλε Ὀνειρε θαὸς ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν·

τὴν σκηνὴν
ἐλθὼν δ' ἐς κλισίην Ἀγαμέμνωνος Ἀτρεΐδαο,

λίαν φανερῶς ἀγόρευε
καθὰ προστάσσω·
πάντα μάλ' ἀτρεκέως ἀγορευέμεν, ὥς ἐπιτέλλω

L, f. 21^r (B 1-10)

πολεμισταὶ οἱ τοὺς ἵππους καθοπλίζον(τ)(ες)
Ἄλλοι μὲν ῥὰ θεοὶ τε καὶ ὑποκορισταὶ, μυθικῶς ἐνταῦθα διδάσκει ὁ ποιητ(ή)ς μὴ δ(εῖν) εἶναι
 τὸν ἄρχοντα παννύχιον εὖδειν:

ἐλάβανε
εὖδον παννύχιοι· Δία δ' οὐκ ἔχε νήδυμος ὕπνος γρ(άφε) οὐκ ἔχε ἥδυμος·

ὁ Ζεὺς ἐμερίμνα ὅπως
ἀλλ' ὃ γε μερμήριζε κατὰ φρένα, ὥς Ἀχιλλῆα ἐνταῦθα ἐφερμηνεύει ὁ ποιητ(ή)ς, τὴν τοῦ Διὸς
 βουλ(ή)ν τὴν ἐν τῇ ἀ' ῥαψωδία
 ἄδηλον εἶτε πολλ(οὺς) τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ὀλέσ(ει), εἶτε πολλ(οὺς) Τρῶ(ας) τὲ (και) Ἑλλην(ας) ἐπὶ νηυσὶν
 σχῆμα ἁ- **τιμήσῃ· ὀλέσῃ δὲ πολέας ἐπὶ νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶν** Ἀχαιῶν· ὅπερ κ(αὶ) κάλλιον·
 μφιβολίας

αὐτῷ τῷ Διὶ τὸ τοῦ ὄνειρου πλάσμα ὁ ποιητῆς πάνυ ἀπεδέξατο ἐκ τοῦ
ἦδε δέ οἱ κατὰ θυμὸν ἀρίστη φαίνετο βουλή· εἰπεῖν ἀρίστην τὴν βουλ(ή)ν):

διεστραμ(έν)ον κ(αὶ) ἀπατηλόν·
πέμψαι ἐπ' Ἀτρεΐδῃ Ἀγαμέμνονι οὐλὸν Ὀνειρον·

τὸν ὄνειρον σύντομα
καί μιν φωνήσας, ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·

ἐκ παραλλήλ(ου)· ἢ τὸ ἴθι παρακελευσματι(κ)(όν)·· πορεύθητι·
βάσκ' ἴθι οὐλε Ὀνειρε θαὸς ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν· + ἀσύνδετον σχῆμα τῆς γοργότ(η)τος·

: ἀσύνδετος καὶ ἀρχοντι(κ)(ός) ὁ λόγ(ος)
ἐλθὼν ἐς κλισίην Ἀγαμέμνονος Ἀτρεΐδαο

κελεύω
πάντα μάλ' ἀτρεκέως ἀγορευέμεν, ὥς ἐπιτέλλω· ἀτρεκές· ἀπὸ τοῦ ᾠ στερητι(κ)οῦ μορίου κ(αὶ)
 τοῦ τρέχω· τὸ μὴ ἐκτρέχον τῆς ἀληθείας·

O, ff. 20^v-21^r (B 11-19)

καθοπλίσαι, πρόστασσε· ἰ. τοὺς τὰς κεφαλὰς κομῶντας
αὐτὸν ἰ.

θῶρηξαι ἔ κέλευε καρηκομῶντας Ἀχαιοὺς,

πανστρατιᾶ· λάβοι τὴν πλατύοδον·
ἥς

πανσυδίη· νῦν γάρ κεν ἔλοι πόλιν εὐρυάγυιαν

τῶν διχῶς· οὐ(ρά)νια· οἰκήματα
Τρώων· οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' ἀμφὶς Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες

βουλεύονται· ἐπέκαμψεν
ἀθάνατοι φράζονται· ἐπέγναμψεν γὰρ ἅπαντας

παρακαλοῦσα λύπαι· ἐπικρέμανται·
τοῖς
Ἥρη λισσομένη· Τρώεσσι δὲ κήδε' ἐφήπται·

οὕτως εἶπε· ἀπῆλθε ἀφ' οὗ
<ῶ>ς φάτο· βῆ δ' ἄρ' Ὀνειρος ἐπεὶ τὸν μῦθον ἄκουσε·

ταχέως ἔφθασε
καρπαλίμως δ' ἵκανε θοὰς ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν·

ἐπορεύθη· τοῦτον κατέλαβεν
βῆ δ' ἄρ' ἐπ' Ἀτρεΐδην Ἀγαμέμνονα· τὸν δ' ἐκίχανεν

κοιμώμενον θεῖος περιέκέχυτο
τῇ σκηνῇ·
εὕδοντ' ἐν κλισίῃ· περὶ δ' ἀμβρόσιος κέχυθ' ὕπνος·

L, f. 21^{r-v} (B 11-19)

καθοπλίσαι τοὺς κ(α)τ(α) τὰς τρίχας αὐτ(ῶν) θάλλοντας
τὸν Ἀτρεΐδην πολίτριχας ἀκειροκόμ(ους)

θωρήξαι ἐ κέλευε κάρη κομόωντας Ἀχαιοὺς

παμπληθί· πανστρατιά ·. τὴν πλατεί(ας) ἔχουσιν ῥύμας·
πασσυδίη· νῦν γάρ κεν ἔλοι πόλιν εὐρυάγυιαν ·. περίφρασις Τροί(ας)

 διχογνώμως κεχωρισμ(ένως)·
Τρώων· οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' ἀμφὶς Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες,

 ἀμφισβητοῦσι· ἐπέκλινε· κατέπρισεν
 βουλεύονται
ἀθάνατοι φράζονται· ἐπέγναμψεν γὰρ ἅπαντας·

 λύπ(αι) ἐπίκεινται κ(αι) κρέμανται·
ὥς τοῖς Ἥρη λισσομένη· Τρώεσσι δὲ κήδε' ἐφήπται·
Ἀχαιοῖς βοηθοῦσα·

ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ εἰς οὕτως ἔφη ὁ Ζεὺς ὅτι ἢ ἀφ' οὗ
εἰμαρμένην ἀλληγορικ(ῶς) <᾽Ω>ς φάτο· βῆ δ' ἄρ' Ὀνειρος ἐπεὶ τὸν μῦθον ἄκουσε
λαμβανόμε(εν)ος·

 ὑπερεγένετο
καρπαλίμως δ' ἔκανε θοὰς ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν·

 Ἀγαμ(έμονα)
βῆ δ' ἄρ' ἐπ' Ἀτρεΐδην Ἀγαμέμνονα· τὸν δ' ἐκίχανεν

·. διὰ τὴν κοιμώμ(εν)ον ἢ κοιν(ῶς) τέντα θεῖος γλυκὺς ·.
ἐν ὕπνω εὖδοντ' ἐν κλισίῃ· περὶ δ' ἀμβρόσιος κέχυθ' ὕπνος.
ἀκρασίαν ὅλου τοῦ σώματος·
κ(αὶ) διότι ὁ ὕπνος ἐξ ὑγρότητος·

V, f. 19^r (B 1-25)

Ἰλλοι μὲν ῥὰ θεοὶ τε καὶ ἄνδρες ἵπποκορυσταί,
 εὐδον, παννύχιοι· Δία δ' οὐκ ἔχε νήδυμος ὕπνος·
 ἀλλ' ὃ γε μερμήριζε κατὰ φρένα, ὥς Ἀχιλῆα
 τιμήσῃ· ὀλέσῃ δὲ πολέας ἐπὶ νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶν·
 ἦδε δὲ οἱ κατὰ θυμὸν ἀρίστη φαίνετο βουλή·

πέμψαι ἐπ' Ἀτρεΐδῃ Ἀγαμέμνονι, οὐδ' ὅν^β Ὀνειρον·
 καὶ μιν φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·

ἦ
 βάσκ' ἴθι οὐλὲ Ὀνειρε θοὰς ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν·
 ἔλθῶν ἐς κλισίην Ἀγαμέμνονος Ἀτρεΐδαο,
 πάντα μάλ' ἀτρεκέως ἀγορευέμεν, ὥς ἀγορεύω·

θωρήξαι^δ ἐκέλευε καρηκομόωντας Ἀχαιοὺς.

πανσυδίῃ^ε νῦν γάρ κεν ἔλοι πόλιν εὐρυάγειαν,

Τρώ(ων)· οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' ἀμφὶς Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντ(ες),
 ἀθάνατοι φράζονται· ἐπέγναμψε γὰρ ἅπαντας,
 Ἥρῃ λισσομένη· Τρώεσσι δὲ κήδε' ἐφήπται·
 ὣς φάτο· βῆ δ' Ὀνειρος ἐπεὶ τὸν μῦθον ἄκουσε·
 καρπαλίμως δ' ἵκανε θοὰς ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν·
 βῆ δ' ἄρ' ἐπ' Ἀτρεΐδην Ἀγαμέμνονα· τὸν δ' ἐκίχανεν,
 εὐδοντ' ἐν κλισίῃ· περὶ δ' ἀμβρόσιος κέχυθ' ὕπνος·
 στή δ' ἄρ' ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς Νηληϊῶ υἱ ἐοικώς,
 Νέστορι· τὸν ῥα μάλιστα γερόντων τί Ἀγαμέμνων·
 τῷ μιν ἔεισάμενος προσεφώνεε θεῖος Ὀνειρος·
 εὐδεις Ἀτρέος υἱὲ δαΐφρονος ἵπποδάμοιο,
 οὐ χρὴ παννύχιον εὐδῆν βουλευφόρον ἄνδρα,
 ὦ λαοὶ τ' ἐπιτετράφαται καὶ τόσσα μέμηλε·

V, f. 19^r (B 1-25)

<Ο>ί ἄλλοι μὲν δὴ θεοὶ καὶ ἄνδρες οἱ ἐφ' ἵππους ὀπλιζόμενοι,
 ἐκοιμῶντο δι' ὅλης νυκτὸς τὸν δὲ Δία, οὐ κατεῖχεν ὁ γλυκὺς ὕπνος·
 ἀλλ' οὐτ(ος) ἐμερίμνα κ(α)τ(ὰ) διάνοιαν, ὅπως τὸν Ἀχιλλέα
 τιμήσῃ· ἀπολέσῃ δὲ πολλοὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς ναυσὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων·
 αὕτη δὲ αὐτῷ κατὰ ψυχὴν ἀρίστη ἐφάνη βουλή·

ἐπιπέμψαι τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ Ἀτρέως, ὀλέθριον ὄνειρον·
 καὶ αὐτὸν φωνήσας, λόγ(ους) ταχεῖς καὶ ἐπτερωμ(έν)ους εἶπεν·

ἄπιθι ὦ ὀλέθριε ὄνειρε, ἐπὶ τὰς ταχεῖ(ας) ναῦς τῶν Ἑλλήνων·
 ἀπελθ(ών) εἰς τ(ήν) σκηνήν τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Ἀτρέ(ως),
 ἅπαντα ἀληθῶς ἀγόρευσον ὥς ἐντέλλομαι

καθοπλίσαι αὐτὸν κέλευσον τοὺς εὐκόμους Ἑλληνας,

πανστρατὶ· ἀρτί(ως) γὰρ ἂν λάβοι πόλιν τ(ήν) πλατυάμφοδον,

τ(ῶν) Τρώ(ων)· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι χωρὶς οἱ τὰ Ὀλύμπου οἰκίμ(α)τ' ἔχοντες,
 ἄφθαρτοι θεοὶ διανοοῦνται· ἔπεισε γὰρ ἅπαντας,
 ἢ Ἥρα παρακαλοῦσα· τοῖς Τρωσὶ δὲ κακὰ ἐπικρέμαται·
 οὕτως εἶπεν· ἐπορεύθη δὲ ὁ ὄνειρος ἐπειδὴ τοῦτον τὸν λόγ(ον) ἤκουσε
 ταχέ(ως) δὲ κατέλαβεν ἐπὶ τὰς ταχεῖ(ας) ναῦς τῶν Ἑλλήνων·
 ἐπορεύθη δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα· τοῦτον δὲ κατέλαβε,
 κοιμώμενον ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ θεῖος δὲ ὕπνος περιεκέχυτο αὐτῷ·
 ἔστη δὲ ὑπεράνω τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ Νηλέ(ως) υἱῷ ὁμοιωθεὶς,
 τῷ Νέστορι· ὃν δὴ μάλιστα τῶν γερόντ(ων) ἐτίμα ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων·
 τοῦτω ὁμοιωθεὶς, προσεῖπεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεόπομπτος ὄνειρος·
 καθεύδεις ὦ υἱὲ τοῦ Ἀτρέ(ως) τοῦ συνετοῦ κ(αὶ) πολεμικοῦ
 οὐ δεῖ δι' ὅλης νυκτ(ος) κοιμᾶσθαι τὸν βουλευφόρον ἄνδρα,
 ἐφ' ᾧ τινὶ οἱ λαοὶ ἐπιτεταγμ(έν)οι εἰσὶ, κ(αὶ) τοσαῦτα μέλλει κ(αὶ)
 πεφρόντισται·

f. 19^{r-v}:

^α πῶς ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ (*leg.* τῇ πρώτῃ) εἰπὼν τὸν Δία καθεύδειν, ἐνταῦθα φη(σ)ί, Δία δ' οὐκ ἔσχε νήδυμ(ος) ὕπνος· κ(αὶ) λέγομεν· ὅτι ἐκάθευδε μὲν, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ὀλίγον· κ(αὶ) οὐ διὰ πάσης τῆς νυκτὸς ὡς οἱ ἄλλοι μεριμνᾶν (*leg.* μεριμνῶν)· τὸ δὲ ἵπποκουσται (*leg.* ἵπποκορυσται), ἢ ἵππους κορύσσον(τ)(ες) δῆλον· τουτέστι πολεμικ(όν), ἢ ἀπὸ ἵππων μαχόμενοι·~ ^β οὐλον ὄνειρον νῦν τὸν ὀλέθριον· δηλ(οῖ)· (δὲ) κ(αὶ) τὸν προσηνῆ κ(αὶ) ὀλόκληρον· ὡς ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐα (*leg.* Ὀδυσσεΐα) φησὶν, οὐλον ἄρτον ἐλόν (*leg.* ἐλῶν)· δηλ(οῖ) (δὲ) κ(αὶ) τὴν τῶν τριχ(ῶν) διαστροφὴν· οὐλον δὲ ὄνειρον, οὐκ αὐτὸν ὀλέθριον ὄντα· ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ (*leg.* ὀλέθρῳ) πεμπόμενον· καὶ οὐλον τὸν ὑγίη, ὥσπερ λέγεται οὐλὴ τραύμ(α)τ(ος)· σημαίνει δὲ ἡ λέξις· κ(αὶ) τὸ ὑγίαινε· ὡς ἐν ἐκείνῳ (*leg.* ἐκείνῳ)· οὐλε (*leg.* οὐλέ) τε καὶ μέγα χαῖρε, θεοί τε ὄλβια δοῖεν· Ὑτυρανίων, ὕφ' ἐν ὡς ἄπιθι· ἄμεινον δὲ ταυτολογίαν εἶναι ἐμφαίνον τὴν ἔπειξιν· καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ· ἔλθοι καὶ ἴκοιτο· καὶ Ἡρόδοτος (*leg.* Ἡρωδιανός) μὲν τὸ ἴθι, ἐνεστῶτος φησὶ νῦν· Ἐπαφρόδιτος δὲ, ἀόριστος· ὡς ἔφατ' ἐκ νονόμαζε (*leg.* τ' ὀνόμαζε)· κ(αὶ) πάνυ σφόδρα φασὶν Ἀττικοὶ· δύναται (δὲ) καὶ ἴθι εἶναι ἐπίρρημα παρακελεύσεως, ὡς ἴθ' ἐκκάλυψον, ὡς ἴδω τὸ πᾶν κακόν· ἀσύνδετος δὲ κ(αὶ) ἀρχοντι(κ)(ός) ὁ λόγος· διδάσκει δὲ τοὺς ἀγγέλους, μὴ παρ' ἐτέρῳ (*leg.* ἐτέρῳ) τῶν ἀκουμένων περιεργάζεσθαι· ^δ τῶν Ἑλλήν(ων) τὸ παλαιὸν ἀρετ(ῆς) ἔνεκα καὶ ἀνδρείας κομῶντων τὰς κεφαλὰς, λόγος πρῶτον Θησέα ἀποκειράμενον (*post corr.*) τὴν ἐμπροσθίαν κόμην, εἰς Δῆλον ἀναθεῖναι τῷ (*leg.* τῷ) Ἀπόλλωνι· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ κομῶντος ἐν διαιρέσει, κομῶντας·· ^ε τὸ νῦν ἐνταῦθα, τοὺς τρεῖς χρόν(ους) δηλ(οῖ) ὡς τὸ ἦν (*leg.* νῦν) γὰρ δὴ γένος ἐστὶ· νῦν ὤλετο πᾶσα· νῦν δὲ δὴ Αἰνεΐα βίη Τρώεσσι ἀνάξει·· ^{στ} οὐκέτι διχογνωμονοῦσι περὶ τῆς Ἰλίου· τουτέστιν, οὐκέτι οἱ περὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπον κατοικοῦντες θεοί, διάφορα φρονοῦσι(ν)· οἱ μὲν τὰ ὑπὲρ Τρώων· οἱ δὲ τὰ ὑπὲρ Ἑλλήνων·

It is evident that of the four codices copied by Lygizos,⁴⁴ **O**, **L** and **V** are ready-made textbooks prepared for educational purposes,⁴⁵ while **Va**, which contains only the *metaphrasis* may have been used as an aid for the study and teaching of Homer. A comparison between **O**, **L** and **V** suggests that each one of them served different purposes, used modified techniques and addressed different audiences. In the light of the *stemma codicum* of

⁴⁴ It should be noted that a number of folios in **O**, **V** and **Va** were copied also by different hands. See description of these MSS below, Appendix V.

⁴⁵ Cf. Christophoros of Mitylene's reference to the sellers of ready-made *schedē*, (σχεδοπρατεῖον), (*Poem* 11, pp. 7 [Kurtz] and 12 [De Groote] respectively).

the *Iliad* re-constructed by Allen,⁴⁶ it is clear that these three MSS follow different exemplars. More importantly, in a few cases, these MSS also give different readings. E.g., B 10: ἐπιτέλλω **O**, **L**: ἀγορεύω **V**; B 22: οὖλος **O**: θεῖος **L**, **V**; B 322: θεοπρεπέων **O**: θεοπροπέων **L**: προπέων **V**.

As mentioned above, **O** was prepared for a beginner requiring greater assistance for the understanding of the text. This textbook focuses almost exclusively on the comprehension of, and familiarisation with, the Homeric text. The interlinear explanations of difficult words serve as 'keys' to the unlocking of difficult passages, for they provide almost an interlinear translation of the Homeric text. In this sense, they are appropriate for a student with basic knowledge of classical Greek to enable him to translate the text, this being the primary function of a textbook. This is also indicated by the ample blank interlinear space which facilitates the inexperienced eye to follow the text, without being distracted at this first stage by additional aids, namely the *marginalia* which the student may not have been in a position to absorb. On the other hand, the possibility that **O** may be incomplete cannot be ruled out. But as the text stands, **O** seems to represent an introductory stage to Homer, its main aim being to help the student with the translation and the understanding of the text, which is further facilitated by the clear and regular script with very few abbreviations.

L follows similar conventions concerning the script and the limited use of abbreviations. However, it contains fewer interlinear *glosses* but provides more marginal scholia,⁴⁷ which suggest that this textbook may have been addressed to a student with more advanced understanding of Greek. This is also supported by the nature of the marginal scholia which cover not only all parts of grammar as defined by Dionysios Thrax but also other aspects of philological interest.

For example, B 4 (f. 20^v) **O** reads:

ἀπολέση πολλοὺς τῶν
τιμήση· ὀλέση δὲ πολέας ἐπὶ νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶν

L, however, gives no vocabulary equivalents, one assumes because the student had no difficulty in translating this verse. Hence, the focus is on the further clarification of the verse with a scholion, copied in the

⁴⁶ See Allen, *Homeri Ilias*, I, page following 278; see also Appendix V.

⁴⁷ Until Book θ (f. 159^r) the marginal scholia are quite numerous. From then onwards they become increasingly fewer: in Books I-N there are quite a few (ff. 160^r-268^v), in Ξ they are rare (ff. 269^r-285^v), in O-Σ a few (ff. 286^r-379^r), in T-Φ occasional (ff. 379^v-428^r), in X rare (ff. 228^r-444^v), while in the last two Books (Ψ-Ω) there are no marginal scholia (ff. 445^r-495^v).

interlinear and marginal space, drawn from Eustathios (B 4) (f. 21^r), σχῆμα ἀμφιβολίας, ἄδηλον εἴτε πολλοὺς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ὀλέσει, εἴτε πολλοὺς Τρῶας τὲ καὶ Ἑλληνας ἐπὶ νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶν· ὅπερ κάλλιον.⁴⁸

Similarly, B 2 (f. 20^v) in **O** reads:

ἐκοιμῶντο δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς κατεῖχε γλυκὺς ὁ
εὐδὸν παννύχιοι· Δία δ' οὐκ ἔχε νήδυμος ὕπνος

In **L** only one *glossa* was considered necessary:

ἐλάμβανε
εὐδὸν παννύχιοι· Δία δ' οὐκ ἔχε νήδυμος ὕπνος

adding an instruction for correction in the margin: γρ(άφε) οὐκ ἔχεν ἦδυμος.

The student using **L** was now ready to deepen his knowledge, to broaden his cultural horizons and in addition to familiarize himself with the next stage of schooling, that is rhetoric, with the scholia serving as a bridge. It is puzzling that **L**, with the exception of its *marginalia*, is almost identical with **O** up to f. 8^r (including the elaborate initial and titles on f. 1^r) and the interlinear *glosses*. From f. 8^v onwards, however, apart from the change of the ink, which may indicate subsequent stages of copying, the focus also changes, from translation to interpretation and comprehension.

In **V** the script of the Homeric text is more condensed with smaller letter-forms, and more abbreviated in comparison with **O** and **L**. The script of the *metaphrasis* in **V** though still quite small, is relatively larger, containing more abbreviations than the main text. The column containing the *metaphrasis* is wider since the translation requires usually *periphrasis*. The script of the scholia in **V** is smaller and more condensed than that of the main text. The layout of the page, with the translation facing the text in parallel lines followed by the selective commentary placed on the full width of the page, and the use of more abbreviations, give the impression that **V** was addressed to a person with more advanced knowledge of Greek, than a student who was struggling to understand his Homer. It seems, therefore, that **V** was either intended for a reader who pursued the study of Homer on his own, or more likely for a teacher, providing ready-made material for the teaching of the *Iliad*.

The format of **O**, **L** and **V** — including the layout of the text, the use of interlinear and marginal space reserved for *glosses* and scholia (in our case by a single hand, that of Lygizos), the selective use of different ink colours

⁴⁸ Eustathios, *Commentary to Iliad*, ad. B 4, I, p. 253.17-20.

(including various shades of red for some *glosses* and *scholia*),⁴⁹ and the extent of the use of abbreviations — which applies to all similar codices, met specific needs of the Byzantine school.

It appears, therefore, that the four MSS copied by Lygizos at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century reflect three different stages of teaching Homer: elementary (**O**), intermediate (**L**) and advanced (**V**), with **Va** representing a teaching aid. The use of the same or similar content, format and layout in terms of annotation, and the application of Dionysios Thrax's definition of grammar in Byzantine textbooks of the Palaeologan period, testify to the continuity of the tradition, which also established a preference for the same set texts.

Other poets

The same approach and analysis of the text applies for textbooks containing other poets, prepared by scholars and teachers, such as Manuel Moschopoulos, Maximos Planoudes, Thomas Magistros and Demetrios Triklinios. With their commentaries and editions they shaped the study and teaching of classical poets, including the tragedians, for subsequent generations.⁵⁰

Sophocles

To begin with, scholars have stressed the prominent role of Sophocles in the Byzantine school curriculum, not only because he served as a model

⁴⁹ For an unpublished collection of recipes for the manufacture of ink copied by Isidore of Kiev, see F. Nousia, 'Ανέκδοτο κείμενο περί σκευασίας μελανιού, κινναβάρους, βαρζιού, καταστατού και κόλλησης χαρτιού (15^{ος} αι.)', in *The Book in Byzantium: Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Bookbinding, Proceedings of the International Conference organized by the National Hellenic Research Foundation, Institute for Byzantine Research, the Christian and Byzantine Museum, and the Hellenic Society for Bookbinding, Athens, October 2005*, ed. N. Tsironi et al. (Athens, 2008), pp. 43-62.

⁵⁰ See A. Turyn, *Studies in the Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Sophocles* (Urbana, 1952), esp. pp. 15, 44; L.D. Reynolds and N.G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars: a Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature* (Oxford, 1968), pp. 64-68; N.G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium* (London, 1996²), pp. 229-64; Fryde, *Palaeologan Renaissance*, pp. 144-66, 226-306; P. Canart, 'Pour un répertoire des anthologies scolaires commentées de la période des Paléologues', in *The Legacy of Bernard de Montfaucon: Three Hundred Years of Studies on Greek Handwriting. Proceedings of the Seventh International Colloquium of Greek Palaeography (Madrid – Salamanca, 15-20 September 2008)*, eds. A. Bravo García and I. Pérez Martín (with the assistance of J. Signes Codoñer) (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 449-62; idem, 'Les anthologies scolaires commentées de la période des Paléologues: à l'école de Maxime Planude et de Manuel Moschopoulos', in *Encyclopedic Trends in Byzantium?: Proceedings of the International Conference held in Leuven, 6-8 May 2009*, eds. P. van Deun and C. Macé (Leuven, 2011), pp. 297-331.

of literary excellence, but also for the moral value of his plays, with their message of 'transgression and self-assertion' being combined in a Christian environment with 'suffering and the sympathetic response of onlookers'.⁵¹ In addition, Sophocles's plays, as indeed Homer and other classical poets, were studied for their symbolic value, in the sense of representing the continuity with the classical Greek past and tradition.⁵²

According to the evidence, among Sophocles's surviving plays it was the standardized triad, *Ajax*, *Electra* and *Oedipus Tyrannus*, in that order, that was studied in the Byzantine school, *Ajax* being 'the play that "every schoolboy" knew', as Arethas of Patras (ca. 850-ca. 944) stated.⁵³ This triad is preserved in a large number of textbooks.⁵⁴ Among these we shall be examining three MSS, *Vaticani graeci* 46, 47 and 48, containing glosses and marginal scholia. In the section that follows we shall concentrate on a collation of the less known scholia to *Electra*, a number of which are unedited.

Vb *Vaticanus graecus* 46 (examined in situ)⁵⁵

14th c.; paper; II + ff. 146 (+ 59^a); 288 × 145 mm; 1 (15~17)

This codex contains the complete triad: *Ajax* is preceded by the Triklinian *hypothesis*⁵⁶ (ff. 1^r-44^r), *Electra* is preceded by the Triklinian *hypothesis* and a list of *dramatis personae* (ff. 45^r-95^r) while *Oedipus Tyrannus* is preceded by two *hypotheses*, one in verse attributed to Aristophanes of Byzantium (*hypothesis* I) and another one in prose (*hypothesis* II), followed by the Sphinx's *aenigma* and a list of *dramatis personae* (ff. 95^r-146^r). The text was copied by two hands. The main scribe (A) was responsible for the copying of the major part of the codex including the interlinear glosses and marginal scholia (ff. 25-44, 46-145). This hand is datable to the middle of

⁵¹ P.E. Easterling, 'Sophocles and the Byzantine student', in *Porphyrogenita: Essays on the History and Literature of Byzantium and the Latin East in Honour of Julian Chrysostomides*, eds. Ch. Dendrinos, E. Harvalia-Crook, J. Harris and J. Herrin (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 219-334 at 329-30.

⁵² Easterling, 'Sophocles and the Byzantine student', pp. 329-30.

⁵³ S.B. Kougeas, 'Ο Καισαρείας Ἀρέθας καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ' (Athens, 1913), p. 142, cited by Easterling, 'Sophocles and the Byzantine student', p. 321 with n. 8.

⁵⁴ Turyn, *Studies in the Manuscript Tradition*, gives 193 MSS, though it is not clear whether all of them are textbooks.

⁵⁵ For a description of this MS, see Mercati and Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Codices Vaticani graeci Codices*, p. 42; Turyn, 'The Manuscripts of Sophocles', p. 36; idem, *Studies in the Manuscript Tradition*, pp. 29, 78.

⁵⁶ On the *hypotheses* on the Sophoclean plays, see Easterling, 'Hypotheses', pp. 707-709.

the fourteenth century.⁵⁷ On the basis of a subscription on f. 145^v, 'θ(εο)ῦ τὸ δῶρον καὶ πόνος σύρου' (repeated underneath by another hand [D]), it has been suggested that hand A belonged to a scribe named Syros.⁵⁸ This hypothesis, however, is not supported by the evidence, since the letterforms, ligatures and accents used in the subscription by this hand (which we shall name C) are different in design and inclination than those used in the text in the folios copied by hand A. The second hand (B) copied the first section of the codex (ff. 1^r-24^r) and two single folios (45^{r-v} and 146^r), which seem originally to have been missing. Ff. 24^v and 146^v were left blank, while f. 45^v, copied by B, contains the first seven verses of *Electra* which occupy only the upper half of the page, while the text continues without interruption onto the next folio (46^r), which was copied by hand A. Scribe B has been identified with Athanasios, who copied a number of MSS with classical authors, including codd. *Vat. gr.* 56, ff. 1^r-6^v, 48^{r-v}, 76^{r-v}, 91^r-92^v (Euripides), *Vat. gr.* 1367, ff. 128^v-135^v (Demosthenes and Libanios), *Vat. Pal. gr.* 170 (Plutarch), *Vat. Urb. gr.* 90, ff. 39^r-149^v (Thucydides), as well as Moschopoulos's *Γραμματική κατὰ στοιχείον τοῦ σοφωτάτου κυροῦ μανουήλ τοῦ μοσχοπούλου· ἐκάστης λέξεως τὰ σημαινόμενα δηλοῦσα* in *Rom. Vallicellianus* C 81 (44), ff. 1-74^v.⁵⁹

Electra is contained in **Vb**, ff. 45^r-95^r. The *hypothesis* and vv. 1-7 were copied by Athanasios, as mentioned, on a single column in black ink, while the titles, the initial letter Ω at the beginning of the text, the abbreviated character names and the interlinear *glosses* appear in red ink. The rest of the text (vv. 8-1510) was copied by hand A on a single column in the inner part of the folio. Large interlinear space was reserved by scribe A for interlinear *glosses* and scholia which appear in black ink. On the outer margin of the folio, there is ample space for the marginal scholia, tidily copied in smaller letterforms and thinner *ductus* leaving considerable intercolumnar space. The use of ligatures and abbreviations is more extensive in the interlinear and marginal scholia than in the main text. The annotation of this MS includes "Byzantine" scholia (by Moschopoulos, Magistros and Triklinios).

Vb preserves Moschopoulos's text of *Electra*, with his own scholia up to verse 889,⁶⁰ and other scholia by so far unidentified commentators,

⁵⁷ Cf. similar hands of Stylianos Choumnos (*ante* 1357/58): *Repertorium* I, no. 367; Alexios (14th c.) and Ioannes (third quarter of 14th c.): *Repertorium* III, nos. 16 and 332, respectively.

⁵⁸ *Repertorium* III, no. 594.

⁵⁹ See E. Martini, *Catalogo di manoscritti greci esistenti nelle biblioteche italiane*, vol. II (Milan, 1902), pp. 77-78 at 78; *Repertorium* III, no. 11.

⁶⁰ Turyn, *Studies in the Manuscript Tradition*, p. 78.

a number of which have been edited by Thomas Johnson (1746)⁶¹ and R.F.Ph. Brunck (1789).⁶² These scholia, which appear in the margin, but also often in the interlinear space, cover all aspects of grammar prescribed by Dionysios Thrax, as illustrated in the examples that follow, given in a diplomatic transcription.

Ἀνάγνωσις, placing particular emphasis on prosody to draw attention to the correct reading: v. 34 (f. 46^v), ἀροίμην] ἀραίμην μακρὸν τὸ πρῶτον· ἐπεὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀορίστου· ἀροίμην δὲ βραχύ· ἐπεὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ μέλλοντος (Johnson, I, p. 8; Brunck, III, p. 392); v. 99 (f. 49^v), κάρα] τὸ μὲν κάρα ἔχει τὸ πρότερον βραχύ καὶ τὸ δεύτερον μακρὸν παίσας κάρα θῶϋξε (i.e. *Aj.* 308) τὸ δὲ κῤῥατα τὸ πρῶτερον (*leg.* πρότερον) μακρὸν καὶ τὸ δεύτερον βραχύ (Johnson, I, pp. 18, 19; Brunck, III, p. 393).

Ἐξήγησις, explaining certain difficult words of the poetic text through figures of speech: v. 512 (f. 61^v), πρόρριζος] πρόρριζος ἀντὶ τοῦ σύρριζος, μεταφορικῶς. ἀπὸ τῶν φυτῶν· ἐπὶ τῶν φυτῶν γὰρ λέγεται τοῦτο κυρίως οἷον πρόρριζον ἔπεσε τὸ φυτὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ σύρριζον (not included in Johnson; cf. Brunck, III, p. 402-03); v. 534 (f. 62^r), τοῦ χάριν τίνος] ἐκ παραλλήλου (not included in Johnson; Brunck, III, p. 403).

Πρόχειρος ἀπόδοσις, giving simple explanation of difficult words, also by identifying the dialect: v. 415 (f. 59^r), πολλά] ἐπιρρηματικῶς ἀντὶ τοῦ κατὰ πολὺ· ἔστι δὲ αἰττικὸν τὸ πολλὰ ἀντὶ τοῦ κατὰ πολὺ· ὥς τὸ πότε (*leg.* πότερα)· ἀντὶ πότερον (cf. Johnson, I, p. 66; cf. Brunck, III, p. 400); v. 981 (f. 76^v), τούτω φιλεῖν] ἦθος (*leg.* ἦθος) πότε αἰττικόν, ἀρσενικοῖς ἄρθροις χρῆσθαι ἐπὶ θηλυκοῖς ὀνόμασι ὥς παρ' Ὀμήρῳ ἐν Ἰλιάδι (i.e., *Il.* E 778) τῷ δὲ βάτην τρήρωσι πελιδῶσιν ἄσθμαθ' (*leg.* πελιδῶσιν ἴθμαθ') ὁμοῖαι καὶ ἐνταῦθα τούτῳ φιλεῖν χρή· ἀντὶ ταύτας καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ τῷ χεῖρε ἀντὶ χεῖρας (not included in Johnson and Brunck).

Ἑτυμολογία, and *ἀναλογίας ἐκλογισμός*, etymology with grammatical paradigms of relative categories: v. 132 (f. 50^r), φυγγάνει] ἀπὸ τοῦ φεύγω γίνεται φευγάνω· καὶ ἐκβολῇ τοῦ εἴ· καὶ πλεονασμῷ τοῦ ν̄ εἶτα διὰ τὸ ἐπαγόμενον γ̄ τροπῇ τούτου εἰς γ̄ φυγγάνω· οὕτω γίνεται καὶ τὸ τυγχάνω ἀπὸ τοῦ τεύχω ἀχρήστου· καὶ τὸ ἡνδάνω ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡδω· καὶ τὸ πυνθάνομαι, ἀπὸ τοῦ πεύθομαι (post corr. e πεύθωμαι)· καὶ τὸ ἐρυγγάνω ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐρεύγομαι καὶ ἕτερα (Johnson, I, p. 24; cf. Brunck, III, p. 394).

Finally, *κρίσις ποιημάτων*, an attempt to identify whether a certain verse or passage is genuine or spurious; these notes usually appear in the interlinear space: v. 713 (f. 68^r), ἔσεισαν· ἐκ (post corr. ex ἐν) δὲ πᾶς ἐμεστῶθη δρόμος] περισσὴ ἢ ἐκ (*leg.* ἐν)· ἀποτείνει δὲ εἰς τὸ ἐμεστῶθη ἡγουν ἐπληρώθη

⁶¹ Th. Johnson, ed., *Sophoclis tragoediae septem tribus voluminibus comprehensae* ..., 3 vols. (London – Eton, 1746).

⁶² R.F.Ph. Brunck, ed., *In Sophoclis Tragoedias septem Scholiastes greci*, vol. 3 (Strasburg, 1789).

δρόμος ὁ τόπος ἔνθα ἔτρεχον (not included in Johnson and Brunck); v. 715: φορεῖθ' ὁμοῦ δὲ πάντες ἀναμειγμένοι] περισσὸν τὸ ὁμοῦ πότε (*leg.* πότερα) (not included in Johnson; Brunck, III, p. 407).

The selection of the scholia to *Electra* in **Vb** also attests to the particular attention placed on vocabulary, giving various usages and explanations of similar words to enable the student to distinguish proper usages of words depending on the occasion, including metre⁶³ and syntax: v. 127 (f. 49^v), θέμις] θέμις τὸ ἔννομον· ὅσιον δὲ τὸ δίκαιον· ὅμως καὶ ἀμφοτέρω ἐπὶ Θεοῦ· τὸ δὲ δίκαιον ἐπὶ ἀνθρώπων (not included in Johnson; cf. Brunck, III, p. 394); v. 220 (f. 53^r), ἐριστά] ἐριστὴς ὁ φιλόνεικος· ἐριστικός ὁ ἐπιτηδαινότητα ἔχων εἰς τὸ ἐρίζειν· ὥσπερ φιλικὸς ὁ ἐπιτήδειος εἰς φιλίαν· ἐριστόν δὲ τὸ ἀξίαν ἔχον τὴν ἔριν· ὥσπερ παικτὸν παίγνιον τὸ ἄξιον παίζεσθαι· καὶ παικτὴ παιδιὰ ἡ ἀξία παίζεσθαι (cf. Johnson, I, p. 39; cf. Brunck, III, p. 396); v. 372 (f. 58^r), ἡθὰς] ἔθος ἡ συνήθεια· ἡθος δὲ ὁ τρόπος· ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἐθὰς ὥφειλεν εἶναι· διὰ δὲ τὸ μέτρον ἐτέθη τὸ ἡθὰς· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἡθος· ἐπεὶ πλησιάζουσι τὸ ἔθος καὶ τὸ ἡθος (cf. Johnson, I, p. 60; cf. Brunck, III, p. 399); v. 365 (f. 57^v), ἐξόν] τὸ ἐξόν· τὸ παρόν· τὸ ἐνὸν (*leg.* ἐνὸν) καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα οὐδέτερα μετοχικὰ οὐδέποτε οἱ Ἀττικοὶ πλαγιάζουσιν ὅτε πλαγιασμὸν ἢ σύνταξις ἀπαιτεῖ (Johnson, I, p. 58; Brunck, III, p. 399); v. 505 (f. 61^r), ἱππεία] ἱππασία παρὰ τοῖς κοινοῖς, ἱππεία δὲ καὶ ἱπποσύνη παρὰ τοῖς ποιηταῖς (cf. Johnson, I, p. 80; Brunck, III, p. 402).

A considerable number of scholia in **Vb** are simply grammatical and orthographical. E.g., v. 670 (f. 66^v), πορσύνω] πόρω τὸ παρέχω· ὁ μέλλων πορῶ· καὶ πλεονασμῷ τοῦ σ, πόρσω· καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου πορσύνω τὸ παρέχω· ἐνταῦθα δὲ κατὰ μεταφορὰν ἀντὶ μηνύω (not included in Johnson; cf. Brunck, III, p. 407); v. 707 (f. 67^v), ἐννέα] ἐννέα, διὰ δύο ὅν· ἕνατος δι' ἐνός (cf. Johnson, I, p. 106; cf. Brunck, III, p. 407); v. 708 (f. 67^v), ὄχον] ὄχος ἀρσενικῶς τὸ ἄρμα· ὄχεα δὲ πληθυντικῶς παρ' Ὀμήρῳ οὐδετέρως. ὄχημα δὲ παρὰ τοῖς κοινοῖς τὸ αὐτό· ὡς παρὰ Λουκιανῷ· καὶ ἡξίου ὄχημα ζεύγνυσθαι αὐτὸ (*leg.* αὐτῷ) (cf. Johnson, I, p. 107; Brunck, III, p. 407); v. 725 (f. 68^v), πῶλοι] καὶ ὁ πῶλος λέγεται ἀρσενικῶς· καὶ ἡ πῶλος θηλυκῶς (cf. Johnson, I, p. 110; cf. Brunck, III, p. 408).

On the whole, the glosses and scholia to *Electra* in **Vb** indicate that this textbook was addressed to students with good knowledge of Greek. Two notes in the codex reflect different aspect of students' life in the classroom. The first, by hand A, v. 1175 (f. 83^r), instructs the student/reader to correct the word γλώσσης] γράφε γνώμης. The second note, written by hand C on the right hand margin of f. 60^r, adds to the value of this textbook by providing another, amusing, aspect: + διδάσκαλε ὁ Σκαράνος παίζει καὶ ὁ Κέναμος (partly repeated on f. 97^r) (see Plate IX). Skaranos is not an uncommon family

⁶³ For the metrical scholia in Sophocles's *Ajax*, *Electra*, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, *Antigone* see A. Tessier, ed., *Demetrio Triclinio: Scolii metrici alla tetraide sofoclea* (Alessandria, 2005).

name in the Palaeologan period,⁶⁴ but one will need further evidence in order to identify him. The same stands for Kenamos, possibly a corruption of Kin(n)amos. The same hand (C) added drawings consisting of the first six letters of the alphabet (α-ζ) joined in various ways (ff. 73^r, 74^v, 91^v, 135^v, 141^r, 145^v) which maybe a sort of game. Other drawings include a geometrical ornate circle, possibly representing a ring (f. 50^v), an ornate drawing in colour containing the conjunctions, with reference to ὅπως in the text (f. 76^r), a marginal note which does not seem to refer to the text (βαιβίσης ὥσπερ τὸν σκύλον) followed by two different abbreviations of the name Ὁρέστης (f. 83^v), and pen trials (f. 94^v).

Vc *Vaticanus graecus 47* (examined in situ)⁶⁵

14th c.; paper; III + ff. 156; 215 × 141 mm; 1 (14-15)

This MS contains once more the complete triad: the Triklinian *Life of Sophocles* (first part missing), *Ajax* preceded by the Triklinian *hypothesis*⁶⁶ and a list of *dramatis personae* (ff. 1^r-50^r), *Electra* with the Triklinian *hypothesis* and a list of *dramatis personae* (ff. 50^r-103^v), and *Oedipus Tyrannus* preceded by two *hypotheses*, one in verse by Aristophanes of Byzantium (*hypothesis* I) (as in **Vb**) and another one in prose (*hypothesis* III), followed by a list of *dramatis personae* (ff. 103^v-156^r).⁶⁷ F. 156^v contains Ps.-Phocylides, 1-24.⁶⁸

Vc preserves the Triklinian text of *Electra* while the *marginalia* include those of Moschopoulos and Magistros.⁶⁹ The main text is placed on a single column, while considerable space was reserved on both margins, larger on the outer margin. The text in *Electra* was copied in larger letterforms in black ink; the interlinear *glosses* appear in smaller letterforms in red ink, as well as the abbreviated character names; while the marginal scholia (same size as the *glosses*) were copied in different shade of black ink from the one used in the main text. Both the text and the marginal scholia in *Electra* contain a large number of ligatures but a limited number of abbreviations.

⁶⁴ See *PLP*, 11 (Vienna, 1991), nos. 26031-26037.

⁶⁵ For a description of this MS, see Mercati and Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Codices Vaticani graeci*, p. 43; Turyn, 'The Manuscripts of Sophocles', p. 36; idem, *Studies in the Manuscript Tradition*, pp. 29, 78-79; R. Aubreton, *Démétrius Triclinius et les recensions médiévales de Sophocle* (Paris, 1949), pp. 63-72.

⁶⁶ See above, p. 116, n. 56.

⁶⁷ Turyn, *Studies in the Manuscript Tradition*, p. 78.

⁶⁸ Mercati and Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Codices Vaticani graeci*, p. 43.

⁶⁹ See Turyn, *Studies in the Manuscript Tradition*, p. 79. Cf. Aubreton, *Démétrius Triclinius*, pp. 68, 71.

It should be noted that two separate marks were used by the scribe to introduce the scholia which belong to Moschopoulos and Magistros, though not consistently:⁷⁰ a cross for the Moschopouleian and a capital initial letter for those of Magistros. This convention is made explicit by the scribe in a note preceding the text of *Ajax*, f. 3^r: Τοῦ σοφωτάτου καὶ λογιωτάτου κυροῦ θωμᾶ τοῦ μαγίστρου. καὶ τοῦ μοσχοπούλου κυροῦ μανουὴλ τοῦ μοσχοπούλου, σχόλια. ἴσθι δὲ ἔνθα ἔστι σταυρὸς, εἰσι τοῦ μοσχοπούλου· ἔνθα δὲ ἔστι κεφάλαιον, εἰσι τοῦ μαγίστρου.⁷¹

On the basis of the monocondyle signature of Μανουήλ at the end of this, it was suggested that this MS was an autograph of Manuel Moschopoulos (ca. 1265-1316).⁷² This, however, is impossible, first because of the evidence in the watermarks (Briquet, no. 3289) attested on paper dated to ca. 1370,⁷³ and secondly because the codex contains also the scholia by Triklinios (1280-1340),⁷⁴ who based his own scholia on Moschopoulos and Magistros. It is clear, therefore, that the signature belongs to the scribe by the name of Manuel who copied the larger section of the codex (ff. 1^r-15^v, 24^r-103^v). His hand, which so far has been identified only in this MS, has been dated to the fourth quarter of the fourteenth century.⁷⁵ Three additional, so far unidentified, hands contributed to the copying of the MS; scribe A: ff. 16^r-21^v, 104^r-156^r; scribe B: ff. 22^r-23^v; scribe C: f. 156^v. This MS was owned at some stage by Nikolaos Kaloeides and Theodoros ὁ Ἀθηναῖος (the Athenian?) as the *ex-libris* on the verso of the front cover states: τοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον ἐνι θεοδώρου τοῦ ἀθηναίου, + ὦ χριστέ βοήθει τῷ σῶ δούλῳ θεοδώρῳ τῷ ἀθηναίῳ, + ὦ χριστέ βοήθει τῷ σῶ δούλῳ νικολάῳ τῷ καλοειδῇ. On f. 156^v the same note is repeated, + ὦ χριστέ βοήθει τῷ σῶ δούλῳ θεοδώρῳ.⁷⁷ Whether Nikolaos Kaloeides and Theodoros Athenaios are the same persons as Nikolaos Kaloeidas and his son-in-law Theodoros Lithopyrgites mentioned in *Laur. S. Marco* 303, is difficult to tell.⁷⁸

⁷⁰ Aubreton, *Démétrius Triclinius*, p. 68, states that after *Electra* 213 the scholia lose their consistency. This is also indicated by a comparison of the scholia to *Oedipus Tyrannus* in Vc with those edited by O. Longo, *Scholia Byzantina in Sophoclis Oedipum Tyrannum* (Padua, 1971). See also Turyn, *Studies in the Manuscript Tradition*, p. 78 with n. 80.

⁷¹ See Turyn, 'The Manuscripts of Sophocles', p. 36.

⁷² By Mercati and Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Codices Vaticani graeci*, p. 43.

⁷³ See Aubreton, *Démétrius Triclinius*, p. 65.

⁷⁴ See Turyn, *Studies in the Manuscript Tradition*, pp. 78-79, with n. 81.

⁷⁵ *Repertorium* III, no. 424.

⁷⁶ For hands A and B see Aubreton, *Démétrius Triclinius*, p. 65.

⁷⁷ Cf. Mercati and Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Codices Vaticani graeci*, p. 43.

⁷⁸ This suggestion by Turyn, 'The Manuscripts of Sophocles', p. 36 with n. 38, was questioned by Aubreton, *Démétrius Triclinius*, p. 64, with n. 4.

Vd *Vaticanus graecus 48* (examined in situ)⁷⁹

14th c.; paper; II + ff. 187; 217 × 144 mm; 1 (17-20)

This codex contains again the complete triad: *Ajax* preceded by the Moschopouleian *hypothesis*⁸⁰ and a list of *dramatis personae* (ff. 1^r-43^v), *Electra* preceded by a short scholion on the iambic metre, the Moschopouleian *hypothesis* and a list of *dramatis personae* (ff. 43^v-86^r), *Oedipus Tyrannus* preceded by two *hypotheses*, one in verse attributed to Aristophanes of Byzantium (*hypothesis* I) and another one in prose (*hypothesis* II), the Sphinx's *aenigma* and a list of *dramatis personae* (ff. 86^r-132^r) (as **Vb**), followed by Pindar, *Olympian Odes* preceded by Thomas Magistros, *Life of Pindar* (ff. 132^v-187).

With the exception of two marginal scholia added by an unattractive hand on ff. 119^v and 120^v (marked by a cross and introduced by the instruction κανόνισον, common in *schedographies*), the entire codex (text, interlinear *glosses* and marginal scholia) was copied by a single forceful and well-trained hand, on the inner side of the page, reserving wide space in the outer margin for the scholia. The text and annotation belong to the Moschopouleian-Planoudean tradition.⁸¹ The interlinear *glosses* were added in two stages, as the use of black and red ink indicates. From f. 60^r onwards the interlinear *glosses* are usually in black. On f. 52^v certain interlinear *glosses* appear in blue ink, which is uncommon. The abbreviated character names are usually in black, though occasionally copied in red ink.

The use of abbreviations and ligatures is extensive in both text and scholia. It should be noted that the *marginalia* are not usually placed against the corresponding verses on the page; in some cases they appear on the preceding folio. This shows that the scribe copied the scholia from his exemplar without accommodating them to aid the reader. This in turn would suggest that this textbook was addressed rather to an advanced student or teacher, who was capable of guiding himself through the text and the corresponding *marginalia*. The subscription on f. 133^v, + μηνὶ ἰουλίῳ ἰθὺ τῇ παραμονῇ τοῦ προφήτου ἡλίου ἡρξάμεθα τὸν πίνδαρον, by a different hand (B) indicates that this textbook was used most probably in class.

A comparison of the three Vatican textbooks (**Vb**, **Vc** and **Vd**) preserv-

⁷⁹ For a description of this MS, see Mercati and Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Codices Vaticani graeci*, pp. 43-44; Turyn, 'The Manuscripts of Sophocles', p. 36; idem, *Studies in the Manuscript Tradition*, p. 29; idem, 'The Sophocles Recension of Manuel Moschopoulos', *TAPhA* 80 (1949), 94-173, at p. 170.

⁸⁰ See above, p. 116, n. 56.

⁸¹ Turyn, 'The Sophocles Recension', p. 170.

ing the complete triad (*Ajax*, *Electra* and *Oedipus Tyrannus*), shows more similarities than differences. In **Vb** and **Vc** *Ajax* and *Electra* are preceded by the Triklinian *hypotheseis* while **Vd** carries the Moschopouleian *hypotheseis*; *Oedipus Tyrannus* in **Vb** and **Vd** is preceded by *hypotheseis* I and II, instead of *hypotheseis* I and III in **Vc**. With the exception of *Ajax* in **Vb**, all MSS contain the lists of *dramatis personae*. **Vc** includes part of the Triklinian *Life of Sophocles*; **Vb** and **Vd** give the Sphinx's aenigma; **Vd** bears a brief scholion on the iambic metre; **Vc** preserves Ps.-Phocylides 1-24; and **Vd** includes also Pindar. **Vb** and **Vc** contain interlinear *glosses* and marginal scholia by Moschopoulos, Magistros and Triklinios, while **Vd** carries only the Moschopouleian tradition. **Vc** contains more interlinear *glosses* than **Vb** and **Vd**. Only in **Vc** the scholia of Moschopoulos and Magistros are distinguished by different reference marks (though not always consistently). Concerning the layout of the text, in all three textbooks it is placed on a single column on the inner side of the page, reserving interlinear space for *glosses*. With reference to the layout of the scholia, in **Vb** and **Vd** the top, bottom and outer margin is used, while **Vc** makes use of the same layout with the addition of the inner marginal space.

With reference to the content of the marginal scholia in the three MSS, it is evident that these cover all parts of grammar defined by Dionysios Thrax. The *glosses* and scholia to *Electra* in the three textbooks indicate that these seem to have been addressed to students with good knowledge of Greek. **Vd**, which is heavily abbreviated, seems to have been used by a teacher rather than a student, while **Vb** and **Vc**, which are less abbreviated and hence more legible may have been used by students. The student's notes and drawings in **Vb** seem to support this assumption.

These observations are illustrated by a collation of the text and annotation of the same passage in *Electra* as it appears in our three Vatican textbooks below (differences are underlined):⁸²

⁸² In the transcriptions of these particular texts abbreviations and suspensions are included in round and pointing brackets respectively, in order to show differences in their copying.

Vb, f. 54 ^r (vv. 254-265)	Vc, f. 59 ^{r-v} (vv. 254-265)	Vd, ff. 50 ^r - 51 ^r (vv. 254-265)
αἰδοῦμαι αἰσχύνομαι μ(έν) ὧ γυναι̃κες εἰ δοκῶ διὰ ὧν ὧν ἀγανακτεῖν πολλοῖς θρήνοις· δυσφορεῖν ὑμῖν γ' ἄμα ἀνάγκη ἀλλ' ἡ βία γάρ ταυτ' ἀναγκάζει με δρᾶν, περιφανῆς τὸ γένος σύγγνωτε· πῶς γάρ εἴ τις εὐγενῆς γυνή οὐ ποιοίῃ ἂν τάδε ἅπερ ἐγὼ δηλ(ονότι) ποιῶ: π(α)τρῶ· ὀρώσα πῆμα(α), οὐ δρώῃ τάδ' ἂν ἐν ἡμέρα (καί) ἐν νυκτί ἄ 'γὼ κατ' ἡμαρ καὶ κατ' εὐφρόνην δει αὐξάνοντα (καί) τρεφόμε(εν)α παρὸ ἡ(γουν) μαραι- νόμενα κ(α)τὰ μεταφορὰν ἀντὶ τοῦ μειούμενα:: θέλλοντα μᾶλλον, ἢ καταφθίνονθ' ὀρώ	αἰδοῦμαι αἰσχύνομαι μὲν ὧ γυναι̃κες, εἰ δοκῶ ἡ(γουν) διὰ πολλ(ῶν) θρήνων ἀγανακτεῖν ἅπαν πολλοῖς θρήνοις δυσφορεῖν, ὑμῖν, ἄγαν. ἡ ἀνάγκη, τὸ θρην(εῖν) οὐτ(ω)ς ἀχαρμύθητα ἀλλ' ἡ βία γάρ ταυτ' ἀναγκάζει με δρᾶν, ἡ βία γ(άρ) ἀναγκάζει με δρᾶν ταῦτα· περιφανῆς τὸ γένος ἀλλὰ σύγγνωτε· πῶς γάρ εἴ τις εὐγενῆς γυνή οὐ ποιοίῃ ἂν τάδε ἅπερ ἐγὼ δηλ(ονότι) ποιῶ πατρῶ· ὀρώσα πῆματα, οὐ δρώῃ τάδ' ἂν· πῆματα ἄ 'γὼ κατ' ἡμαρ καὶ κατ' εὐφρόνην δει ἡ(γουν) ἡ ἐν ἡμέρα καὶ ἐν νυκτί αὐξάνοντα παρὸ ἐλαττούμενα θάλλοντα μᾶλλον, ἢ καταφθίνονθ' ὀρώ· ἡ(γουν) τινί ἢ πρώτα μὲν, τὰ μητρὸς ἡ μ' ἐγένεατο, ἐχθρότατα μμοῖχεται γάρ καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἀπέκτειν(εν) οἰκήμασι ἐχθιστα συμβέβηκεν· εἶτα δώμασι τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἐν τοῖς ἐμαυτῆς τοῖς φονεῦσι τοῦ π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς συνδιάγω· ὑπὸ τούτ(ων) δεσπόζομαι ξύνειμι· κάκ τῶνδ' ἄρχομαι κάκ τῶνδέ μοι τὸ στέρεσθαι λαβεῖν θ' ὁμοίως (καί) τὸ τητᾶσθαι πέλει	ἡ(γουν) αἰδοῦμαι αἰσχύνομαι μ(έν) ὧ γυναι̃κες εἰ δοκῶ διὰ πολλ(ῶν) θρήνων ἀγανακτεῖν πολλοῖς θρήνοις δυσφορεῖν, ὑμ(ῖν), ἄγαν ἡ(γουν) ἡ ἀνάγκη· ἀλλ' ἡ βία γάρ ταυτ' ἀναγκάζει με δρᾶν, περιφανῆς τὸ γένος σύγγνωτε· πῶς γάρ εἴ τις εὐγενῆς γυνή ἡ(γουν) οὐ ποιοίῃ ἂν, τάδε ἅπερ ἐγὼ δηλ(ονότι) ποιῶ· π(α)τρῶ· ὀρώσα πῆμ(α)τα, οὐ δρώῃ τάδ' ἂν (καί) ἐν νυκτί ἄ 'γὼ κατ' ἡμαρ (καί) κατ' εὐφρόνην δει ἡ(γουν) αὐξάνοντα (καί) τρεφόμε(εν)α παρὸ· θάλλοντα μᾶλλον, ἢ καταφθίνονθ' ὀρώ· ἀντ(ί) τ(οῦ) πρῶτ(ον) ἀπτικῶς· (ὡς) τὸ πότ(ε)ρα ἀντ(ί) τ(οῦ) πότ(ε)ρ(ον) ἐγέννησ(εν) ἢ πρώτα μ(έν) τὰ μ(ητ)ρὸς ἡ μ' ἐγένεατο ἡ(γουν) ἐχθρότατα· ἐχθιστα συμβέβηκ(εν) εἶτα δώμασι ἡ(γουν) οἰκήμασι ἐν τοῖς ἐμαυτῆς τοῖς φονεῦσι τοῦ π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἡ(γουν) συνδιάγω· ἀντ(ί) τ(οῦ) ὑπὸ τούτ(ων). ἡ(γουν) ξύνειμι· κάκ τῶνδ' ἄρχομαι κάκ τῶνδέ μοι ἡ(γουν) στέρεσθ(αι) τὸ ὑπάρχει λαβεῖν θ' ὁμοί(ως) (καί) τὸ τητᾶσθαι πέλει

Marginal scholia to *Electra* (254-265) in **Vb**, **Vc** and **Vd**

(v. 255): δυσφορεῖν] δυσφορεῖν κυρίως ἐπὶ νόσου λέγεται· ᾧ ἐναντίον τὸ εὐφορεῖν· ὡς παρ' Ἱπποκράτει εὐφόρως φορέουσιν **Vb**: + τὸ δυσφορεῖν κυρίως ἐπὶ νόσου λέγεται· ᾧ ἐναντίον τὸ εὐφορεῖν· ὡς παρ' Ἱπποκράτει εὐφόρως φορέουσιν **Vc**: τὸ δυσφορεῖν κυρίως ἐπὶ νόσου λέγεται· ᾧ ἐναντίον τὸ εὐφορεῖν· ὡς παρ' Ἱπποκράτει εὐφόρως φορέουσιν **Vd** (Johnson, I, p. 44; Brunck, III p. 396)

(v. 256-57): ἀλλὰ σύγγνωτε· ἡ βία γάρ με ἀναγκάζει δρᾶν ταῦτα **Vb**: om. **Vc**: ἀλλὰ σύγγνωτε· ἡ βία γάρ με ἀναγκάζει δρᾶν ταῦτα **Vd** (cf. Johnson, I, p. 44; cf. Brunck, III p. 396)

(v. 260): θείλλοντα (*leg.* θάλλοντα)] τὸ θάλλειν ἐπὶ φυτῶν λέγεται κυρίως καὶ ἔχει ἐναντίον τὸ μαραίνεισθαι ἢ τὸ φθίνειν· φθίνειν γάρ καὶ μαραίνεισθαι ταῦτόν· καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων, ὡς ἐνταῦθα θάλλοντα μάλλον ἢ φθίνοντα ἀντὶ τοῦ αὖξοντα μάλλον καὶ τρεφόμενα ἢ μειούμενα **Vb**: + φθίνοντα μαραινόμενα κατὰ μεταφορὰν ἀντὶ τοῦ μειούμενα· τὸ θάλλειν ἐπὶ τῶν φυτῶν λέγεται κυρίως καὶ ἔχει ἐναντίον τὸ μαραίνεισθαι ἢ τὸ φθίνειν· φθίνειν γάρ καὶ μαραίνεισθαι τὸ αὐτό· καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων ὡς ἐνταῦθα θάλλοντα μάλλον ἢ καταφθίνοντα· ἀντὶ τοῦ αὖξοντα μάλλον καὶ τρεφόμενα ἢ μειούμενα **Vc**: ἀντὶ τοῦ φθίνοντα ἡγουν μαραινόμενα κατὰ μεταφορὰν ἀντὶ τοῦ μειούμενα **Vd**: τὸ θάλλειν ἐπὶ φυτῶν λέγεται κυρίως καὶ ἔχει ἐναντίον τὸ μαραίνεισθαι ἢ τὸ φθίνειν· φθίνειν γάρ καὶ μαραίνεισθαι ταῦτόν· καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων, ὡς ἐνταῦθα θάλλοντα μάλλον ἢ φθίνοντα ἀντὶ τοῦ αὖξοντα μάλλον καὶ τρεφόμενα ἢ μειούμενα **Vd** (cf. Johnson, I, p. 44; Brunck, III p. 396)

(v. 264): ἄρχομαι] ἀρχομαι τὸ ἀρχὴν ποιῶμαι (post corr. e. ποιῶ) καὶ τὸ ἀρχὴν λαμβάνω, ὡς ἐν τῷ ἄρχεται δὲ ὁ πόλεμος ἐνθένδε ἦδε τῶν ἐπισκόπων· καὶ ἄρχομαι τὸ ἐξουσιάζομαι **Vb**: ἄρχομαι τὸ ἀρχὴν ποιῶμαι καὶ τὸ λαμβάνω, ὡς ἐν τῷ ἄρχεται δὲ ὁ πόλεμος ἐνθένδε ἦδη τῶν ἐπισκόπων· καὶ ἄρχομαι τὸ ἐξουσιάζομαι **Vc**: ἄρχομαι τὸ ἀρχὴν ποιῶμαι καὶ τὸ ἀρχὴν λαμβάνω, ὡς ἐν τῷ ἄρχεται δὲ ὁ πόλεμος ἐνθένδε ἦδη τῶν ἐπισκόπων· καὶ ἄρχομαι τὸ ἐξουσιάζομαι **Vd** (Johnson, I, p. 47; not included in Brunck)

Similar patterns were followed in the teaching of Euripides, who was 'the most richly transmitted poet of the Attic trias'.⁸³ Euripides's *Hecuba*, *Orestes* and *Phoenissae* were studied as the established triad in the Byzantine school, as attested in a large number of extant MSS.⁸⁴ After the fifteenth century this triad was reduced to the first two plays (*Hecuba*, *Orestes*), as also in the case of Sophocles (*Ajax*, *Electra*).⁸⁵ Two textbooks of the Palaeologan period (*Vaticanus graecus* 52 and *Vaticanus Urbinatus graecus* 142) containing the complete Euripidean triad reflect once more Dionysios Thrax's treatise, placing particular attention on grammar, but also on vocabulary and the understanding of the text.

Euripides

Ve *Vaticanus graecus* 52 (examined in situ)⁸⁶

1414/1415; paper (ff. I-III, 1 parchment); III + ff. 212+IV; 216 × 136 mm; 1 (11)

The codex follows mainly the Moschopouleian tradition, but there are also some Thoman scholia and readings.⁸⁷ *Orestes* is preceded by two *hypotheseis*, *Phoenissae* by one, while both plays are preceded by lists of *dramatis personae*; *Hecuba's* *hypothesis* and the list of *dramatis personae* are missing.⁸⁸ *Phoenissae* is also preceded by Eteokles and Polynikes's ge-

⁸³ H-Chr. Günther, 'The Manuscripts and the Transmission of the Paleologan Scholia on the Euripidean Triad', *Hermes*, Einzelschriften, 68 (Stuttgart, 1995), 5-329 at p. 6.

⁸⁴ D.J. Mastronarde, ed., *Euripides: Phoenissae* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 49-50, states that this work is preserved in approximately 115 MSS dated from the tenth/eleventh century to 1600. Psellos considered both Euripides and Georgios of Pisidia (poet of the first half of the seventh century) useful for their metre and poetry, 'ἄμφω μὲν εὐχρηστοὶ τοῦ γε μέτρου καὶ τῆς ποιήσεως ἔνεκα', ed. A.R. Dyck, *Michael Psellus: The Essays on Euripides and George of Pisidia and on Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius* (Vienna, 1986), p. 40.3. See also M. Whitby, 'Michael Psellus on Euripides and George of Pisidia', in *The Reception of Classical Texts and Images*, eds. L. Hardwick and S. Ireland, 2 Parts (Open University: Milton Keynes, 1996), I, pp. 103-131 with n. 28, with reference to the usefulness as a criterion of reading.

⁸⁵ Günther, 'Manuscripts', p. 240; A. Turyn, *The Byzantine Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Euripides* (Urbana, 1957), pp. 206-21. On the popularity of *Phoenissae* as attested in the literary papyri of Euripides between the third century BC and the seventh century AD, see Cribiore, 'Euripides "Phoenissae"', p. 242 ff. For the reduction of authors taught in Byzantine schools see also A. Dain, 'À propos de l'étude des poètes anciens à Byzance', in *Studi in Onore di Ugo Enrico Paoli* (Florence, 1956), pp. 195-201, at 199-201.

⁸⁶ For a description of the MS, see Mercati and Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Codices Vaticani graeci*, pp. 47-48; Turyn, *The Byzantine Manuscript Tradition*, p. 154; Günther, 'Manuscripts', p. 89.

⁸⁷ Turyn, *The Byzantine Manuscript Tradition*, p. 154.

⁸⁸ On the *Life* of Euripides and *hypotheseis* to the Euripidean Triad in the Palaeologan period, see B. Schartau, *Observations on the Activities of the Byzantine Grammarians of the Palaeologian Era*: vol. II. *The Impact of Thomas Magistros's Introductory Matter (Vita, ὑποθέσεις)*

nealogy, Sphinx's aenigma, Aristophanes of Byzantium, *hypothesis* I to *Oedipus Tyrannus*, and a list of *dramatis personae*. The MS was copied by an anonymous scribe (A) in 1414/15, as stated in the subscription (in red ink) on f. 212^v: τῷ συντελεστῇ τῶν καλῶν θεῶ χάρις· ἡ (leg. ἡ) μὲν χεὶρ ἡ (leg. ἡ) γράψασα σήπεται τάφῳ ἡ (leg. ἡ) δὲ γραφή μένει εἰς αἰῶνας ζῳουκουγουῶς ἔτους (AM 6923= AD 1414/15). F. 1^v, containing the first five verses of *Hecuba*, was copied by a later hand (B), attributed to Theodoros Gazes.⁸⁹

In **Ve** the poetic text was copied in the inner part of the page in large letterforms, leaving ample interlinear space for the *glosses* (in red up to the middle of f. 12^v and then in black) and large marginal space for the scholia (in black with red initials). The abbreviated character names appear in red. From the three Euripidean plays only the first, namely *Hecuba*, has been annotated throughout the text, even though a number of passages bear no marginal notes. In contrast, the text of *Orestes* and *Phoenissae* only occasionally is accompanied by marginal scholia. All three plays have interlinear *glosses*.⁹⁰

As far as the marginal scholia are concerned, they represent most parts of grammar as defined by Dionysios Thrax. A few scholia refer to the punctuation of the text for its correct reading, as for example *Hec.* 702 (f. 32^v), ἐνύπνιον] τὸ ἐνύπνιον ἢ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν συναπτέον· ἴν' ἢ τὴν ἐνύπνιον, καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους φανεῖσαν μοι ὄψιν ὀμμάτων, τῶν ἐμῶν, ἢ πρὸς τὸ ἐνύπνιον, ὑποστικτέον· ἴν' ἢ τὸ ὄψιν τῶν ἐμῶν ὀμμάτων (my italics) (cf. Dindorf, I, p. 397.18-20).

A number of *marginalia* refer to figures of speech to elucidate difficult words and passages (ἐξήγησις) and draw attention to certain important points in the text. This is illustrated in the following examples, contained in *progymnasmata*: *Hec.* 299 (f. 14^v), τῷ θυμουμένῳ] (...) οὕτω, οἱ μὲν τῆς Ἑκάβης λόγοι, κατασκευῇ εἰκόασιν, οἱ δὲ τοῦ Ὀδυσσεύος (leg. Ὀδυσσεύως), ἀνασκευῇ (leg. ἀνασκευῇ) (cf. Dindorf, I, p. 293.7-16 and p. 294.2-3); *Hec.* 349 (f. 17^r), ἢ πατήρ (leg. πατήρ) μὲν ἦν ἄναξ] ὅρα πῶς ὁ ποιητὴς εἰς τὸν κανόνα τῆς ἡθοποιίας τῷ μὲν παρεληλυθότι χρόνῳ χρῆται ἐν τῷ (ῶ post corr. ex ο) λέγειν ἢ πατήρ μὲν ἦν ἄναξ, τῷ δὲ ἐνεστώτι ἐν τῷ νῦν δ' εἰμὶ δούλη, τῷ δὲ μέλλοντι ὅταν λέγῃ ἔπειτ' ἴσως ἂν δεσποτῶν ὤμων φρένας τύχοιμι, φυλάξας τοὺς τρεῖς χρόνους (cf. Dindorf, I, p. 307.1-5); *Hec.* 553 (f. 26^r), ἐπερρόθησαν] εἰκότως τὰ ἐπερρόθησαν (ἐπερρόθησαν ρ sup. lin.) ἐπὶ πλήθους· ἡγουν ἀσήμως ἡχῃσαν· ἐκ μεταφορᾶς δὲ τῶν κυμάτων ἡ λέξις τὸ γὰρ πλήθος ὁμοῦ βοῆσαν, ἄγνωστον, ἐστὶν ὅτι λέγει· καὶ

to the Euripidean Triad (Odense, 1973). On the *hypotheses* of the Euripidean plays, see also Easterling, 'Hypotheses', pp. 707 and 709.

⁸⁹ Günther, 'Manuscripts', p. 89.

⁹⁰ Ed. G. Dindorf, *Scholia graeca in Euripidis tragoedias: ex codicibus aucta et emendata*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1863).

ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ πλήθους, εἰκότως, τῇ λέξει ἐχρήσατο· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος, τῷ εἶπεν· (cf. Dindorf, I, p. 356.22-28).

Other marginal scholia give the mythological background of certain phrases under the title ἱστορία (the third part of Thrax's grammar), 'a field where the grammarian displayed his exquisite erudition and love for minutiae'.⁹¹ E.g.: *Hec.* 469 (f. 22^r), ζεύξομαι ἄρματι πώλους] ἔθος ἦν ἐν Ἀθήναις ὑφαίνειν τὰς παρθένους τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ πέπλον ἔχοντα τὰς ἀριστείας τῆς θεοῦ, πολεμικῆς οὐσης· καὶ ἃ κατὰ Γιγάντων (*leg.* Γιγάντων) κατεπράξατο μετὰ τοῦ Διός· ὑφαίνον δὲ ἐν τοῖς Παναθηναίοις· τὰ δὲ Παναθηναῖα, ἦν ἐορτὴ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, πάντων τῶν Ἀθηναίων συνιόντων ἐκεῖσε· καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων· πολλὰς ἡμέρας, ἡμέρας (*dittography*), πανηγυριζόντων ἀνετίθετο δέ, ὁ πέπλος τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ· εἰκότως δέ, τὸ ζεύξομαι, πρὸς τὸ πώλους. ζεύγνυνται γὰρ οἱ πῶλοι, εἴτα προῖων εἰς τὸ ἦ Τιτάνων γενεάν, οὐ ζεύξομαι ἵπποις (*leg.* εἵποις)· ἀλλ' ὑφανῶ· καὶ γὰρ κἀνταῦθα, ὑφανῶ ἔδει εἰπεῖν· ἀλλ' ἐτήρησε τὴν τροπὴν, ὡς ἔφαμεν, πρὸς τοὺς πώλους. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἐορτῇ τῶν Παναθηναίων, ἀνεγνώσθη καὶ ὁ τοῦ ῥήτορος Ἀριστείδου λόγος· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Παναθηναϊκὸς ἐκλήθη (cf. Dindorf, I, pp. 336.18-337.4).

The fourth part of Thrax's grammar, concerning etymology, is not represented by any scholia in the MS. However, certain marginal notes give information on declension and dialect of difficult words through similar examples. E.g.: *Hec.* 296 (f. 14^v), στερός] τὸ στερός, ἀντὶ τοῦ στερά· ὡς τὸ κλυτὸς Ἴπποδάμεια (cod. Ἴπποδάμια), <i.e., *Il.* B 742>, ἀντὶ τοῦ κλυτή· ἔστι δὲ ἄττικὸν εὐρισκόμενον καὶ περὶ λογοποιού (cf. Dindorf, I, p. 292.18-19).

The note τοῦτο πλαστόν, placed in a rectangular on the right hand margin of f. 163^r, next to v. 580 (ἐρεῖ δέ τις ὦ κακὰ μνηστεύματα) with reference to the marriage of Adrastus's daughter to Polynikes reflects the last part of Thrax's grammar, namely κρίσις ποιημάτων. In this case, the note 'this is forgery' is inaccurate, for the verse is considered to be authentic.

In this textbook there is no scholion referring to simple grammatical notes on difficult forms of nouns, or the principal parts or irregular tenses of a given verb, as in other textbooks, the only exception being the phrase πρεσβύται (*leg.* πρεσβῦται) σέθεν] τὸ πρεσβύται (*leg.* πρεσβῦται), οὐχ' ὡς δοκοῦσι τινὲς συγκριτικὸν ὄν πρεσβύτεραι, κατὰ συγκοπὴν πρεσβῦται γέγονεν· ἐθέλοντες συντάξαι τὸ σέθεν· ἀλλὰ τὸ πρεσβῦται, ἀντὶ τοῦ γέροντες ἔστι διὰ μέσου· τὸ δὲ σέθεν, πρὸς τὸ ὅπισθεν ἦσαν συντάσσεται, ἴν' οὕτως ἦ· εἰσὶ παρ' ἡμῖν γραῖαι γυναῖκες ἄθλιναι, οὐδὲν ἦττον σέθεν καὶ σοῦ· καὶ γέροντες εἰσὶ δηλονότι καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς (*Hec.* 323 [f. 15^v]) (cf. Dindorf, I, p. 299.12-17).

A number of *marginalia* are devoted to syntax. E.g., *Hec.* 668 (f. 31^r), ὄλωλας] τὸ ὄλωλας πρὸς τὸ ἐξεφθαρμένη συναπτέον· τὸ δὲ οὐκέτ' εἰ βλέπουσα φῶς, διὰ μέσου οὕτως· ὄλωλας ἐξεφθαρμένη ἄπαις, ἄνανδρος, ἄπολις (Dindorf, I, p. 388.9-11).

⁹¹ Cribiore, 'Euripides "Phoenissae"', p. 253.

It is important to note that certain marginal scholia clarify different nuances of words, occasionally using quotations from Sophocles. E.g., *Or.* 61 (f. 64^r), συμφοράς] συμφορὰ οὐ μόνον ἡ δυστυχία ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ συνέλευσις, ὡς ἔχει καὶ τὸ τοῦ Σοφοκλέους κἀπὶ συμφορὰ γεγηθὸς ἔρπει δάκρυον ὀμμάτων ἀπο (i.e., *El.* 1231) (Dindorf, II, p. 51.5-7); Also, *Hec.* 788 (f. 36^r), ὅσια] ὅσιον λέγεται τὸ δίκαιον· διαφέρει δὲ τοῦτο, ὅτι τὸ δίκαιον, ὥσπερ γένος ὄν, διαιρεῖται εἰς ὅσιον καὶ δίκαιον· καὶ τὸ μὲν πρὸς θεῶν (*leg.* θεοῦς) ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γινόμενον, ὅσιον καλοῦμεν· τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους δίκαιον· ἐνταῦθα ἡ Ἐκάβη, τὸ ὅσιον λέγει (cf. Dindorf, I, pp. 412.29-413.2).⁹²

A number of marginal notes contain a *metaphrasis*. E.g., *Hec.* 1167 (f. 53^r), πλήθει γυναικῶν, οὐδὲν ἥνυον τάλας] ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν γυναικῶν κωλύμενος οὐδὲν ἐποιοῦν, ὁ δειλαῖος (not included in Dindorf). It should be stressed that in some cases the marginal scholia seem to refer to stage directions. E.g., *Hec.* 1044 (f. 47^v), ἄρασε· φείδου μὴ δὲν, (*leg.* μὴδὲν) ἐκβάλλων πύλας] τοῦτο ἡ Ἐκάβη ἐκτὸς ἐστῶσα τῆς σκηνῆς φησὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἐντὸς ὄντα (cf. Dindorf, I, p. 473.15-17); f. 58^v (*Hec.* 1287), Ἐκάβη· σὺ δ' ὦ τάλαινα διπτύχους νεκροῦς] ἀποστροφὴ, πρὸς Ἐκάβην) not included in Dindorf).

The annotation in **Ve** also elucidates philosophical terms, illustrated in the following cases: *Hec.* 299 (f. 14^v), τῷ θυμουμένῳ] οἱ μὲν τῷ θυμωμένῳ, (*leg.* θυμουμένῳ) τῷ θυμικῷ (*leg.* τῷ θυμικῷ) φασὶ τῆς ψυχῆς μέρει· τρία δὲ μέρη εἰσὶ τῆς ψυχῆς· λογικὸν· θυμικόν· καὶ ἐπιθυμητικόν (*leg.* ἐπιθυμητικόν)· καὶ τὸ μὲν θυμικόν, ἔγκειται παρὰ τὴν καρδίαν· τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν (*leg.* ἐπιθυμητικόν) δέ, παρὰ τὸ ἦπαρ τὸ λογιστικόν (*leg.* λογικόν) δέ παρὰ τὸν ἐγκέφαλον· ὃ καὶ λόγον αὐτοκράτορος ἔχει, πρὸς ἐκεῖνα τὰς ἀτάκτους αὐτῶν ὁρμὰς (*leg.* ὁρμὰς) καταστέλλον· καὶ οὐκ ἔων ἀλόγως φέρεσθαι· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐνταῦθα· θυμουμένῳ (*leg.* θυμουμένῳ), λέγω, τῷ θυμῷ (*leg.* τῷ θυμῷ)· ὥσπερ γὰρ φαμέν βουλόμενον θέλοντι ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν βούλησιν αὐτὴν καὶ μεμνημένον, οὐ μόνον τὸ μνεῖαν ἔχον τινὸς· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν μνήμην αὐτὴν καὶ ὑπήκοον, οὐ μόνον, τὸ υπακοῦον (*leg.* υπάκουόν) τινος· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν υπάκουσιν αὐτὴν (cf. Dindorf, I, p. 293.7-17).

Some marginal scholia contain information on medicine and geography. E.g., *Hec.* 567 (f. 26^v), διαροὰς (*leg.* διαρροὰς)] διαροαὶ (*leg.* διαρροαί)· φλέβες· ἐν αἷς τὸ πνεῦμα διέρχεται, ἐκ τῶν ἀρτηριῶν· διαφέρει γὰρ, ἀρτηρία φλεβός, τῷ (*leg.* τῷ) τὴν μὲν ἀρτηρίαν πνεῦμα μὲν πολὺ ἔχειν· καὶ ὑποκάτω κεῖσθαι τῆς φλεβός· αἷμα δὲ ὀλίγον, τὴν δὲ φλέβα, αἷμα μὲν πολὺ· καὶ ἄνω κεῖσθαι τῆς ἀρτηρίας· πνεῦμα δὲ ὀλίγον (cf. Dindorf, I, p. 360.2-6); *Or.* 362 (f. 77^r), Μαλέα] ἀκρωτήριον ἐστὶν ὁ Μαλέας περὶ Λακεδαιμονίαν. λεγόμενον· ἰδιωτικῶς· ὄνου κατωμάγουλον (cf. Dindorf, II, p. 118.1-3). Turyn noted that 'it is symptomatic of the scholarship of that time to elaborate remarks concerning physiol-

⁹² Cf. above the scholion on the same word found in Sophoclean plays, p. 119.

ogy, chemistry, etc. Medical topics also occur elsewhere in scholia which we presume to be Planoudean'.⁹³

The *marginalia* were added after the copying of the main text. This is evident, for example, on ff. 93^r and 143^r, where a line distinguishes the scholia from the main text in the limited marginal space available. In other cases, the marginal space was inadequate so that the *marginalia* continue on the next folio (e.g., ff. 82^v-83^r). Occasionally, various reference marks link the marginal scholia with the main text, in order to facilitate the reader.

Two additional anonymous hands (C and D) copied ff. 59^{r-v} and 60^{r-v}, respectively. F. 59^{r-v} contains the *hypothesis* of *Orestes*, while f. 60^v comprises schedographic material. On the left-hand margin of f. 210^v another inexperienced hand (E) made three attempts to imitate the first word in *Phoenissae* 1732 (Σφιγγός). The importance of this textbook is enhanced by the drawings contained therein, which reveal interesting aspects of the student's psychology. On f. 81^v there is a detailed drawing of a ship. F. 61^{r-v} depicts female figures representing Electra and her servant, as the inscriptions indicate (see Plates XI and XII). On f. 61^v Electra *orans* appears on her own, while on f. 61^r with her servant holding her mistress's train. Both figures on f. 61^r are depicted in a Christian context, with a halo and a *maphorion*. The moral connotations are disturbed by the word *μουνί*, the vernacular for the female *αἰδοῖον*, added on the lower part of the figures' gown by a later untrained hand in a thin *ductus*. On f. 61^v, Electra, this time in blue and golden gown, raises her left hand in a protective gesture. The drawing of a hand raised in benediction appears also on the upper left hand margin of f. 194^v; the corresponding verses (1371-81) refer to Eteokles's prayer to Athena to help him in his struggle with Polynikes. A further drawing was added on f. 60^r by another hand, depicting the earthly and celestial sphere. Two attempts to repeat it by yet another hand appear on the same folio (upper part) and on its verso. F. 60^v also contains two sketches of a human face sphere. On f. 82^r, bottom margin, another hand added an enlarged *nu* in a thin *ductus*, with the same letter repeated in very small size within it.

An important note by hand A in red ink on f. 61^r, *Χριστὲ βοήθει ἡμῖν ἀμφοτέροις τῷ γράψαντι καὶ τῷ ἔχοντι*, repeated below by a different, less trained, and certainly not calligraphic hand (F), *ὦ Χριστὲ (sscr.) βοήθει ἡμῖν ἀμφοτέροις τῷ γράψαντι καὶ τῷ ἔχοντι αὐτῷ*, suggests that the possessor of the textbook was different from the scribe. Hand A belongs to the scribe who copied the textbook (γράψαντι), while it is possible that hand F belongs to

⁹³ Turyn, *The Byzantine Manuscript Tradition*, pp. 59, 73, 78.

the person (possibly a student) who owned the MS at some stage (ἔχοντι αὐτῷ). The same notes are repeated twice with some variation on f. 212^v: τῷ γράψαντι καὶ τῷ ἔχοντι Χριστὲ βοήθει· ὁ ἀναγινώσκων, εὖχου τῷ γράψαντι καὶ τῷ ἔχοντι, followed by a note ψωμίον ζωῆς ψύλος τὲ φοβούμενος λέγω χείρονος καταδίκη κατεδικάσθη ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄξους.

From the wide range and nature of *marginalia* and the extensive use of abbreviations, we can assume that most probably this textbook was addressed primarily to a student with a fairly good knowledge of Greek.

Vf *Vaticanus Urbinas graecus 142* (examined in situ)⁹⁴

1340-50; paper; ff. 188; 212 × 145 mm; 1 (12-17)

This codex, dated between 1340-50 on the basis of its watermarks,⁹⁵ is 'a remarkably faithful *apographon*' of *Angel. gr.* 14 edited by Demetrios Triklinios between 1300-1325.⁹⁶ Thus, **Vf** preserves the Triklinian recension of the Euripidean triad with 'the full Triklinian commentary and analysis of lyric metre', which includes Moschopoulos and Magistros's contribution.⁹⁷ In this sense, **Vf** is more complete than **Ve**. In addition, it pays considerable attention to the metre, as attested by the short treatises preceding the text on ff. 1^r-2^r (ἐπιτομή τῶν θ' μέτρων ἐκ τοῦ ἐγχειριδίου Ἡφαιστίωνος) and ff. 2^v-3^v, 6^r, the extensive Triklinian scholia on the metre (identified by the abbreviation Τρι^{κλι} in red ink), and the superscribed metrical signs above words in the text sphere (see Plate XIII). In several cases *synizesis* is also marked (e.g., *Or.* 92 (f. 60^v), θεῶν] συνίζησις. The codex contains both the Moschopouleian (f. 8^r) and the Thoman-Triklinian (f. 9^r) *Vita of Euripides*, a note on *Περὶ εἰδώλου* (f. 8^v) and the Thoman-Triklinian *hypotheses* of the three plays (ff. 10^r, 56^r, 121^r), without lists of the *dramatis personae*.

The text was copied by a single, hitherto unidentified hand (A)⁹⁸ in a large script in the inner part of the page preserving ample interlinear and marginal space for the *glosses* and scholia respectively. The interlinear *glosses* are copied in black ink, while the titles, the initials (both in the main text and in the *marginalia*), the abbreviated character names,

⁹⁴ For a description of this MS, see Stornajolo, *Codices Urbinae graeci* (Rome, 1895), pp. 272-74; Turyn, *The Byzantine Manuscript Tradition*, pp. 194-96; Günther, 'Manuscripts', pp. 124-25; D.J. Mastronarde and J.M. Bremer, *The Textual Tradition of Euripides' Phoinissai* (Berkeley, 1982), p. 13.

⁹⁵ Günther, 'Manuscripts', pp. 124-25.

⁹⁶ Mastronarde and Bremer, *The Textual Tradition*, p. 13.

⁹⁷ Günther, 'Manuscripts', pp. 125, 269.

⁹⁸ I. Pérez Martín, 'La "escuela de Planudes": notas paleográficas a una publicación reciente sobre los escolios Euripideos', *BZ* 90 (1997), 73-96 at pp. 88-89, states that the principal scribe of the codex is one of Gregoras's collaborators in Chora.

the reference marks (both in the text and in the *marginalia*) are in red. An analysis of the *marginalia* contained in this textbook reflects once more its adherence to Dionysios Thrax's definition of parts of grammar. The correct reading (ἀνάγνωσις) is stressed in a number of cases with reference to punctuation. E.g., *Ph.* 900 (f. 156^r), καὶ πῶς πατρώαν γαῖαν οὐ σῶσαι θέλω;] ἢ πρὸς το πῶς στίξας, τὸ λοιπὸν κατ' ἐρώτησιν ἔκφερε, ἢ τὸ πᾶν κατ' ἀπόφασιν (cf. Dindorf, III, p. 247.22-23). A large number of scholia contain references to figures of speech, e.g., *Hec.* 349 (f. 22^v), τί γάρ με δεῖ ζῆν, ἢ πατήρ μὲν ἦν ἄναξ] ἡθοποιῖα: ὅρα ὅπως ὁ ποιητὴς εἰς τὸν κανόνα τῆς ἡθοποιῖας, τῷ μὲν παρεληλυθότι χρόνῳ χρῆται, ἐν τῷ (*leg.* τῷ) λέγειν, ἢ πατήρ μὲν ἦν ἄναξ· τῷ δέ γε ἐνεστῶτι, ἐν τῷ νῦν δ' εἰμὶ δούλη· τῷ δὲ μέλλοντι, ὅταν λέγῃ ἔπειτ' ἴσως ἂν, δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν (*leg.* ὤμῶν) φρένας τύχοιμι· καὶ τὰ λοιπά (cf. Dindorf, I, p. 307.1-5); cf. above, p. 127; *Hec.* 460 (f. 26^r), πτόθρους φίλα (φίλη sscr.) Λατοῖ (Λητοῖ sscr.)] παρήχησις τὸ σχῆμα (non included in Dindorf); *Hec.* 1013 (f. 46^r), περιφρασὶς τὸ σχῆμα (not included in Dindorf); *Or.* 149 (f. 62^v), κάταγε· ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τῶν καταγομένων νεῶν εἰς τοὺς λιμένας (cf. Dindorf, II, p. 72.8-9).

The third part of Dionysios's grammar is reflected in scholia elucidating the plot of the play through the explanation of difficult words and the citation of stories which usually bear a title. E.g., *Hec.* 469 (f. 26^v), ζεύζομαι ἄρματι πῶλους] ἱστορία περὶ τοῦ πέπλου τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς (cf. above, p. 128), ἔθος ἦν ... πρὸς τοὺς πῶλους). Moreover, difficult or rare words in the text are explained through etymology (e.g., *Ph.* 996 [f. 159^v]: προδότην] προδότην ἀπὸ τοῦ προδίδωμι τὸ ἀπολύω) (not included in Dindorf); citation of similar examples (ἀναλογίας ἐκλογισμός) (e.g., *Ph.* 1002 [f. 159^v], πάροιθεν] πάροιθεν, ἔμποσθεν, τοπικὸν ἐνταῦθα· λέγεται δὲ καὶ χρονικῶς ἐν ἄλλοις (Dindorf, III, p. 268.15-16); *Hec.* 296 [f. 20^v], στερρός] τὸ στερρός, ἀντὶ τοῦ στερρά· ὡς τὸ κλυτὸς Ἰπποδάμεια (i.e., *Il.* B 742) ἀντὶ τοῦ κλυτή· ἔστι δὲ ἀττικόν, εὐρισκόμενον καὶ περὶ λογοποιοῖς (Dindorf, I, p. 292.18-19); cf. above, p. 128); In addition, there are comments on orthography (e.g., *Hec.* 444 [f. 25^v], αὔρα] αὔρα ἢ ἐξ ὑγροῦ φερομένη ἐκπνοή, διὰ τοῦ ὡ· ἄβρα δὲ ἡ δούλη διὰ τοῦ β̄ [cf. Dindorf, I, pp. 328.25-329.1]). Attention is also given to *dialect*, for in the lyric parts over the Doric alpha, an Ionic eta is superscribed.

There are also marginal scholia devoted to syntax, e.g., *Hec.* 668 (f. 33^v), ὄλωλας] τὸ ὄλωλας, πρὸς τὸ ἐξαφθαρμένη συναπτέον· τὸ δὲ οὐκέτ' εἰ βλέπουσα φῶς, διαμέσου· οὕτως· ὄλωλας ἐξαφθαρμένη· ἄπαις· ἄνανδρος· ἄπολις (not included in Dindorf).

Vf also contains scholia on philosophical and medical terms and geography (f. 20^v, 29^v and 70^r, respectively, as well as stage directions, the ones mentioned in **Ve** and additional ones, e.g. *Hec.* 1122 (f. 50^v), τί φῆς] τὸ μὲν τί φῆς λέγει πρὸς τὸν Πολυμήστορα· ἀποστρέφεται δὲ πρὸς τὴν Ἑκάβην· καὶ λέγει τὸ ἐξῆς (cf. Dindorf, I, p. 487.29-32).

F. 4^r contains a poem in ten political verses addressed to a certain Zotikos, composed and written down by Ioannes Chortasmenos, the eminent scholar and teacher (1370-1431).⁹⁹ This suggests that the codex was at some stage in his possession. Subscriptions by later hands indicate that this textbook continued to be used a century after its production.¹⁰⁰ Hand B, which may belong to a teacher, added the following note concerning a student by the name of Theodoros (f. 4^r, ll. 11-12): + ἤρξατο τοῦ διδάσκεισθαι τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον τοῦ εὐριπίδου ὁ θεόδωρος τῇ α^η τοῦ. ιουνίου· τρέχοντος ἔτους· ς^{ου}· λ^{ου}· ν^{ου}· (AM 6959 = AD 1451) ἰνδικτιῶνος ιδ^{ης}. Part of the same note appears on f. 5^r which was subsequently deleted (+ ἤρξατο τοῦ διδάσκεισθαι τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον ὁ θεόδωρος ἐν τῇ α ἔτει ς^ω· λ^ω· ν^ω, ἰνδικτιῶνος ιδ καὶ μηνὶ ι).

Another, inexperienced hand, which belongs to Theodoros, added subsequent notes (not always following the correct spelling) concerning his studying of Euripides: (f. 4^r, l. 21) + ὦ χριστὲ βοήθησον τὸν δοῦλον σου θεόδωρον +; (f. 4^v, lower margin) ἐγὼ ὁ θεόδωρος ἠρξάμην τὸν εὐρηπίδην, μαῖω (see Plate XIV): α'; (f. 5^r, top margin) ἀγία τριάς βοήθη τῷ δούλῳ σου θεόδωρῳ; (f. 5^v), + ὦ χριστὲ βοήθη τὸ σὸν δοῦλον θεόδωρον (τώρα?) repeated right below. Theodoros's surname is given on f. 187^r: μηνὶ ιανουαρίῳ + θεοδώρου κλαυδιοπολλίτου + ἠρξάμεθα τὸν ευριπίδι (post corr. ex εὐρηπίδι) μηνὶ ιανουαρίῳ ιζ ἔτους, repeated with some variations right below, ἠρξάμεθα τὸν ευρήπιδι μηνὶ ιανουαρίῳ ιζ ἔτους ἔτους ς^{ου}· λ^{ου}· ν^{ου}· δ^{ου}· (AM 6954 = AD 1446).¹⁰¹ It seems, therefore, that Theodoros Klaudiopol(l)ites was studying Euripides for no less than six years, that is, if the dates are given correctly (1446-51). On f. 5^r another date is also given, in a thicker ductus, in a more elaborate script: ἔτους ς^{ου}· λ^{ου}· ν^{ου}· α ἰνδικτιῶνος θ (AM 6951 = AD 1442/3).¹⁰² Two subscriptions on the same folio (5^v) appear, one by a scholarly hand who added + τοῦ ἀντίοχου:~, possibly his own name, and above an inexperienced hand wrote + ἐπὶ τὸ κυρίῳ πεπὶθ' ἀπο.ερί.

F. 6^r contains notes on metre copied by another hand (C), similar to that of A. On the top margin of the same folio the name of Ioannes Kyprianos was added by the hand of Theodoros + Ἰωάννη Κυπριανῶ+. The same name was repeated by Theodoros in thicker ductus on the top margin of f. 187^v + Ἰωάννου Κυπριανοῦ+ (followed by a list of words, each preceded by

⁹⁹ Cf. Stornajolo, *Codices Urbinae graeci*, p. 272; Günther, 'Manuscripts', pp. 125, 129-30. For the identification and attribution of these verses to Chortasmenos and the identity of Zotikos, see Turyn, *The Byzantine Manuscript Tradition*, pp. 195, 389-97.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Stornajolo, *Codices Urbinae graeci*, pp. 272-74.

¹⁰¹ Correct the erroneous date (1444) given by Stornajolo, *Codices Urbinae graeci*, p. 274.

¹⁰² For all these notes and dates see also Turyn, *The Byzantine Manuscript Tradition*, p. 195. See also Günther, 'Manuscripts', pp. 129-31, where he traces the transfer of the MS from Thessalonike to Constantinople and later to Crete.

a cross). A third name, that of Argyropoulos, appears on f. 5^r: ἀργυροπουλος (*leg.* Ἀργυρόπουλος). It is possible that the abbreviated name Ἰωαννης, removed on the left, may be connected with Argyropoulos. The monokondyle signature of a certain Manuel appears repeatedly on f. 188^v.

F. 4^v contains further notes and exercises, including the declension of the name Socrates by the hand of Theodoros, notes by another hand (D), namely an explanation of the difference between the words πλοῦτος and ὀλβος, the conjugation of the imperfect (ἦσθα) of the verb εἰμί, the principal forms of the verb ἵστιμι (*leg.* ἴσθιμι) (including future, second aorist, aorist participle and imperative), and an etymology of the word φίλος (ἐτυμολογεῖται ἀπὸ τοῦ φῶς καὶ τοῦ ἥλος ὁ ὀφθαλμός. Two amusing verses from *Nubes* 222-223 on the top margin appear to have been added by the same hand: + ὦ σῶκράτες ὦ σωκρατίδιον· τί με καλεῖς ὠφήμερ[---].¹⁰³ Finally, a note in Latin, 'Euripidis Comediae', on the bottom margin was added by a later possessor/reader of the MS (see Plate XIV).

A comparison between **Ve** and **Vf** shows that **Vf** usually gives more than one *glossa* in the interlinear space, one assumes in order to enrich further the vocabulary of the student who most probably was in a more advanced level than the one of **Ve**. Along with its extensive use of abbreviations and the full commentary **Vf** seems to have been intended primarily for a teacher, but also for advanced students as the annotation indicates. The quotations of Homer and Sophocles in the scholia to Euripides may suggest that the teaching of Euripides in fact followed that of the other two poets, extending further the knowledge of the students. The similarities and differences in the text and annotation in **Ve** and **Vf** are illustrated in the parallel transcription of *Phoenissae* 1-7, below (differences are underlined).¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³ For the correct σωκρατίδιον and με, Stornajolo, *Codices Urbinae graeci*, p. 273, gives the erroneous σωκρατίσκον and μη.

¹⁰⁴ In the transcriptions of these particular texts abbreviations and suspensions are included in round and pointing brackets respectively, in order to show differences in their copying.

Ve, f. 138r	Vf, f. 122v
<p>βοήθει μοι : ~</p> <p>Ἰοκ(ά)στ(η) τ(ήν) ἐν τοῖς ζωδίοις διερχόμενος Ἦ τήν ἐν ἄστροις οὐ(ρα)νοῦ τέμνων ὁδὸν αἰθλῶν ἀστραπή· βροντῇ ἄλλοι δὲ φασὶ δύνῃ Λάμπ(ων), κ(αί) Φαέθων· ~</p> <p>ἐκ χρυσοῦ ἠρμιοσμένοις ἐποχοῦμ(εν)ος ἄρματι καὶ χρυσοκολληήτοισιν ἐμβεβῶς δίφροις</p> <p>ταχεῖαις ἥλιε· θοαῖσιν ἵπποις ἐλίσιων φλόγα·</p> <p>λίαν ὥς δυστυχῇ θήβαισι τῇ τόθ' ἡμέρα, ἐπειμίας ἀκτίν' ἐφῆκας Κάδμος ἥνικ' ἦλθε γῆν + τὴν τῆς Φοινίσσης παραθαλασσί(αν) τῆνδ' ἐκλιπὼν Φοίνισσαν εἰναλί(αν) χθόνα ὁ Κάδμος δς παῖδα γήμας Κύπριδος Ἀρπώνιαν ποτέ</p>	<p>Τριῴῃ εἰσθεοῖς τοῦ δρόματος ἐκμονοτροφικ(ῆς) ἐστὶ περιόδου· οἱ δὲ στίχοι εἰσὶν ἱαμβικοί τρίμετροι ἀκατάληκτοι, ββ· ὧν τελευτ(άτος) τὸν αὐτὸν αἰεὶ δυστυχῇ καθεστάναι ἐπὶ τῷ τέλ(ει) κορωνίδε· ~</p> <p>Ταῦτα πάντα πρὸς τ(ὸν) ἥλιον ἀποτείνει Ἰοκάστη, δυσχεραίνουσα διὰ τὰ συμβάντα· Ἰοκάστη +τ(ήν) ἐν τοῖς ζωδ(ίοις) + διερχόμε(ν)ος Ἦ τήν ἐν ἄστροις οὐ(ρα)νοῦ τέμνων ὁδὸν ἥλιου ἵππου, οὕτω καλοῦμ(εν)ος· χρόνος αἰθλῶν ἀστραπή· + χρυσοκολληήτω· ἐκ χρυσοῦ ἠρμιοσμ(έν)ω ἄρτ(ι)· + ἐπιβεβη(ώς)· δῖφρω βροντῇ· ἄλλοι δὲ φασιν ὡς δύνῃ· καὶ χρυσοκολληήτοισιν ἐμβεβῶς δίφροις Λάμπων καὶ Φαέθων. + σὺν ταχεῖαις διὰ συστροφῆς ποιῶν ἥλιε· θοαῖς ἵπποισιν ἐλίσιων φλόγα· +δυστυχῇ ἀκτῖνα λέγει, οὐ δὲ· ἐαυτήν· ἀλλὰ διότι ἐν αὐτῇ ἐγένετο ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ αἰτία τ(ῆς) δυστυχ(ί)ας αὐτῶν· ~ +λίαν ὥς δυστυχῇ θήβαισι τῇ τόθ' ἡμέρα, Ἀγῆνορος θυγάτηρ Εὐρώπῃ· ἦν Λαβὼν Ζεὺς, εἰς Κρήτην· ἐπειμίας· ἐφῆκ(ας) τ(ὰς) Θήβας· ἥ(γουν) ἐπάνω τῶν Θηβῶν ἀφῆκ(ας) ἀγνοῖα τοῦ π(α)τρ(ό)ς ἀκτίν' ἐφῆκας, Κάδμος ἥνικ' ἦλθε γῆν π(α)τρ(ό)ς· ἦγαγ(εν)· ὁ δὲ, περιήρχετο Ζητῶν· (καὶ) τ(οὺς) υἱούς, αὐτοῦ Κάδμων, Βάσσον, Κίλικα, + ὁ Κάδμ(ι)ος· εἰς γάμ(ον) ἀγαγὼν ··· ἐν τῷ γάμῳ τούτου οἱ θεοὶ ψηλαφῶσαντ(ας) μαθεῖν· ·· + τ(ήν) θυγατ(έ)ρα· εἰς γυναικα Λαβὼν· εἰστιάθησ(αν) Κάδμ(ος) σὺν τ(ὸν) δς παῖδα γήμας Κύπριδος Ἀρπώνιαν ποτέ, Χρησμ(ὸν) λαβὼν εἰς τὸ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερ(όν), ἐπύθη δάμαλιν λαβ(έν)· (καὶ) ἀπερχόμε(ν)ος ἐλάνειν ἐμποροῦθ(εν)· (καὶ) ὅπου κλιθεῖ ἡ δάμαλις πεσοῦσα, κτίσσει πόλιν··· κτίζει σὺν Θήβ(ας)· (καὶ) τ(ὸν) δράκοντα ἀναφεῖ· σπείρ(ας) τοὺς ὁδόντας αὐτοῦ· ἐξ ὧν ἀνεφύησαν γήγαντες· ~</p>

A preliminary comparison of the textbooks containing Homer, Sophocles and Euripides studied in this chapter with other textbooks of the Palaeologan period we have examined to some extent (comprising Aristophanes,¹⁰⁵ Pindar¹⁰⁶ and Oppian¹⁰⁷) largely reflects the same method and approach. Further investigation in textbooks containing other poets and authors taught in Byzantine schools, including Aeschylus, Hesiod, Theognis, Philostratos, Libanios, Demosthenes, Isocrates, Theokritos, Dionysios Periegetes, Nicander, Menander (*Γνώμαι*), Lykophron and others will shed more light on the use of these textbooks in Byzantine secondary education.¹⁰⁸

What is beyond doubt is that the teaching and study of literature, both poetry and prose, in Byzantium were interconnected with grammar, in the sense that grammar, 'the soul of the speech and of all disciplines',¹⁰⁹ formed the basis of the understanding of the text. At the same time the text provided the means by which one could learn and consolidate grammar, exercising and expanding his knowledge of grammatical rules and theory he had already been taught, for 'Grammar is the experience' one acquired 'from poets and authors through repetition'.¹¹⁰ Thus, quotations from poets and authors were extensively used in textbooks to illustrate difficult grammatical rules.¹¹¹ Poetry was also closely related to the next step of learning, namely rhetoric, either through quotations, which are ever present in rhetorical works, or as a teaching method for the proper use of vocabulary providing also 'the subject matter for the *Progymnasmata*

¹⁰⁵ Codd. *Vaticani Urb. gr.* 143 (first 1/2 of 15th c.), *Borg. gr.* 12 (second-fourth 1/4 of 15th c.), *Chis. R.* IV 20 (ca. 1410).

¹⁰⁶ Codd. *Laur. Plut.* 32.5 (14th c.), and *Vaticani graeci* 43 (beg. 15th c.) and 48 (examined above, under siglum **VF**).

¹⁰⁷ Codd. *Vaticani graeci* 16 (14th-15th c.) and 43 (beg. 15th c.).

¹⁰⁸ For a preliminary discussion, see Dain, 'À propos de l'étude', pp. 195-201.

¹⁰⁹ Michael Apostoles, *Counsel from Gortyna to Rome*, ed. A. Pontani, 'Μιχαήλου τοῦ Ἀποστόλη, Λόγος Παραινετικός ἐκ Γορτύνης εἰς Ἰταλίας Ῥώμην' (Ital. trans. by A. Rollo), in 'Sullo studio del greco in Occidente nel sec. XV: l'esempio di Michele Apostolis', in *Italia ed Europa nella linguistica del Rinascimento: confronti e relazioni. Atti del convegno internazionale, Ferrara, 20-24 marzo 1991*, ed. M. Tavoni, vol. I (Modena, 1996), pp. 133-70, at 156: 'ψυχὴ τοῦ λόγου καὶ τῶν μαθημάτων ἀπάντων ἐστὶν ἡ γραμματικὴ'.

¹¹⁰ Dionysios Thrax, *Τέχνη*, p. 5; cf. Lallot, *La grammaire*, p. 42; Callipo, *Dionisio Trace*, p. 56; cf. Webb, 'A Slavish Art?', p. 90 with n. 52.

¹¹¹ This is attested also in the *Scholia Vaticana* to Thrax's *Τέχνη*, p. 114.23-30. According to their anonymous composer, grammar was divided in the past ('παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις') into two parts: the elementary and advanced ('γραμματικὴ μικρὰ καὶ γραμματικὴ μεγάλῃ'). The first dealt with the letters of the alphabet, leading to reading and writing, while the advanced grammar with the interpretation of poets ('καταγινόμενῃ περὶ τὴν ἐρμηνείαν τῶν ποιητῶν'): Cf. the case of *schedographies*, as seen in Ch. II.

with which the study of rhetoric began'.¹¹² *Mutatis mutandis*, rhetoric also contributed to poetry by the use of rhetorical techniques and figures of speech.

As we have seen, the Byzantine teacher followed in his teaching the steps prescribed by Dionysios Thrax. However, before proceeding to analyse a poetic text, the teacher had first to introduce the poet and the play to his students.¹¹³ This is attested in Tzetzes's commentary on Hesiod, *Works and Days*, where by way of criticizing Proklos Diadochos's approach on the same work, he describes the currently accepted method of commenting on a classical author, which may well apply to teaching.¹¹⁴ First, the commentator/teacher should present the various groups of poets (epic, tragic and comic), comment on their characteristics, and select the best among them. This should be followed by a brief introduction on the poet to be analysed, including information on his life, his contemporary authors, the works he composed, the place where he lived and finally on the way he conducted his life. The next stage involved an exposition of the purpose of the work to be taught, its contents, including myths and their allegorical explanation, followed by scholia on prosody, and other necessary information. This introductory section should be explained in a clear and methodical way, appropriate for a teacher, avoiding perplexities and obscurities ('σαφεστέρω καὶ διδασκαλικῶ τρόπῳ ἐπεξηγήσασθαι ἀλλὰ μὴ λαβυρινθῶδει καὶ ἀσαφεῖ'). The manuscript evidence in textbooks we have examined confirms the adoption of this method to a large extent by Byzantine teachers. The text, as we have seen, usually begins with an introductory section giving a short life

¹¹² See Constantinides, *Higher Education*, p. 151; Webb, 'A Slavish Art?', pp. 90, 91, 93 ff.; eadem, 'Poetry and Rhetoric', in *Handbook of Classical Rhetoric in the Hellenistic Period 330 B.C.- A.D. 400*, ed. S. E. Porter (Leiden – New York – Cologne, 1997), pp. 339-69, esp. 346-48. See also C.N. Constantinides, 'Teachers and students of rhetoric in late Byzantine period', in *Rhetoric in Byzantium: Papers from the 35th Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Exeter College, University of Oxford, March, 2001*, ed. E. Jeffreys (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 39-53.

¹¹³ For the use of *accessus* in Latin textbooks, see above, p. 100, n. 25; cf. Libanios's statement, p. 34, with n. 27.

¹¹⁴ Ioannes Tzetzes, *Commentary on Hesiod's Works and Days*, ed. Th. Gaisford, Ἐξηγήσεις τοῦ σοφωτάτου γραμματικοῦ κυρίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Τζέτζου εἰς τὰ Ἔργα καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας τοῦ Ἡσιόδου, in *Poetae minores graeci*, vol. III (Oxford, 1820), pp. 9-20, at 10: πρῶτα μὲν ἔχρην διαίρεσιν φάναι τῶν ποιητῶν, καὶ τίνα τούτων χαρακτηρίσματα, καὶ τίνες τούτων οἱ περιβόητοι· ἔπειτα τὸ γένος εἰπεῖν τοῦ προκειμένου πρὸς τὴν ἐξήγησιν, καὶ τίνι συνήκμασε, καὶ πόσας βίβλους ἐξεπονίσαστο, ποῦ τε καὶ ποίῳ τρόπῳ τὸν βίον κατέλυσεν· εἶτα τὴν βίβλον τούτου προχειρισάμενον, πρῶτον μὲν ἀκριβῶς τὸν αὐτοῦ φάναι σκοπὸν· μετέπειτα δὲ καὶ τὰς μυθικὰς ἱστορίας εἰς πλάτος, εἶτα καὶ ταύτας ἀλληγορήσαι, καὶ μέτρα, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἀναγκαιοτέρων σαφεστέρῳ καὶ διδασκαλικῶ τρόπῳ ἐπεξηγήσασθαι ἀλλὰ μὴ λαβυρινθῶδει καὶ ἀσαφεῖ, καὶ χρῆζοντι μᾶλλον αὐτῷ πλέον ἐπεξηγήσεως, ἢ περὶ τὰ προκείμενα πρὸς ἐξήγησιν'.

of the poet, the *hypothesis* of the work, a list of the *dramatis personae*, occasionally followed by information on myths relating to the text.

Moreover, the method of learning and appreciating a text is described analytically by the commentators to Dionysios Thrax's *Τέχνη*.¹¹⁵ Before the student read a text aloud, this had to be corrected of all mistakes. Thus, he was able to proceed in accordance with Dionysios's prescribed steps, namely to learn how to read the text properly according to the rules of prosody (including accentuation, punctuation and intonation), followed by learning the meaning of words, identifying figures of speech used by the poet, the dialect and etymology. Subsequently, through parallel examples already familiar to the student, he was able to explain the form of every 'new' word. On the basis of the knowledge acquired through these steps, he was then, theoretically, able to judge the authenticity of a text, and at the same time become aware of metre and harmony in speech — abilities which were of great importance.¹¹⁶ This approach is confirmed by Michael Psellos in his *Funeral Oration on his Mother*,¹¹⁷ and Michael Choniates (1138-1222) in his *Monody* on his teacher Eustathios of Thessalonike.¹¹⁸

Similar advice was given by Quintilian (c. 35-c.100 AD) in his *Institutio Oratoria*, 1.8.13-17, where he advises the *grammaticus* on how he should teach poetry:

In expounding his text the *grammaticus* must also deal with more elementary matters. He must ask the pupils to break up the verse and give the parts of speech and the qualities of the metrical feet, which need to become so familiar in poetry that the need for them is felt also in rhetorical Composition. He must point out Barbarisms, improper usages, and anything contrary to the laws of

¹¹⁵ *Scholia Vaticana*, pp. 169.3-170.5.

¹¹⁶ Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, 1.4.4, I, p. 104, states that 'Grammaticē cannot be complete without music, because it has to discuss metre and rhythm'. Cf. Tzetzes, *Διδασκαλία σαφειστάτη περί τῶν ἐν τοῖς στίχοις μέτρων ἀπάντων διὰ στίχων πολιτικῶν· τὰ δὲ προοίμια μόνα συντέθινται διὰ στίχων ἡρωϊκῶν ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ ἐπίλογος*, in Cramer, *Anecdota graeca*, vol. III (Oxford, 1836), pp. 302-33, at 302: ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙΚΗΝ μαθεῖν ποθέοντες, μέτρα πάντα. The humanist Battista Guarino in his *Program of teaching and learning* stressed the importance of prosody, noting that it was such a 'useful knowledge that no one can rightly be called an educated man who does not possess it', pp. 274-75. On the importance of harmony and other points (form, content, interpretation of allegories), on which teachers focused during the teaching of poetry see Koukoules, *Bíos*, pp. 112-15 and Tsampes, *Ἡ Παιδεία*, pp. 231-42.

¹¹⁷ Michael Psellos, *Funeral Oration on his Mother*, ed. Criscuolo, p. 97.361-63. Cf. above, p. 47, n. 105.

¹¹⁸ Michael Choniates, *Monody on Eustathios of Thessalonike*, ed. Lampros, *Μιχαὴλ Ἀκομινάτου τοῦ Χωνιάτου*, I, pp. 283-306, at 288.25-30: 'Ἀλλὰ τις τῶν φοιτῶντων (i.e. παρὰ τῷ Εὐσταθίῳ), πυκτίδα ποιητικὴν ὑπὸ μάλῃν φέρων, ἐδεῖτο μέτρων μὲν νόμους μνεῖσθαι καὶ ῥυθμοὺς ἀρμονίας καὶ τοῦ ἐτύμου τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀνάπτυξιν, ψυχαγωγεῖσθαι τε πράξεων ἀρχαιολογουμένων μυθεύμασιν; εἴθ' ὑπέστρεφε τούτων τε θεωρὸς ἐντελής καὶ τῶν μυστικωτέρων οὐ παρ' ἅπαν ἀτέλεστος'.

speech, not by way of censuring the poets for these ... but to remind the pupil of technical rules and activate his memory of them. At this elementary stage, it is also useful to show in how many ways particular words may be understood. "Glosses" (*glossemata*) also, that is to say words not in common use, are not the least important area of grammatical scholarship. The *grammatici*, however, should take greater care in teaching all the Tropes, which are the main ornaments not only of poetry but also of oratory, and both kinds of Schemata — that is to say, Figures of Speech (*lexis*) and of Thought (*dianoia*) ... Above all, he should impress upon their minds what is meant by excellence in organization (*oeconomia*), and in propriety of subject matter; what is appropriate to particular characters; what is praiseworthy in thought or word; and when abundance is acceptable, and when restraint. A further task will be the explanation of historical allusions ... but not overloaded with superfluous labour.¹¹⁹

The extent to which students were able to achieve the aim of becoming δεινοί,¹²⁰ eloquent orators,¹²¹ depended mainly on their labour, ability and determination. The best example is that of Georgios of Cyprus, who was able to master rhetoric after much effort, despite the mockery he suffered from his fellow-students, who openly ridiculed him of ineptitude 'in delivering orations and expressing himself in elegant style'.¹²² In response,

he threw himself to this study, and used for his own purpose, not those teachers the others had used, the ones who had destroyed everything that was good in rhetoric and indeed the good which is in the word itself, namely, its grace and Attic expressions, its purity and really its Hellenic features. But instead he used the most famous of the ancient orators and fathers and inventors of the art, and very rapidly he became a new man from his former self.¹²³

It was ultimately this aspect of education, of transforming oneself through classical learning, that together with the Christian message

¹¹⁹ Quint., *Institutio Oratoria*, 1.8.13-18, I, pp. 204-206, transl. D.A. Russell (2001).

¹²⁰ Hermogenes, *Περὶ ἰδεῶν λόγου: Περὶ δεινότητος*, ed. H. Rabe, *Hermogenis Opera* (Leipzig, 1913), pp. 368-80, at 368.22-369.2: ἡ δεινότης ... οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ χρήσις ὀρθῇ πάντων τῶν τε προειρημένων εἰδῶν τοῦ λόγου καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἔτι δι' ὧν ἐτέρων σώμα λόγου γίνεσθαι πέφυκε.

¹²¹ See Webb, 'A Slavish Art?', pp. 90-99.

¹²² Lameere, *La tradition manuscrite*, pp. 185.24-187.2; English trans. by A. Pelendrides, *The Autobiography of George of Cyprus (Ecumenical Patriarch Gregory II)* (London, 1989), p. 37.

¹²³ Lameere, *La tradition manuscrite*, p. 187.3-14; trans. Pelendrides, *The Autobiography*, p. 37. For Georgios of Cyprus's contribution in education and in the classical scholarship see C.N. Constantinides, 'Georgios of Cyprus as a Teacher', in *Πρακτικά Β' Διεθνούς Κυπριολογικού Συνεδρίου*, vol. II (Nicosia, 1986), pp. 431-39; I. Pérez Martín, *El patriarca Gregorio de Chipre (ca. 1240-1290) y la transmisión de los textos clásicos en Bizancio* (Madrid, 1996) and S. Kotzabassi, 'Gregorios Kyprios as Reader and Critic', in *Realia Byzantina*, eds. S. Kotzabassi and G. Mavromatis (Berlin – New York, 2009), pp. 75-88.

shaped the ideals and personality of Byzantine students, at the same time securing their future, in terms of a professional career in the State and the Church. In the process the Byzantine student, as all students in all ages, expanded his horizons, enabling himself to mature and view the world from a different perspective. Lucian described this in his famous simile of the hardships for, and rewards of, education:

Many would climb it [i.e., the mountain] if it could. As it is, a fair number make a very strong beginning and travel part of the way, some very little, some more; but when they get halfway and meet plenty of difficulties and snags, they lose heart and turn back, gasping for breath and dripping with sweat; the hardships are too much for them. But only as many as endure to the end arrive at the top, and from then on are happy having a wonderful time for the rest of their life, from their heights seeing the rest of mankind as ants.¹²⁴

¹²⁴ Lucian, *Hermotimos*, ed. and trans., K. Kilburn, *Lucian*, vol. 6 (repr. Cambridge, Mass., 1968), pp. 260-415, at 266-69, § 5.1-15'. Cf. Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind*, p.1. See also the sixteenth-century woodcut with the tower of learning, ed. Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Schools: From Roman Britain to Renaissance England* (New Heaven – London, 2006), pp. 53-54.

CHAPTER IV

GREEK-LATIN BYZANTINE TEXTBOOKS

The method for inculcating the classical Greek language, which, as discussed in the previous Chapters, developed over a long period in Byzantium, and was based primarily on grammar and its concomitants, was applied in the teaching of non-Greek students in Italy, and subsequently in other parts of the West, from the late fourteenth century onwards. Interest in Greek letters in Italy had started with Francesco Petrarca (1304-1374) and Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-1375).¹ However, it was the appointment of Manuel Chrysoloras (ca. 1350-1415) to teach Greek in Florence in 1397 that gave fresh impetus to the humanistic movement. With his previous experience in teaching both Greek and Italian students, his knowledge of Latin, and the manual of grammar entitled *Ἑρωτήματα*, which he composed especially for an Italian audience,² Chrysoloras was the ideal person who grafted 'il gusto costantinopolitano e la cultura costantinopolitana'³ to Western education and culture.

¹ For an overview of the study of Greek in the West in the Middle Ages and in later period, see the fundamental study of W. Berschin, *Griechisch-lateinisches Mittelalter: Von Hieronymus zu Nikolaus von Kues* (Bern – Munich, 1980), revised and expanded edition with English trans. by J.C. Frakes, *Greek Letters and the Latin Middle Ages: From Jerome to Nicholas of Cusa* (Washington D.C., 1988), Greek trans. by D.Z. Niketas, *Ελληνικά Γράμματα και Λατινικός Μεσαίωνας: Από τον Ιερώνυμο ως τον Νικόλαο Κουσάνο* (Thessalonike, 1998); all references are made to the English edition and trans. by Frakes. See also Pontani, 'Sullo studio del greco', pp. 133-70; N.G. Wilson, *From Byzantium to Italy: Greek Studies in the Italian Renaissance* (London – Cambridge, Mass., 1992); Cortesi, 'Umanesimo greco', in *Lo spazio letterario*, vol. 1.3, pp. 457-507; A. Grafton and L. Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities: Education and the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Europe* (London, 1986), esp. pp. 99-121; P.O. Kristeller, *Renaissance Concepts of Man, and other Essays* (New York – London, 1972), esp. pp. 64-85; I. Thomson, 'Manuel Chrysoloras and the Early Italian Renaissance', *GRBS* 7 (1966), 63-82; Ciccolella, *Donati Graeci*, pp. 97-102 and 118-146.

² F. Ciccolella, 'The Greek Donatus and the Study of Greek in the Renaissance', *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, 12.1 (2005), 1-24, esp. pp. 5-7, where she quotes the reference to Chrysoloras's statement citing Ch. Förstel, *Les grammaires grecques*, p. 29. See also Grafton and Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities*, pp. 101-103; A. Pertusi, 'Ἑρωτήματα. Per la storia e le fonti delle prime grammatiche greche a stampa', *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 5 (1962), 321-51; A. Rollo, *Gli Erotemata tra Crisolora e Guarino* (Messina, 2012).

³ A. Pertusi, 'Italo-greci e bizantini nello sviluppo della cultura italiana dell'umanesimo', in *Venezia e l'Oriente fra tardo medioevo e rinascimento*, ed. A. Petrusi (Florence, 1966), p. 35-52, at 38.

Writing to the Chancellor of Florence and humanist Coluccio Salutati (1331-1406), most probably between 1397 and 1399, Chrysoloras reflected on the enthusiasm the ancient Romans had shown in learning Greek. According to Chrysoloras, they had clearly realized that learning another language, far from damaging their own, had enhanced theirs, and that the Greek language, literature and culture had made an important contribution to Latin culture. Chrysoloras points out that this was also the case with their own times, the end of the fourteenth century.⁴

Chrysoloras's major contribution was to pave the way for the direct access to the original Greek texts.⁵ His method was in clear contrast to the previous way of learning Greek, namely the traditional medieval practice of approaching Greek texts, restricted to theological, philosophical and scientific works, through *ad verbum* Latin translations⁶ with the help of Latin-Greek or Greek-Latin glossaries,⁷ in the absence of basic teaching aids, namely Greek grammar-books and teachers.

Ambrogio Traversari (1386-1439), monk and humanist, exemplifies the case of Italians who were self-taught in Greek. In his letter to Francesco Coppola, dated 1430, Traversari confessed that he had learned Greek without any help from a teacher ('absque (ad)miniculo preceptoris'), but he did so through the comparative reading of theological texts, which were already translated into Latin.⁸ Having a Greek Psalter and a Latin one side-by-side, he compared ('conferre') them 'noting first the verbs, then the

⁴ *Epistolario di Coluccio Salutati*, ed. F. Novati, vol. IV.2 (Rome, 1911), XV, pp. 333-44, esp. p. 339.15-19: 'οὐκ εἶπον ... τί δὲ δεῖ τὴν ἀλλότριαν φωνὴν (i.e., τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν) μαρθάνειν, ἀφέντας τὴν ἑαυτῶν; τί δὲ ἡμῖν κέρδος ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων γλώττης ἔσται'; p. 340: 'θατέραν (i.e., διάλεκτον, γλῶτταν) ὑπὸ θατέρας μηδαμῶς βλάπτεσθαι, ἀλλὰ βοηθεῖσθαι'. Cf. Grafton and Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities*, p. 99. G. Mercati, 'Sopra due lettere di Manuele Crisolora a Coluccio Salutati', and 'Una lettera negletta di Manuele Crisolora al Salutati e un'altra datata male', in *Opere minori: raccolte in occasione del settantesimo natalizio sotto gli auspicii di s. s. Pio XI*, vol. IV, ST, 79 (Vatican, 1937), pp. 31-37 and 49-55, respectively, argued that the letter should be dated between 1397 and 1399, and not in 1396, as Novati had assumed. Cf. also Battista Guarino's view that 'Greek is not only useful but absolutely essential for Latin letters', in Battista Guarino, *Program of Teaching and Learning*, pp. 276-79.

⁵ The tendency to study the Greek authors solely through Latin translations is attested in Michael Apostoles's rejection of this system in his *Counsel from Gortyna to Rome*, pp. 152-65. See also D.J. Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars in Venice: Studies in the Dissemination of Greek Learning from Byzantium to Western Europe* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), pp. 101-106.

⁶ For a general survey of Greek translations of Latin works, see P. Chiesa, 'Le traduzioni in latino di testi greci', in *Lo spazio letterario del medioevo*, III. *Le culture circostanti*, vol. I: *La cultura bizantina*, ed. G. Cavallo (Rome, 2004), pp. 491-518. For the differences between medieval and humanist translations see Berschin, *Greek Letters*, pp. 275-80.

⁷ For bilingual glossaries see Berschin, *Greek Letters*, pp. 30-35.

⁸ L. Bertalot, 'Zwölf Briefe des Ambrogio Traversari', in *Studien zum italienischen und deutschen Humanismus*, ed. P.O. Kristeller, vol. I (Rome, 1975), pp. 251-267, at 262-63. See

nouns, then the remaining parts of a speech, and committing the meaning of each to memory, and as far as possible remembering the meaning of all words'. He subsequently advanced his competence in Greek by following the same method with sections of the New Testament (Four Gospels, Pauline Epistles and Acts) and later with pagan literature ('gentilium libros'), though he does not specify the authors.⁹ This method, which Traversari recommended to others, followed the tradition based on bilingual theological texts, common in the medieval period in the West in view of the absence of organised teaching of Greek, due both to lack of teachers and grammatical manuals.¹⁰

Additional evidence on the first stages of learning Greek is contained in cod. *Par. gr.* 425, which preserves *inter alia* the *Grammar* by the Latino-phile teacher and theologian Manuel Kalekas (ca. 1360-1410), (ff. 80^r-87^r). On the top margin of f. 77^r the note 'ex libro Manuel grammatici graeci qui cognominatur Caleca et incipit: «isteon oti deca isi prosodiaj: oxia etc.»' suggests that the first stage of the teaching of grammar comprised a *viva voce* dictation of the grammar with the Greek text transliterated into Latin characters, followed, one assumes, by the reading of the Greek text in Greek characters at a later stage.¹¹

This gap in the systematic teaching of Greek began to be filled with the arrival of Chrysoloras in Florence. And though we do not have any direct account of his teaching method, he must have followed the traditional Byzantine instruction adapted to the new circumstances, and the needs of his Italian students.¹² His teaching method is reflected in the way his eminent students taught Greek in their turn. Guarino of Verona (1370-1460) is the most telling example.

also Berschin, *Greek Letters*, p. 35 with n. 64, with an English trans. of this important passage; Cortesi, 'Umanesimo greco', pp. 468-69.

⁹ Bertalot, 'Zwölf Briefe des Ambrogio Traversari', p. 263.

¹⁰ Cf. Berschin, *Greek Letters*, pp. 4, 38-40. It is noteworthy that Battista Guarino in his *Program of Teaching and Learning*, pp. 296-97, also recommended the comparative individual reading of sacred texts whose renderings had the same numbers of syllables as a medium for further progress, but only after the student had learned the basics, (see below, p. 145).

¹¹ S. Bernardinello, 'La grammatica di Manuele Caleca', *RSBN* n.s. 8-9 (1971-72), 203-18 at p. 208. Bernardinello wrongly identified the text in ff. 77^r-79^v with a Latin summary of Kalekas's *Grammar* which in reality is summary from Chrysoloras's *Erotemata*. On this see F. Nousia, 'Calecas' *Grammar*: Its Use and Contribution to the Learning of Greek in Western Europe', *Renaissance Society of America Annual Conference: Exploring the Greek Revival I: The Study of the Language* (Berlin, 26-28 March 2015).

¹² Cf. Kristeller, *Renaissance Concepts*, p. 74.

Apart from Guarino's correspondence,¹³ which provides useful insights on his teaching methods, we are fortunate to possess a treatise by his son Battista Guarino (1434-1513) written in 1459. Here Battista describes his father's *Program of teaching and learning*,¹⁴ giving a detailed account among other things of how Italian students with some knowledge of Latin learned Greek. Students started with grammar accommodated to their needs, either the one compiled by Chrysoloras, or its shorter version by Battista's own father, Guarino. Good knowledge of grammar, that is, of general rules of inflection and verbs was imperative. Irregular verbs, he insisted, had to be learned by the students 'like the back of their hands' ('et ea quae apud illos [*scil.* Graecos] ἀνώμαλα verba sunt tamquam ungues calleant').¹⁵ This was fundamental, for the student had to be able to distinguish 'a noun from a verb and the tenses of the verb'. Repetition and intentional mistakes by the teacher, along with regular and diligent examination of the student, were essential.¹⁶

As soon as the student had acquired a relatively good knowledge of grammar, he was to proceed with the reading of simple texts in prose,¹⁷ which were to help him to consolidate his grammar. Difficult texts had to be avoided. From the poets, Homer was the most appropriate to start with, for he was not considered difficult, in particular since all Latin writers, according to Battista, drew from him. After Homer, the students were urged to work hard ('insudabunt') on other epic poets, tragedians and comedians.¹⁸ It was imperative that they should acquire from the very beginning the habit of writing in Greek, so that the words along with their accents were imprinted in their minds. As soon as they became competent with writing, they had to practice translating from Greek into Latin and *vice*

¹³ For his letters see *Epistolario di Guarino Veronese*, ed. R. Sabbadini, 3 vols. (Venice, 1915-19), Italian trans. by E. Garin, *Il pensiero pedagogico dello umanesimo* (Florence, 1958).

¹⁴ For Guarino's teaching method and program see Battista's treatise *Program of Teaching and Learning*, pp. 260-309. See also Grafton and Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities*, pp. 1-28.

¹⁵ Battista Guarino, *Program of Teaching and Learning*, pp. 280-83.

¹⁶ Cf. Battista, *Program of Teaching and Learning*, pp. 268-69, who uses the simile of an energetic general for the teacher who should inspect continuously the students' knowledge in Latin grammar.

¹⁷ For Chrysoloras's choice of texts from Homer, Plato, Thucydides, Xenophon, Demosthenes, Isocrates, Lucian, Plutarch and Ptolemy, see J. Hankins, 'Chrysoloras and the Greek Studies of Leonardo Bruni', in *Manuele Crisolora e il ritorno del greco in Occidente. Atti del convegno internazionale (Napoli, 26-29 giugno 1997)*, eds. R. Maisano and A. Rollo (Naples, 2002), pp. 175-203, esp. 178-79. See also E. Berti, 'Alla scuola di Manuele Crisolora. Lettura e commento di Luciano', *Rinascimento*, s. II 27 (1987), 3-73. For the texts available for teaching in the West, see Grafton and Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities*, p. 110.

¹⁸ Battista Guarino, *Program of Teaching and Learning*, pp. 282-83.

versa. This enabled the student to become fluent in speaking and to pay more attention to every detail.¹⁹ Once the student had mastered the basics, he was expected to take the initiative in the independent reading of bilingual theological texts, already in circulation, in order to enrich his vocabulary. Reading aloud, Battista considered to be of primary importance not only for the understanding and the assimilation of the language, but also because it helped digestion ('non parum etiam ad stomachi digestionem valere ferunt hi qui naturae ac medicinae secreta tenent')!²⁰

This method of teaching Greek was subsequently adopted by later Italian teachers, as is attested in a letter by Girolamo Amaseo (1467-1517), student of Varino Favorino Camerte (*ca.* 1450-1537).²¹ This method, based on grammar, led to the composition of new manuals, which presented the material in a more systematic and succinct way than the earlier ones, by now considered obsolete. Among the new grammars prepared especially for Italian students, those by Konstantinos Laskares and Theodoros Gazes enjoyed popularity,²² though the old Byzantine school grammars, such as Moschopoulos, *Ἑρωτήματα*, continued to be in use.

A clear picture of the application of the teaching program described by Battista is reflected in the manuscript evidence. From a large number of surviving textbooks with Latin annotations²³ we have selected five representative MSS, containing grammars, *schedographies*, Homer and Aristophanes, which illustrate the way Greek letters were taught to Western students.

One of the most important MSS, which represents the parallel use of the Byzantine traditional grammatical manuals and the new grammars in the teaching of Greek to Western students, is the paper MS. *Vat. Pal. gr.* 234 (examined *in situ*).²⁴ Copied by a Western hand in the fifteenth

¹⁹ Battista Guarino, *Program of Teaching and Learning*, pp. 284-85.

²⁰ Battista Guarino, *Program of Teaching and Learning*, pp. 296-99. For the benefits from reading aloud, see also Webb, 'The "Progymnasmata"', pp. 308-309.

²¹ See Grafton and Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities*, pp. 115-16; Webb, 'A Slavish Art?', p. 89. Camerte was student of Politian who had studied with Andronikos Kallistos (*ca.* 1256-*ca.* 1335). There were others who had been taught by Greeks, for example Giovanni Tortelli (1400-1466), student of Ioannes Eugenikos, and Bartolomeo Fonzio (1502-1562), student of Kallistos: see Grafton and Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities*, pp. 113-15; M. Cortesi, 'Il "Vocabularium" greco di Giovanni Tortelli', *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 22 (1979), 449-83; eadem, 'Umanesimo greco', p. 469.

²² See Grafton and Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities*, pp. 102-10; Berschin, *Greek Letters*, p. 34.

²³ For example, codd. *Vat. gr.* 35, *Vat. gr.* 2221, *Vat. Pal. gr.* 294, *Vat. Chis.* R IV 1, *Vat. Ott. gr.* 206, *Vat. Barb. gr.* 33, *Ambr. H* 77 sup., *Laur. Plut.* 31.34, *Esc. Y.* III.13.

²⁴ For the description of this Ms, see Stevenson, *Codices manuscripti Palatini graeci*, pp. 127-28. See also F. Ciccolella, *Donati graeci* relating to *Donati graeci* and *Vat. Pal. gr.* 234, *passim*, esp. pp. 204-206. See also Ciccolella, 'The Greek Donatus', 12-24.

century,²⁵ it contains Theodoros Prodromos's treatise *Περὶ πνευμάτων* (ff. 2^r-5^r); a short *lexicon* in political verse (ff. 6^r-13^r), the *Γραμματική τοῦ μεγάλου Κυρίλου* (sic) (ff. 13^v-15^r); followed by grammatical treatises with Latin interlinear *glosses* in red: on conjugations (ff. 16^r-17^r), declensions of nouns (ff. 17^r-18^v),²⁶ conjunctions (ff. 19^r-20^r), articles (f. 20^{r-v}), adverbs (ff. 21^r-22^r), pronouns (ff. 22^r-23^r), prepositions (ff. 23^v-34^v), dialects (f. 35^r), letters of the alphabet (τί ἐστι στοιχείον ...) (ff. 35^r-37^r), and the eight parts of speech (ff. 37^r-46^v).

There is also a Latin vocabulary on grammatical terms with their Greek equivalents (f. 47^r), and a list with Greek words (drawn from an unidentified manual of grammar in which they are used either as examples or grammatical terms) along with their Latin equivalents written in the interlinear space (ff. 48^v-49^v). Finally, there is a version of the *Greek Donatus* 'one of the oddest Greek grammar books of the Renaissance', which most probably was originally an interlinear explanation of the Latin elementary grammar book of *Ianua*, before it became an independent manual of grammar (ff. 49^v-82^r).²⁷ A note in cod. *Vat. gr.* 1527, f. I^r ('donatus g(rae)cus optimus'),²⁸ shows the popularity of this grammar among Western teachers and students.

On f. 84^r there are some practical instructions on grammar (active and passive voice) and syntax: ἰστέον ὅτι ἐνεργειτικ(όν) (*leg.* ἐνεργητικόν) ῥήμα (*leg.* ῥήμα) ἐστίν, ὅπερ λήγει εἰς ᾧ (καὶ) ποιεῖ (*leg.* ποιεῖ) | ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ (*leg.* ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ) παθητικ(όν) προσθέσει τοῦ μαι· οἶ(ον) ἀγαπῶ· ἀ-ἰγαπῶμαι (*leg.* ἀγαπῶμαι)· (καὶ) συντάσσεται ἔμπροσθεν μ(έν), εὐθεία (*leg.* εὐθεία)· ὀπισθ(εν) (*leg.* ὀπισθεν) | δέ, αἰτιατικῇ (*leg.* αἰτιατικῇ)· τὸ ποιοῦν πρόσωπον, εἰς εὐθείαν (*leg.* εὐθείαν) (καὶ) τὸ | δεχόμενον, εἰς αἰτιατικὴν· οἶ(ον) ἐγὼ ἀγαπῶ τ(όν) Πέτρον.²⁹ Following the Latin grammatical tradition, according to which the teaching of grammar was followed by easy prose texts or poetry so that the students could practise and assimilate the grammatical rules,³⁰ the codex contains next Cato's *Precepts* (*Διδασκαλία*) (f. 86^{r-v}) and *Distichs* (*Γνόμαι* [sic] *δίστιχοι*) (f. 88^r) in the Greek translation by Planoudes. Ff. 89 and 90 are missing; the rest of the folios contain notes, sketches, drawings and pen trials.

²⁵ Ciccolella, *Donati greci*, p. 204.

²⁶ See Ciccolella, *Donati greci*, p. 205, who traces the sources of some of these treatises.

²⁷ Ciccolella, *Donati greci*, p. 246.

²⁸ See below, p. 148.

²⁹ Cf. Battista Guarino, *Program of Teaching and Learning*, pp. 270-71, where he stresses that the students should understand thoroughly ('pernoscant') the difference between active and neuter verbs.

³⁰ Cf. Battista Guarino, *Program of Teaching and Learning*, pp. 282-83.

Both the *Greek Donatus* and Cato's *Precepts* in this codex contain Latin *glosses* in red, providing in effect almost a *verbatim* translation of the Greek text. These *glosses* are placed above the line in the interlinear space reserved for that purpose. This convention would have facilitated equally a Greek student learning Latin and a Western student learning Greek. However, since the Greek text is written in a larger script with very few abbreviations, while the interlinear version in Latin is written in a smaller script heavily abbreviated, it would appear that the codex was primarily addressed to a reader/student more competent in Latin.³¹ In fact, the codex also bears subscriptions, drawings and pen trials by a different, inexperienced hand of a young student called Mattia.³² It seems that this MS was originally prepared as an anthology of grammatical treatises for teachers.³³ The focus is placed on the translation, for what is important, especially for a grammar book, is the comprehension of the text itself.

Though the grammatical theory was regarded by both Byzantine teachers and Humanists a prerequisite for the systematic study of a language, the theory itself was not considered enough.³⁴ Practice was equally indispensable. *Schedography* in Byzantium, as we have seen in Chapter II, served as a means for the practice of grammatical rules in parallel with grammatical theory.

This method of teaching Greek to Western students is attested partially in Tortelli's *Grammar*, which contains sections of the Moschopouleian *schedography* and *Ἑρωτήματα*.³⁵ The extensive use of this method is illustrated in cod. *Vat. gr.* 1527, mentioned above, which contains a *schedography* copied by an anonymous fifteenth-century scribe.³⁶ The provenance of this MS so far remains unknown. According to the *ex-libris* on f. I^r (which can be traced under the ink with which it was cancelled) at some stage the codex came to the possession of 'Nikolaos Laskares from Naxos and his friends'.³⁷ Nikolaos taught grammar at his own school in Venice before 1593. According to the Archives of the Library of the *Collegio Greco di S.*

³¹ For Latin conventions of annotation, see L. Holtz, 'La typologie des manuscrits grammaticaux latins', *Revue d'histoire des textes* 7 (1977), 247-269; idem, 'Glosse e commenti', in *Lo spazio Letterario*, vol. 1.3, pp. 59-111.

³² Mattia was also a beginner in Latin as the numerous attempts of writing the Latin alphabet reveal (e.g., ff. 13^r, 15^v, 35^r, 40^v, 47^v, 82^v); cf. Ciccolella, 'The Greek Donatus', p. 23 with n. 66.

³³ Cf. Ciccolella, *Donati greci*, pp. 248, 252.

³⁴ Cf. Cortesi, 'Il "Vocabularium" greco', p. 449.

³⁵ See Cortesi, 'Il "Vocabularium" greco', pp. 464-72; eadem, 'Umanesimo greco', p. 469.

³⁶ For the description of this MS, see above, p. 53, n. 22 and pp. 81-82.

³⁷ Cod. *Vat. gr.* 1527, f. I^r: 'Νικολάου Λασκάρεως τοῦ Ναξίου καὶ τῶν φίλων τὸ τεῦχος'; cf. Giannelli, *Codices Vaticani graeci*, p. 87.

Atanasio the codex was also used there, being catalogued as ‘*Eruthemata grammaticae*’.³⁸ It seems therefore, that this MS was studied and used in the West for almost two centuries.

On f. 26^r, lines 1-2, the text refers to the etymology of the verb *σχέδογραφῶ*: ‘ἐκ τοῦ σχέδους καὶ τοῦ γράφω’. The Latin word *compendium* was added above the line as a translation of the word *σχέδος* (*σχέδους* in cod.). This is very important, for it reveals the way *schedography* was perceived in the West, as an abridgement of the vast grammatical theory, difficult to grasp, of a language that it was not their own.³⁹ And though we cannot tell how much the students enjoyed or understood it, the aforementioned note ‘*donatus g(rae)cus optimus*’ (f. 1^r), is indicative of the preference of the *Greek Donatus* to the Moschopouleian *schedography*.

Latin interlinear *glosses* appear selectively throughout the text. It is not clear whether these *glosses* were added by the same or another hand. The limited use of abbreviations in these *glosses* may suggest that the scribe was not confident with his Latin. However, the hand that copied the Greek text clearly belongs to a Greek scribe who made extensive use of ligatures and employed a number of abbreviations. The Greek letterforms are of larger size, very legible, appropriate for reading by an inexperienced reader/student. The use in both margins of single or double vertical lines (||) in most case as pointers to Latin interlinear *glosses*, together with signs of paragraph division (Γ), suggest that this MS was a working copy rather than an edited volume (see Plate XV).

Another codex with Greek *schedographic* material is codex *Vat. gr.* 1953 (paper), copied by no other than Michael Apostoles (1422-1480). The text is accompanied by Latin annotations. The MS contains deacon Agapetos, *Ekthesis*, an admonitory text which belongs to the genre of *Mirror of Princes* (κάτοπτρον ἡγεμόνος), used as a *schedography* with grammatical analysis (ff. 1-53^v); three short *schedographic* passages without any grammatical analysis on a single folio (f. 54^r); and eighty-seven numbered short *schedē* (μικρὰ σχέδη) with their analysis (ff. 55^r-113^v, 116^{r-v}, 114^r-115^v). The codex closes with forty fables by Aphthonios (ff. 117^r-124^v).⁴⁰

The inclusion in this MS of Byzantine *schedographies* followed by a simple text (Aphthonios) reflects a combination of Byzantine and Western method in teaching grammar, in the sense that grammar is accompa-

³⁸ See Giannelli, *Codices Vaticani graeci*, p. 87.

³⁹ For the transmission and the reception of Manuel Moschopoulos’s *Schedography* in the West, see F. Nousia, ‘The Transmission and Reception of Manuel Moschopoulos’ *Schedography* in the West’, in F. Ciccolella and L. Silvano, eds., *Teachers, Students, and Schools of Greek in the Renaissance* (Leiden – Boston) (forthcoming).

⁴⁰ For a description of this MS, see Canart, *Codices Vaticani graeci*, I, pp. 773-75.

nied by easy passages to enable the student to practice and consolidate his knowledge of grammatical rules, as prescribed by Battista Guarino.⁴¹ It should be pointed out that not all the schedographic texts in this codex are accompanied by interlinear *glosses* in Latin. This selection might indicate the interest and abilities both of the teacher and students. The last section of the MS, containing Aphthonios's fables, does not have any interlinear *glosses*, either Latin or Greek. Latin interlinear *glosses* appear in the three short schedographic passages on f. 54^r. The first of these contains the following text:⁴²

sic debetis
1 Οὕτως ὀφείλετε παῖδες μανθάνειν· πρῶτον |
data sine vitio e(t) errore: h(oc) e(st) no(n) | deficere seu |
2 μὲν γράφειν, τὰ ἐκδιδόμενα ὑμῖν ἀσφαλί· | errare i(n) scribe(n)do
postea diligenter
3 εἴτα μανθάνειν αὐτὰ ἀκριβῶς· πρὸς δέ, καί |
i(n)t(er)pretari sapie(n)t(er): i(nt)elligent(er)
4 ἔρμηνεύειν αὐτὰ συνετῶς· καὶ συντάσσειν αὐ- |
rationalem
5 τὰ κατὰ κανόνα, καὶ μέθοδον λογικὴν· ἔξ- |
animadvertentia(m)
6 αιρέτως δὲ καὶ πρόνοιαν μεγίστην τῶν ἀν-|
ponere
7 τιστοίχων τίθεσθαι· καὶ στρέφειν ἐπὶ τῶν |
in discursib(us) r(at)i(on)ib(us) et r(at)i(oc)ina(tio)nib(us) labia
8 λογισμῶν· καὶ διὰ τῶν χειλέων προφέ- |
9 ρειν ἀεὶ: ~

This *schedos* provides guidance as to how students should proceed with their learning: it is important that they should take down notes without any mistakes, and learn their lesson by studying diligently. In addition, they should interpret what they have learned intelligently and construct what they have been taught in accordance with the rules and logic. Finally, students had to concentrate and read aloud the text.

Some of these instructions, including the clear pronunciation of the words, full understanding of what the teacher taught, and the prominent

⁴¹ See above, p. 144.

⁴² Gregorios Pados, *On Syntax*, ed. Donnet, p. 234. The editor connects this passage with Gregory of Corinth.

place of grammar, reflect once more Battista's teaching program.⁴³ Special attention is given in this passage to the homonyms, which were, and still are, a 'headache' to both teachers and students of Greek and Latin. For this reason, in order to help and facilitate his students, Guarino the father had composed the *Carminalia differentia*, 'long mnemonic lists of homonyms, synonyms and words with other peculiar characteristics'.⁴⁴

Most of the remaining *schedē* in this codex are accompanied by interlinear *glosses* in Greek. It appears that the student of Latin had more advanced knowledge of Greek. This is indicated by the fact that the Latin *glosses* appear selectively over the Greek words in the text, which suggests that there was no need of a complete translation, and they contain extensive abbreviations. In certain *schedē* the Greek and the Latin interlinear *glosses* co-exist above the line, the Latin been placed below the Greek (e.g., ff. 32^v, 49^r, 114^r), giving the impression that they were added afterwards. In the absence of subscriptions, alphabets, pen trials, drawings, doodles, etc., it is not clear whether the codex was used by a student. It is more probable that this textbook was prepared either for teachers, providing them with ready-made material for the teaching of Greek language both to Greek and Western students, or for Western students with more advanced knowledge of Greek.

The next stage of learning Greek according to Guarino's method comprised the reading of prose authors followed by Homer. This is exemplified by cod. *Vat. Reg. gr.* 91 (examined *in situ*).⁴⁵ This fifteenth-century paper codex contains the entire *Odyssey* with Latin translation of selected verses and words (ff. 1^r-296^v), and closes with the *Batrachomyomachia* (ff. 298^r-305^r) and the *Homeric Hymns* (ff. 306^r-350^v). The entire MS was copied by the well-known scribe and teacher Georgios Hermonymos⁴⁶ from the *editio princeps* of Homer by Demetrios Chalkokondyles, published in Florence on 9 December 1488, as noted in the subscription (f. 350^v).⁴⁷

⁴³ Cf. Battista Guarino, *Program of Teaching and Learning*, pp. 268-69.

⁴⁴ See Grafton and Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities*, pp. 12-13.

⁴⁵ For the description of this MS, see Stevenson, *Codices ... Reginae Svecorum*, pp. 66-67.

⁴⁶ *Repertorium* I, no. 61; II, no. 80; III, no. 102. See M. Kalatzi, *HERMONYMOΣ. A Study in Scribal, Literary and Teaching Activities in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries* (Athens, 2009).

⁴⁷ Cod. *Vat. Pal. gr.* 234, f. 350^v: "Ἡ τοῦ ὁμήρου ποιήσις ἅπασα ἐντυπωθεῖσα πέρας εἵληφεν ἡδὴ σὺν θεῷ ἐν φλωρεντία, ἀναλώμασι μὲν τῶν εὐγενῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ περὶ λόγους ἑλληνικαῖς (sic) (ἑλληνικαῖς post corr.) σπουδαίων βερνάρδου καὶ νηρίου ταναΐδου τοῦ νεριλίου φλωρεντίνων· πόνω δὲ καὶ δεξιότητι δημητρίου μεδιολανέως κρητός, τῶν λογίων ἀνδρῶν χάριν καὶ λόγων ἑλληνικῶν ἐφιμεμένων (ἐφιμεμένων post. corr.). ἔτει τῷ ἀπὸ τῆς χριστοῦ γεννήσεως χιλιοστῷ τετρακοσιοστῷ ὀγδοηκοστῷ ὀγδῶ μηνὸς δεκεμβρίου ἐνάτη: ~ : ~ τέλος τῷ θεῷ τῷ ἀγίῳ χάρις". Cf. ed. Stevenson, *Codices ... Reginae Svecorum*, p. 67 (with minor differences in the transcription).

Following the Byzantine convention in the layout of the page, the Homeric text and its Latin *metaphrasis* are placed in two facing columns, with the text on the inner column and the Latin translation of the selected verses on the slightly thinner outer column. Occasionally, instead of using the outer column, the scribe added Latin translation of words above the line of the Homeric text and/or in the end of verses.⁴⁸ Titles, initials, Latin *glosses* and notes are all in red ink. Figures of hands also in red ink in the margins, used as pointers, draw the attention of the reader to specific verses considered to be important.

It seems that this codex was used by a teacher or student with fairly good knowledge of Greek and command of Latin. This is indicated by the fact that the Latin translation, either interlinear or marginal, is not *verbatim*, while the Latin words are heavily abbreviated. There are no scholia in the MS, which suggests that the reader's interest was primarily focused on the text.

The third stage of a student's effort to learn Greek, as mentioned above, was to translate classical authors from Greek into Latin and *vice versa*. This stage is illustrated by the late fifteen-century paper codex *London, British Library, Yates Thompson 50* (examined *in situ*), containing Aristophanes, *Plutus* (ff. 1^r-76^v) and *Clouds* (ff. 77^r-171^r).⁴⁹ The Greek text is copied on the inner part of the page, leaving small marginal space. Scholia in Greek are placed on the larger marginal space reserved on the outer part of the page.

The *Clouds* contain Greek interlinear *glosses* in red and Greek marginal notes in black but with a red initial. There are no Latin annotations in this section.⁵⁰ However, in the first part, which contains *Plutus*, the scribe used a different system of annotating the Aristophanic text. The Greek text appears in larger letterforms in brown ink, with selective Greek *glosses* in smaller letterforms in red ink above the line. Latin *glosses* appear below the line in even smaller letterforms, this time in black ink. The abbreviated character names appear in the same shade of red as the interlinear *glosses*. The following examples illustrate this technique:

⁴⁸ For the method used by Andronikos Kallistos in teaching the *Iliad*, see Grafton and Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities*, pp. 113-15, where the notes of Kallistos's student, Bartolomeo Fonzio, are reproduced.

⁴⁹ For a description of this MS, see Pattie and Mckendrick, *Summary Catalogue*, I, p. 252. The versos of the folios up to f. 12^v are numbered in Greek numerals (α-ιβ). Digital images of the entire MS are accessible on line at: http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Yates_Thompson_MS_50&index=7 (last accessed 25 June 2015).

⁵⁰ The prevalence of *Plutus* in the Latin preference is undeniable; see Leonardo Bruni, *Versione del Pluto di Aristofane* (vv. 1-269), eds. M. and E. Cecchini (Florence, 1965), p. IX.

	ὅποιος	ὅπισθεν	ὑπάρχοντος	
v. 42:	ὅστις ἀκολουθεῖ	κατόπιν	ἀνθρώπου	τυφλοῦ (f. 2 ^v)
	qui sequitur	retro	homine(m)	cecum
	λέγουσαν	ἀπαίδευτε	λίαν	φανερῶς πάνυ
v. 46:	φράζουσιν	ὦ σκαιότατέ σοι	σαφέστατα	(f. 5 ^r)
	dicentem	ὁ miserrimus tibi	manifeste	

The fact that Latin *glosses* do not appear in the entire Aristophanic text, might suggest that only certain passages attracted the interest of the teacher or student.⁵¹

Both Greek and Latin interlinear *glosses*, which contain abbreviations, give a simpler synonym as a first step towards the understanding of the text.⁵² The Greek *glosses* are fewer, giving the impression that the student had some knowledge of classical Greek, namely, he was not an absolute beginner. In most cases the Latin *glosses* provide an almost *ad verbum* interlinear translation, reminiscent of the bilingual texts of the Middle Ages.⁵³ However, the translation in this codex does not follow slavishly the Greek text but conforms to the rules of the Latin syntax.⁵⁴ For example,

	ἐάν	ἐλεύσεται	
<i>Plutus</i> 405:	Χρεμύλος	ἀλλ' ἦν θεοὶ θέλωσι νῦν	ἀφίξεται. (f. 27 ^r)
	sed si	dii volent nu(n)c	veniet

Here the present subjunctive of the verb θέλω (θέλωσι), which forms the first part of the conditional clause, is not rendered by the respective form of *volo* (velint), but by the future indicative *volent*, following the rules of Latin syntax.

There are also Greek marginal scholia accompanying *Plutus* in our codex. The majority of them are drawn from *scholia recentiora*⁵⁵ and are directly linked with those transmitted in cod. *Par. gr.* 2823, copied by

⁵¹ Latin *glosses* appear on ff. 2^r-6^r (vv. 1-69), 24^r.2-40^v.3 (vv. 358-629), 41^r.8-43^r.6 (vv. 644-674), 44^v.3-45^v.3 (vv. 696-712), 46^r.8-46^v.3 (vv. 726-729) and 48^v.6-50^r.8 (vv. 764-791).

⁵² This reminds us of Bartolomeo Fonzio's notes and Girolamo Amaseo's letter, in which they state that the course started with a brief explanation of the passage before proceeding to the inflection of verbs and nouns, the etymology and other figures of speech: see Grafton and Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities*, pp. 113-15.

⁵³ See above, pp. 142-43.

⁵⁴ For the differences between the medieval and the humanist translation, see above, p. 142, n. 6. For Chrysoloras's favour of the *ad sententiam* translation, see Cortesi, 'Umanesimo greco', p. 471.

⁵⁵ *Scholia in Aristophanem. Pars 3. Scholia in Thesmophoriazusas; Ranas; Ecclesiazusas et Plutum*, Fasc. IV^b: *Scholia recentiora in Aristophanis Plutum*, ed. M. Chantry (Groningen, 1996).

Zacharias Kallierges in Padua *ca.* 1500, which is close to the date of our London MS.⁵⁶ The selection of the marginal scholia, which are simple grammatical or explanatory notes, reflects the level of understanding and interests both of teachers and students. Each scholion gives the word/s of the Aristophanic text to be commented upon, with the initial letter in red, thus facilitating the reader. For example, on *Plutus* 83 (f. 7^r):

αὐχμῶν βαδίζεις· Πλούτος ἐκ Πατροκλέους ἔρχομαι, ἐκ Πατροκλέους ἔρχομαι· ὁ Πα-
τροκλῆς οὗτος· σφόδρα ἦν πλού-
σιος· ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς ἄκρας αὐτοῦ φι-
λαργυρίας, οὐδέποτε ἐλούσατο,
διὸ καὶ κατηγορεῖ αὐτοῦ ὡς
φειδωλοῦ :~

Similarly, *Plutus* 461-462 (f. 30^v):

ἐκπορίζοιμεν ἀγαθὸν· Πενία τί δ' ἂν ὑμεῖς ἀγαθὸν ἐκπορίζοιμεν· πόρῳ ποιητικῶς
ἐξεύροιθ'. τὸ παρέχω· ὅθεν καὶ πόρος· ἐκ
τούτου παράγεται τὸ πορίζω : ~

(*Plutus* 466):

εἰ τοῦτο δρᾶν μέλλοντες ἐπιλαθοίμεθα εἰ τοῦτο δρᾶν μέλλοντες· ἢ (*leg.*
ἦ) τὴν μετοχὴν ἐνταῦθα ἀντὶ
ρήματος ἐκκληπτέον, ἢ οὕτως·
ναὶ ἐξεύροιμεν ἂν ἀγαθὸν, εἴπερ
ἐπιλαθοίμεθα ἂν σοῦ, μέλλοντες
δρᾶν τοῦτο, ἡγουν τὸ ἐκδιῶξαι
σε : +

and on f. 31^r (*Plutus* 476):

Χρεμύλος ὦ τύμπανα καὶ κύφωνες. οὐκ ἀρήξετε· ὦ τύμπανα καὶ κύφωνες· κολα-
στήρια ὄργανα ἦσαν τὰ τε τύ-
μπανα καὶ οἱ κύφωνες, ἐκ ξύλων
κατεσκευασμένα· ἐλέγοντο δὲ καὶ
ἕτερα βάκλα, διῶν (*leg.* δι' ὧν)
ἐτύποντο ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις οἱ
κολαζόμενοι· ὁ δὲ κύφων ἦν
δεσμός ξύλινος· ὃν οἱ μὲν, κλοιὸν
ἐκάλουν· οἱ δὲ, κάλλιον (*leg.*
κάλιον)· ὅθεν καὶ ὁ κακὸς τρόπος
κύφων ἐκαλεῖτο· λέγεται δὲ καὶ
ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν δυσχερῶν καὶ
ὀλεθρίων, ὁ κυφωνισμός· εἴρηται
δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ κύπτειν ἀναγκάζειν
τούς ἐν αὐτῷ δεδεσμημένους : ~

⁵⁶ For some information on the Paris MS, see the *Scholia recentiora in Plutum*, ed. Chantry, pp. xxiv and xxv.

Usually the *marginalia* appear on the corresponding facing line on the outer column, though occasionally they are placed elsewhere. For example, f. 26^v contains a marginal scholion copied along the fifth line of the folio, while in fact it should be placed on the eighth line (i.e., the last line of the folio) corresponding to v. 521. One would expect such to occur when space was limited. This, however, is not the case here, for there is no confinement of space as there is a single scholion occupying only 7 lines on the whole page.⁵⁷ This is an indication that the scribe, most probably being not a teacher himself, was unable to place the scholion next to the text it refers to.

The hand responsible for the Latin interlinear *glosses* added (in the same black ink on the outer margin of certain folios)⁵⁸ forms of irregular verbs which were considered important with reference to the Aristophanic text.⁵⁹ For example, *Plutus* 404 (f. 26^v) ἦλθεν] ελεύθω μεσος ἐλεύσομαι μεσος·

⁵⁷ The same occurs also on f. 34^r with a single scholion (15 lines long) copied next to line 1, while in fact it corresponds to line 5. Also, on f. 6^r the scholion (13 lines long) is copied next to line 1 but it refers to line 3.

⁵⁸ This is ascertained by evidence on f. 27^v top left-hand margin, namely for the principal parts of the verb ἀνύττω two Latin explanations are given, p(er)ficio and expedio. See note below.

⁵⁹ v. 133 (f. 10^r): θύω· σω· κα·; v. 134 (f. 10^v): ευχομαι· ξο·; v. 140 (f. 10^v): ὠνέομαι ουμαι; v. 142 (f. 11^r): λυπέω; v. 146 (f. 11^r): πλουέω (*leg.* πλουτέω); v. 150 (f. 11^v): πειράζω; v. 169 (f. 12^v): λανθάνω· δ·; v. 172 (f. 12^v): πληρώω· δ· (it is written twice: in the left margin, πληρώω; in the right margin: πληρώω· δ·); v. 174 (f. 13^r): κλάω; v. 179 (f. 13^r): ἐράω· β·; v. 180 (f. 13^r): πίπτω; v. 204 (f. 14^v): διαβάλλω; v. 222 (f. 15^r, these are written in red): εἶμι (*leg.* εἶμι), δράω·; v. 223 (f. 15^r): καλέω· εὐρίσκω; v. 224 (f. 15^r): ταλαιπωρέω; v. 245 (f. 16^r): τυχέω; v. 247 (f. 16^r): φείδομαι; v. 248 (f. 16^v): ἀναλώω; v. 249 (f. 16^v): ἰδω; v. 253 (f. 17^r): φάγω; v. 255 (f. 17^r): ἐγκονέω, σπεύδω; v. 360 (f. 24^r): παύομαι; v. 399 (f. 26^v): φημί φης· μέλλων φήσω· δ·; v. 400 (f. 26^v): μεταδίδωμι αοριστος· β· ἔδων· ἀπαρεμφατον· δοῦναι; v. 401 (f. 26^v): βλέπω μελλων ψω· αοριστος· ἔβλεψα· ἀπαρεμφατον· βλέψαι; v. 404 (f. 26^v): ελευθω [...] (the rest is on the text above); v. 413 (f. 27^v): ἀνύττω· σω· κα p(er)ficio expedio; διατρίβω· ψω ιφα·; v. 419 (f. 27^v): σχέω; v. 426 (f. 28^r): οἶομαι· οἰήσομαι· ὦμαι, v. 428 (f. 28^r): κράζω (*leg.* κράζω) αοριστος²· ἔκραγον; v. 429 (f. 28^v): δράω· σω· δέδρακα; v. 430 (f. 28^v): ζητέω; v. 431 (f. 28^v): γίνομαι; v. 433 (f. 28^v): δίδμι (*leg.* δίδωμι)· αοριστος²· ἔδων· ἀπαρεμφατον· δοῦναι; v. 434 (f. 28^v): αοριστος² (however in this verse there is no verb in second aorist); v. 438 (f. 29^r): φεύγω· αοριστος· β· ἔφυγον· ευκτική· φυγοίμι; v. 440 (f. 29^r): μέλλων· β·; v. 444 (f. 29^r): ενεργητική· φωνή· ἴστημι (*leg.* ἴστημι)· αοριστος² ἔστην· προστακτική· στήθι. στήθω; v. 447 (f. 29^v): μέλλων; v. 448 (f. 29^v): δαίδω· οἰκα· καὶ δέδια; v. 449 (f. 29^v): παρακειμενος μεσος; v. 467 (f. 30^v): αοριστος²; v. 468 (f. 30^v): φαίνω· μελλων· φά·ν·ώ· (he seems not to have been sure about the correct accent)· αοριστος· ἔφωνα (*leg.* ἔφωνα)· υποτακτική· μετα τοῦ από; v. 472 (f. 31^r): τοιμάω· ὦ; v. 473 (f. 31^r): διδάσκομαι· προστακτική; v. 474 (f. 31^r): μέλλων· προστακτική (however in this verse there is a future infinitive and not an imperative); v. 476 (f. 31^r): ἀρήγω· μελλων· ξω; v. 477 (f. 31^r): μανθάνω· αοριστος²· ἔμαθον· υποτακτική· εαν· μαθῶ (*leg.* μάθω); v. 509 (f. 33^v): ποθέω, ἦσω; v. 510 (f. 33^v): διανέμω· ὦ; v. 511 (f. 33^v): μελετάω· δ·; v. 514 (f. 33^v): έω; v. 515 (f. 33^v): ρήγνυμι· μελλων· ξω; v. 529 (f. 34^v): στακτοις· α·· παθητική· φωνή· στάζομαι; v. 543 (f. 35^v): σιτέω; v. 548 (f. 35^v): είρω· μέλλων· ερω; v. 557 (f. 36^v): σκώπτω· ὦψω; v. 585 (f. 38^r): ἀνακηρύττω; v. 596 (38^v): προσάγειν; v. 645 (f. 41^v): πίνω· αοριστος²· ἔπιον· ἀπό τοῦ πιο· παρακειμενος· α·· πώπωκα.

παρακειμενος· ἦλυθα καὶ ἀληλυθα· ἀττικῶς· αοριστος· β· ἦλυθον και ἦλθον, ἦλθες ἦλθε; *Plutus* 447 (f. 29^v) φευξόμεθα] μέλλων; *Plutus* 449 (f. 29^v) πεποιθότες] παρακειμενος μέσος⁶⁰. These additional notes with various forms of verbs remind of Guarino's method, namely that once the student had learned the rules of inflection, he should proceed to learn by heart the irregular verbs.

The fact that often accents and breathings on Greek words are omitted in these marginal notes,⁶¹ would suggest that the student, as Battista would have put it, needed more practice in writing so as to remember where to place accents, a convention which applies also in our days, in particular to those who follow the Erasmian pronunciation. It is possible that the notes on forms of difficult irregular verbs were an attempt on the part of the teacher and student to compile a list of verbs to which they would easily refer when studying Greek texts.⁶² On the basis of this evidence it is reasonable to assume that this MS could have been equally used by a Western student learning Greek, and a Greek student learning Latin.

A large number of Byzantine textbooks containing also Latin works translated by Byzantine scholars, especially those by Planoudes (Cato, *Distichs*; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* and *Heroids*; Cicero, *Somnium Scipionis*) and Manuel Holobolos (ca. 1255-1310/4) (Boethius, *De differentiis topicis*),⁶³ were gradually integrated in the Byzantine curriculum, serving as a bridge between the two cultures. Their use did not differ from the other Greek textbooks already in circulation, in that these could be used both by Greek students learning Latin and *vice versa*.

Above all, the Greek-Latin textbooks of the Palaeologan period we have been examining provide clear evidence of the revived interest of classical and Byzantine Greek literature and culture in the West, which promoted and ensured the preservation of Hellenic παιδεία for the future generations.

⁶⁰ In fact it is an active perfect with passive sense.

⁶¹ According to Battista Guarino, *Program of Teaching and Learning*, pp. 282-83, 'the accents of which the Greek language was full will be fully noted' and remembered along with the words by the constant practice on writing even from the very beginning: 'ex hac enim scribendi assiduitate menti magis imprimuntur et accentus quorum sermo ille plenus est penitus notantur'.

⁶² Cf. the extensive lists with names composed by the *schedographoi* in Byzantium, a practice criticized by Anna Komnene and others, see above, pp. 62-63, 74.

⁶³ For the translations of Latin works in Greek, see G. Salanitro, 'Sulle opere latine tradotte in greco dal XIII al XV secolo: nuove prospettive di studio', *Sileno* XIV (1988), 69-71; idem, 'Traduzioni e critica testuale', in *La traduzione dei testi classici. Teoria prassi storia. Atti del convegno di Palermo 6-9 aprile 1988*, ed. S. Nicosia (Naples, 1991), pp. 231-36; D.Z. Nikitas, 'Traduzioni greche di opere latine', in *I Greci: Storia Cultura Arte Società*, vol. 3: *I Greci oltre la Grecia*, ed. S. Settis (Turin, 2001), pp. 1035-51; E.A. Fisher, 'Planoudes, Holobolos, and the Motivation for Translation', *GRBS* 43 (2002/3), 77-104; D. Bianconi, 'Le traduzioni in greco di testi latini', in *Lo spazio letterario*, vol. 3.1, pp. 519-68.

CONCLUSIONS

The present study explored Greek MSS containing textbooks used by Byzantine students and teachers in secondary education during the Palaeologan period. This investigation, based both on published sources and unpublished material, attempted to study representative textbooks in the wider context of Byzantine education, placing emphasis on the methods and techniques used by teachers. It also examined those involved in the composition and copying of textbooks, whether teachers or professional scribes.

This codicological, palaeographical and textual research focused on textbooks used for the teaching of grammar and poetry (and in particular Homer, Sophocles and Euripides). These textbooks are distinguished both by their format and content. The MSS examined are not *de luxe* codices.¹ They were copied on oriental (*bombycine*) and western paper. Their dimensions vary between 210-225x140-160mm, though one should bear in mind that most of them may have been trimmed to fit the dimensions of the codex when they were bound or re-bound. Not all of these textbooks are preserved in their original binding, but whenever this survives it is rather simple, bearing no distinctive title or other characteristic.

What distinguishes a Byzantine textbook is the appearance of the text and annotation on the page. In the vast majority of the textbooks we have examined, a wide, usually double space, was reserved between the lines of the main text in order to receive interlinear *glosses* and scholia, while a wide space was left on all four margins, especially on the outer margin, for additional scholia. The main text was copied in larger letterforms, with interlinear and marginal *glosses* and scholia usually appearing in smaller-sized script. In addition, different colours or shades of ink were employed for the main text and the *glosses*/scholia in order to facilitate further both the teacher and student. The main text was usually copied in black and/or brown ink, while different shades, usually of red, were used for the interlinear *glosses* and in some cases for the initial letters introducing marginal notes.

¹ An exception to this is the illuminated grammar codex *Jerus. Sancti Sepulchri* 52 described by I. Spatharakis, 'An Illuminated Greek Grammar Manuscript in Jerusalem. A Contribution to the Study of Comnenian Illuminated Ornament. With eight plates', *JÖB* 35 (1985), 231-44; See also P.L. Vokotopoulos, *Μικρογραφίες τῶν Βυζαντινῶν χειρογράφων τοῦ Πατριαρχείου Ἱεροσολύμων* (Athens – Jerusalem, 2002), pp. 186-87.

Usually there is no particular decoration, apart from major and minor initials, titles or reference marks which appear in different colour. Students' drawings added in the margins or blank pages add a further dimension, revealing vivid imagination, humour and creativity in moments of reflection, boredom and fatigue. Among students' notes the most important are those which reveal the duration of studying a certain text, as well as other aspects of school reality, including the amount of effort needed on their part to understand the text, being reprimanded or beaten by the teacher, or playing during lesson in the class. Pen trials, writing the alphabet or words and whole sentences imitating a more competent script, are also indicative of the usage of textbooks in the school.

The annotation of the textbook comprises *glosses*, that is, simpler equivalents for obscure words in the text, and more extensive scholia giving grammatical, geographical, historical, and mythological information. The extent and level of annotation of the text in each textbook is indicative of its use and audience. This is also the case concerning the style of the script and the use, extensive or otherwise, of abbreviations and ligatures, which may vary from that of the main text. In certain cases the annotation does not correspond to the main text it refers, but it is placed on subsequent folios for no apparent reason. In addition, in a considerable number of textbooks, the annotation covers only sections of the text.

The selection of poetic texts and *schedographies* in the Palaeologan textbooks we have examined largely follows the previous tradition as far as the material taught (both pagan and Christian authors) and the methods used (presentation and annotation of the text) are concerned. However, Palaeologan teachers, such as Planoudes, Moschopoulos, Magistros and Triklinios, introduced innovations mainly in the way they approached and taught these set-texts to their students. They collected and collated older codices with classical texts in a conscious effort to provide good editions and commentaries on classical authors, especially the tragedians, Pindar and Aristophanes in order to secure the survival of these works and their dissemination to later generations. Their editions aimed at ensuring that students learn how to properly use the correct Attic register, and though their commentaries are primarily concerned with language, orthography and grammar, nevertheless they do provide basic annotation with information on persons and toponyms.² After them, Byzantine teachers progressively used their commentaries, especially Moschopoulos's, in preference to the older ones, on a selective basis, adjusting their teaching both to the needs and level of their students, reflecting at the same time their own

² See Fryde, *Palaeologan Renaissance*, *passim*, esp. pp. 144-66, at 161.

interests, abilities and efficiency. The lack of subscriptions concerning the provenance of these textbooks, and the scarcity of evidence concerning schools, those involved in the production of these textbooks in this period and their subsequent use, makes it impossible so far to draw any conclusion regarding preferences towards certain authors in terms of geographical areas.

What is indisputable is that grammar was regarded not only the first step for learning but also the central point of teaching in the Byzantine school. This is evident from the vast number of extant manuscripts preserving grammars and grammatical treatises in the Palaeologan era. Dionysios Thrax's approach of grammar continued to dominate the philological study of the classical authors in this period, while teachers paid serious attention to metre in teaching poetic texts. The aim at this stage was to enable students to speak and write correctly and clearly, in an appropriate style. Correctness could be acquired through the proper learning of grammar and syntax (analysis of the text), in order to avoid mistakes of solecism or barbarism. Clarity could be achieved through the proper use of vocabulary acquired through the practice of *schedography* and the memorization of lists of words (e.g., lexica, and the *Παρεκβόλαια* of Longibardos and Arabites), followed or accompanied by the study of classical poets and later authors. Writing and speaking in style pre-supposed a more advanced learning of figures of speech. The student would then proceed to the next step, that is rhetoric, through rhetorical exercises (*progymnasmata*). Those students who succeeded in acquiring these skills would be able to continue their studies in a more advanced level. These students were destined to fill the administrative posts in the court, the civil service and the Church in the Empire.

An important part of the present study concerns the teaching of Greek to Western students and *vice-versa*, which casts further light on the dialogue taking place between the two cultures in this period. The textbooks containing Greek *schedographies* and poetic texts with Latin *glosses* and *scholia* examined, show that the same method was employed for teaching Greek to Latin-speaking students. Following the fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans in 1453 and the subsequent dissolution of the Byzantine Empire, the survival of classical scholarship was secured through the teaching of Greek by Byzantine scholars who found refuge in Western Europe, especially Italy, as well as areas under Venetian rule. The case of the scribe Michael Lygizos who was active in Crete in the second half of the fifteenth century, indicates that the Byzantine tradition both in terms of content and teaching methods continued. The evidence of the extant Post-Byzantine textbooks (μαθηματάρια) studied by A. Skarbeli-Nikolopoulou

points in the same direction, with certain adaptations. It should be noted that in the Byzantine textbooks we have examined in this study we have not come across the terms *ψυχαγωγία* and *μονολεκτική μέθοδος* employed by teachers in the post-Byzantine period for the analysis of the text in the interlinear space to denote the use of several *glosses* or a single *glossa*, respectively.³

This study is part of the exciting exploration of Byzantine textbooks and education. Other important areas await for further investigation. These include a critical edition of Moschopoulos's *schedography*, the most important teaching manual in Late Byzantium and the Post-Byzantine period, and the study of Palaeologan textbooks containing other classical poets and authors, including Aeschylus, Aristophanes, Pindar, Oppian, Hesiod, Theognis, Philostratos, Libanios, Demosthenes, Isocrates, Theokritos, Dionysios Periegetes, Nicander, Menander (*Γνωμαί*) and Lykophron. Future research has much to discover in this *terra*, which largely remains *incognita*.

³ See also M. Gidel, 'De l'interprétation des textes anciens dans les écoles de la Grèce moderne', *Annuaire de l'Association pour l'Encouragement des Études Grecques en France* 21 (1887), 198-206, on the derivation and use of the term *ψυχαγωγία*, initially employed to describe the religious procedure mixed with magic that someone follows in order that he draws the souls of the deceased who have descended to Hades, (e.g. Νέκυα in the *Odyssey*). In the plural, *ψυχαγωγίαι*, as stated by Du Cange in his dictionary, indicated the interlinear notes, usually synonyms added in the Greek manuscripts containing classical poetry (Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes) above the obscure and difficult words of the ancient text in order to provide an explanation. *Ψυχαγωγίαι* are different to the term *scholia*, which are added in the margins. In the course of time the singular form of the term (*ψυχαγωγία*) indicating the interlinear notes (either a single word or more depending on the teacher's method and approach to the ancient text) came into use replacing the plural form. See also A. Skarbeli-Nikolopoulou, *Μαθηματάρια τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν σχολείων κατὰ τὴν Τουρκοκρατίαν* (Athens, 1994), pp. 295-306; N. Tsoukanakes, *Ὁ μέγας διδάσκαλος τοῦ γένους Ἅγιος Μακάριος Ἱεροδιάκονος Καλογεράς (†1737)* (Thessalonike, 1994), pp. 250-55 and Koukoules, *Βίος*, pp. 116-17.

APPENDIX I

EDITIO PRINCEPS OF KONSTANTINOS ARABITES, ΠΑΡΕΚΒΟΛΑΙΟΝ

Konstantinos Arabites's *Παρεκβόλαιον ἢ μικρὰ ὠφέλεια* is transmitted in its entirety in two 15th-century codices, *Cremon.* 160, ff. 86^r-89^v (**C**) copied by Isidore of Kiev, and *Laur. Plut.* 55.7, ff. 346^r-354^r (alternative folio numbering: 353^r-361^r) (**L**) copied by an anonymous hand. Both MSS have been described in some detail above (pp. 59-60, 89-92). Two further manuscripts, *Vat. gr.* 2299 (43^{r-v}) (most probably from the 15th century) and *Plut.* 56.17 (ff. 124^v-127^v) of the 15th century preserve only a small section of the text. In particular, *Vat. gr.* 2299 contains only the first paragraph along with interlinear space and glosses added above the line, explaining the difficult words of the text. This MS also bears the title of the text: + παρεκβολὰς μάνθανε τοῦ ἀρραβίτου +++ . Below the first paragraph, there follows an analysis of the *schedos*, according to the schedographic tradition, which however breaks off at the end of f. 43^v. *Plut.* 56.17 contains the first paragraph of the text and part of the second paragraph. Neither a title nor interlinear space, nor glosses are provided though the text is supplemented by an analysis-commentary below it, very similar with the one in *Vat. gr.* 2299, though in some cases more elaborated. The small section of text transmitted in these two MSS does not indicate their relation.

For the *stemma codicum* only **L** and **C** preserving the entire text are examined. These two MSS share many textual similarities but also a number of differences, which show that though they are closely related they are however independent from each other.

1. Both Mss share common errors and *lacunae*, which point to a common *hyparchetype* (β) (correct forms are given first):

5.1: ἀπεμπόλασε: ἀπεπόλασε

7.8: Βοιωτῶν: εὐβοέων

7.12: Ἀσπληδὸνα ναῖον: ἀσπληδὸν ἔναιον

7.27: Κνωσσόν: κρωσσόν

7.27: ἀργινόεντα: ἀργυρόεντα

- 10.28: τὸν [ca. 3 litt.] (καὶ)
 12.6: ἐλαίῳ: ἐλέῳ
 17.6: ἀπελθὼν, [...] τῶν: *lacuna* ca. 8 litt.
 22.2-3: (ἐ)κεκύρτωτο: κεκύρτωτο
 23.20: ἐξήνθησαν: ἐξήνθησεν
 23.40: ἀπόκι(ν)ον: ἀπό[et spatium vacuum ca. 5 litt]ον
 23.42: ἐλαιοῦνται: ἐλαιῶνται
 24.52: πρίνης ἀρίας: πρύμνης ὀρείους
 26.5: post Ἑμεσηγοῖς spatium vacuum ca. 10 litt.
 27.20: ἡκολάσταινον: ἐκολάσταινον

2. In no less than 150 cases (excluding different or wrong accentuation and breathing) **C** and **L** do not share certain errors and word order. This shows that their transmission is independent:

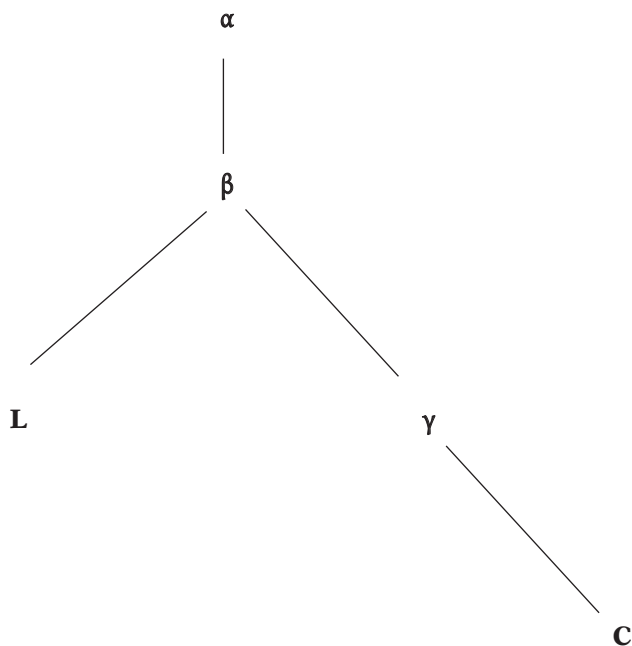
- 2.10: αὐτῶ: αὐτῶν C
 2.13: δοκοῦσα: δοκοῦσαν C
 7.9: Ἐτεωνὸν: ἔτεωδὸν C
 12.16: οἰοπόλω: οἰωπώλων C
 13.4: τὰς Ἄλπεις ἐκδραμόντας καὶ τὸ Τηϋγετον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰνδῶν ἀφίχθαι βασιλέα: τὰς Ἄλπεις ἐκδραμόντας, ἐπὶ τὸ Τηϋγετον, (καὶ) ἐπὶ τ(ῶν) Ἰνδῶν ἀφίχθαι βασιλέα C
 13.7: χειμῶνι χαλεπῶ καὶ κλύδωνι: χειμῶνι χαλεπῶ καὶ κλύδωνι χαλεπῶ C
 16.2: τὸ οὗς ἀφίστη: ἀφίστη τὸ οὗς C
 16.3: ἀνακωχῆς αἰσθέσθαι: ἀνακωχῆς ἔσεσθαι C
 17.3-4: καταδικάσας εἰρκτῇ καθεῖρξε καὶ κλεισὶ σιδηρεῖαις κατέκλεισε, κλοπὴν αὐτῶν τῶν τῷ δημοσίῳ ἀφιερωμένων καταδικάσας *desunt* (homoioteleuton) C
 17.9: καὶ οὐδαμῶς μεθήσειν ἔλεγεν: ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ οὐδαμῶς μεθήσειν C
 17.29: τῆς στενοτάτης: τῆς στενότητος C
 20.5: ἰσχυρότατον: ἰσχυρὸν C
 20.5: πανδημεὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ: τοῦ στρατηγοῦ πανδημεὶ C
 22.8 et 18: ἀγκύρας: ἀγγύρας C
 22.10: βόλους: βώλους C
 23.6: οὔτος: οὔτως C
 23.13: ἐξέκοψεν: ἔκοψεν C

- 24.2: δουλοσύνη: δουλωσύνης C
 26.19: γοῦν τὸ: γοῦν τοῦτο C
 26.47: ἤγουν τῇ ἴγδῃ: ἤγουν ἐν τῇ ἴγδῃ C
 27.18: τὸν Ἐνιπέα φασὶ ρείθροις: τὸν Ἐνιπέα ρείθροις φασὶ C
 27.23: καθ' ἡμέραν: καθημέραν C
 28.10: ἐποίουν: ἐποιοῦντο C
 28.12: ἡπείγετο: ὑπήγετο C
 30.9: ἐστιατορίῳ: ἐστιάτορι C

3. **L** has fewer errors than **C**. These are due to confusion of sounds (i.e. itacisms, affecting ι, ει, η, οι, υ; confusion of ε/αι and ο/ω, faulty accentuation and faulty breathings, omissions of mute *iota*, errors in splitting and joining words). For example:

- 2.9 et 21.6: γὰρ om. L
 7.6-7: Ἰδομενεὺς ἠδεῖτο: ἠδομενεὺς ἠδεῖτο L
 7.33: Φεΐδιππος: Φεΐδιπος L
 9.5: τὸν τῶν πάντων δημιουργόν: τῶν τὸν πάντων δημιουργόν L
 9.51: ὁ om. L
 10.28: καθηδυπαθεῖν: καθ' ἠδυπαθεῖν L
 18.8: Ξενοφώντεια ῥησεΐδια: Ξενοφώντεια καὶ ῥησεΐδια L
 23.7: δεδόμητο: δεδόμηντο L
 24.29: ἐπάλαισεν: ἐπάλεσεν L
 28.12: ἡπείγετο: ὑπείγετο L
 29.1: ἐτρέφετο: ἐτρέφοντο L

It is clear, therefore, that **L** contains a more complete, though not always more correct, text. The fact that the two MSS also contain different variant readings, omissions and additions, indicates that **C** and **L** represent independent traditions. **L** must have been linked with the lost original (**α**) through an intermediary transmission (**β**), while **C**, which preserves a text of lower quality in terms of errors, must have been linked with **α** via **β** through an additional transmission (**γ**), as represented by the *stemma codicum* below:



The present edition is based on both L and C. Paragraph division follows that in the MSS. Each *schedos* is introduced by a number in square brackets (e.g., [1]). Modern conventions in punctuation, accentuation and spelling have been adopted. Though the punctuation in the MSS, especially in C, was largely adopted, further intervention was necessary to clarify the text. Following the modern convention, acute accent has replaced the grave on oxytones followed by a punctuation sign. However, the verbs ἐστί and φασί, the indefinite pronouns τίς, τί, and the particle τέ have been treated as enclitics.¹ The mute *iota*, often omitted by the scribes, has been tacitly introduced in its subscript form. With a few exceptions, the spelling in unidentified words and erroneous forms of words has been retained as in the MSS, while in some cases possible alternatives have been recorded in the *apparatus criticus* (e.g., 4.3: γῆρεάν] *leg.* γῆραιάν? L). The medieval forms of μὴ δὲ and μὴ δ' in the MSS have been retained.

¹ On these conventions see J. Noret, 'Notes de ponctuation et d'accentuation byzantines', *Byz* 65 (1995), 69-88; idem, 'L'accentuation de τε en grec byzantin', *Byz* 68 (1998), 516-518.

Finally, the *apparatus* is divided into two sections:

- a. *apparatus fontium* with references to sources, parallel passages
- b. mixed *apparatus criticus*, where variant readings, emendations, corrections, additions, lacunae, erasures, deletions, and *glosses* appearing in the MSS have been recorded along with and unidentified types of words.

SIGLA ATQUE BREVIATA

- C** Codex *Cremonensis* 160 (XV s.), ff. 86^r-89^v (manus Isidori)
L Codex *Laurentianus Pluteus* 55.7 (XV s.), ff. 346^r-354^r (353^r-361^r)

add.	addidit	lin.	linea
al.	alii	litt.	littera, -ae
ante corr.	ante correctionem	post corr.	post correctionem
ca.	circa	ras.	rasura, -am
cf.	confer	rubr.	rubric
cnc.	cancellavit	sscr.	superscripsit, -tum
dittogr.	dittographia	subscr.	subscripsit, -tum
eras.	erasit	sup.	supra
illeg.	illegibilis	om.	omissit
in marg.	in margine	r	rectum (folium)
interpr.	interpretavit	v	versum (folium)

SIGNA TYPOGRAPHICA

- || lineolae directae in textu transcribendo finis codicis foliis simulque initium foliis insequentis significatus
- [] uncis quadratis in *appar.* lacunae includuntur
- < > uncis angulatis suppleta ab editore includuntur

ABBREVIATIONES²*Sacrae Scripturae, aliorum fontium et locorum parallelum*

- Aelian., *Nat.* Claudius Aelianus, *De natura animalium*, ed. R. Hercher, *Claudii Aeliani de natura animalium libri xvii, varia historia, epistolae, fragmenta*, vol. I (Leipzig, 1864), pp. 3-436.
- Ael. Her., *Dichr.* Aelius Herodianus (et Pseudo-Herodianus), *Περὶ διχρόνων*, ed. A. Lentz, *Grammatici graeci*, vol. 3.2. (Leipzig, 1870; repr. Hildesheim, 1965), pp. 7-20.
- Ael. Her., *Mon.* Aelius Herodianus (et Pseudo-Herodianus), *Περὶ μονήρους λέξεως*, ed. A. Lentz, *Grammatici graeci*, vol. 3.2 (Leipzig, 1870; repr. Hildesheim, 1965), pp. 908-952.
- Ael. Her., *Il. Pros.* Aelius Herodianus (et Pseudo-Herodianus), *Περὶ Ἰλιακῆς προσωδίας*, ed. A. Lentz, *Grammatici graeci*, vol. 3.2 (Leipzig, 1870; repr. Hildesheim, 1965), pp. 22-128.
- Ael. Her., *Locut.* Aelius Herodianus (et Pseudo-Herodianus), *De locutionum pravitatibus* (prior pars operis) (fort. auctore Corneliano) (e codd. Barocc. 76 + Laur. VI-22 + Mon. gr. 529 + Paris. suppl. gr. 66), ed. J.A. Cramer, *Anecdota Graeca e codd. manuscriptis bibliothecarum Oxoniensium*, vol. III (Oxford, 1836; repr. Amsterdam, 1963), pp. 246-62.
- Ael. Her., *Onom.* Aelius Herodianus (et Pseudo-Herodianus), *Περὶ κλίσεως ὀνομάτων*, ed. A. Lentz, *Grammatici graeci*, vol. 3.2 (Leipzig, 1870; repr. Hildesheim, 1965), pp. 634-777.
- Ael. Her., *Orth.* Aelius Herodianus (et Pseudo-Herodianus), *Περὶ ὀρθογραφίας*, ed. A. Lentz, *Grammatici graeci*, vol. 3.2 (Leipzig, 1870; repr. Hildesheim, 1965), pp. 407-611.
- Ael. Her., *Paron.* Aelius Herodianus (et Pseudo-Herodianus), *Περὶ παρωνύμων*, ed. A. Lentz, *Grammatici graeci*, vol. 3.2 (Leipzig, 1870; repr. Hildesheim, 1965), pp. 849-97.
- Ael. Her., *Part.* Aelius Herodianus (et Pseudo-Herodianus), *Partitiones*, ed. J.F. Boissonade, *Herodiani partitiones* (London, 1819; repr. Amsterdam, 1963), pp. 1-282.
- Ael. Her., *Path.* Aelius Herodianus (et Pseudo-Herodianus), *Περὶ παθῶν*, ed. A. Lentz, *Grammatici graeci*, vol. 3.2 (Leipzig, 1870; repr. Hildesheim, 1965), pp. 166-389.
- Ael. Her., *Pros.* Aelius Herodianus (et Pseudo-Herodianus), *De prosodia catholica*, ed. A. Lentz, *Grammatici graeci*, vol. 3.1 (Leipzig, 1867; repr. Hildesheim, 1965), pp. 3-547.

² We have retained the Latinized forms of Greek authors in references in the Abbreviations and in the *Apparatus Fontium*. In the *Apparatus Fontium* we refer to editions in the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae. A Digital Library*.

- Ael. Her., *Schem.* Aelius Herodianus (et Pseudo-Herodianus), *Schematismi Homerici*, ed. P. Egenolff, 'Zu Herodianos technikos', *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie* 149 (1894), 338-45.
- Aen., *Th.* Aeneas, *Theophrastus sive de animarum immortalitate et corporum resurrectione dialogus*, ed. M.E. Colonna, *Enea di Gaza. Teofrasto* (Naples, 1958), pp. 1-68.
- Aesch., *Sept.* Aeschylus, *Septem contra Thebas*, ed. D.L. Page, *Aeschyli Septem quae supersunt tragoedias* (Oxford, 1972), pp. 45-87.
- Anast. Sin., *Const.* Anastasius Sinaïta, *Sermo iii in constitutionem hominis secundum imaginem Dei (adversus Monotheletas)*, ed. K.-H. Uthemann, *Sermones duo in constitutionem hominis secundum imaginem Dei necnon opuscula adversus Monotheletas* (Turnhout, 1985), pp. 55-83.
- Apoll. Dysc., *Adv.* Apollonius Dyscolus, *De adverbis*, ed. R. Schneider, *Grammatici graeci*, vol. 2.1 (Leipzig, 1878; repr. Hildesheim, 1965), pp. 119-210.
- Apoll. Rhod., *Arg.* Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica*, ed. H. Fraenkel, *Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica* (Oxford, 1961; repr. 1970 [1st edn. corr.]), pp. 1-242.
- Arist., *Eccl.* Aristophanes, *Ecclesiazusae*, ed. N.G. Wilson, *Aristophanis Fabulae*, vol. II (Oxford, 2007), pp. 211-265.
- Athan., *Gent.* Athanasius Alexandrinus, *Contra gentes*, ed. R.W. Thomson, *Athanasius. Contra gentes and de incarnatione* (Oxford, 1971), pp. 2-132.
- Bas. Caes., *Hex.* Basilus Caesariensis, *Homiliae in hexaemeron*, ed. S. Giet, *Basile de Césarée. Homélie sur l'hexaéméron* (Paris, 1968²), pp. 86-522.
- Bas. Caes., *Ps.* Basilus Caesariensis, *Homiliae super Psalmos*, PG 29, cols. 209-494.
- Callistr., *Stat.* Callistratus, *Statuarum descriptiones*, eds. A. Reisch and K. Schenkl, *Philostrati minoris imagines et Callistrati descriptiones* (Leipzig, 1902), pp. 45-72.
- Cat. *Catena in epistulam ad Hebraeos* (e cod. Paris. Coislin. 204), ed. J.A. Cramer, *Catenae Graecorum patrum in Novum Testamentum*, vol. 7 (Oxford, 1843; repr. Hildesheim, 1967), pp. 112-278.
- Cedr. Georgius Cedrenus, *Compendium historiarum*, ed. I. Bekker, *Georgius Cedrenus Ioannis Scylitzae ope*, vol. I (Bonn, 1838), pp. 3-802.
- Clem. Alex., *Str.* Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata*, eds. L. Früchtel, O. Stählin, and U. Treu, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, vols. II-III, *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller* 52 (15), 17 (Berlin, 1960, 1970).
- Cor. Epistulae Pauli ad Corinthios I-II.
- Crates *Crates, Fragmenta*, ed. T. Kock, *Comicorum Atticorum fragmenta*, vol. I (Leipzig, 1880), pp. 130-44.

- Dion. Perieg., *Orb. Descr.* Dionysius Periegetes, *Orbis descriptio*, ed. K. Brodersen, *Dionysios von Alexandria. Das Lied von der Welt* (Hildesheim, 1994), pp. 42-116.
- Etym. Gud. *Etymologicum Gudianum*, ed. E.L. de Stefani, fasc. I-II (Leipzig 1909, 1920; repr. Amsterdam, 1965).
- Etym. Magn. *Etymologicum magnum*, ed. T. Gaisford (Oxford, 1848; repr. Amsterdam, 1967).
- Etym. Sym. *Etymologicum Symeonis*, eds. F. Lasserre and N. Livadaras, *Etymologicum magnum genuinum. Symeonis etymologicum una cum magna grammatica. Etymologicum magnum auctum*, vol. II (Athens, 1992).
- Eust., *Il.* Eustathius Thessalonicensis, *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem*, ed. M. van der Valk, *Eustathii archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes*, vols. I-IV (Leiden, 1971-87).
- Eust., *Od.* Eustathius Thessalonicensis, *Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam*, ed. G. Stallbaum, *Eustathii archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam*, vols. I-II (Leipzig, 1825-6; repr. Hildesheim, 1970).
- Eustr. Eustratius, *In Aristotelis ethica Nicomachea vi commentaria*, ed. G. Heylbut, *Eustratii et Michaelis et anonyma in ethica Nicomachea commentaria*, (Berlin, 1892), pp. 256-406
- Gal., *De loc.* Galenus, *De locis affectis libri vi*, ed. C.G. Kühn, *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*, vol. VIII (Leipzig, 1824; repr. Hildesheim, 1965), pp. 1-452.
- Gal., *De usu* Galenus, *De usu partium*, ed. G. Helmreich, *Galeni de usu partium libri xvii*, vols. II (Leipzig, 1907-1909; repr. Amsterdam, 1968).
- Georg. Choer., *Acc.* Georgius Choeroboscus, *De accentibus*, ed. W.J.W. Koster, 'De accentibus excerpta ex Choerobosco, Aetherio, Philopono, aliis', *Mnemosyne* 59 (1931), 151-64.
- Georg. Choer., *Nomin.* Georgius Choeroboscus, *Prolegomena et scholia in Theodosii Alexandrini canones isagogicos de flexione nominum*, ed. A. Hilgard, *Grammatici Graeci*, vol. 4.1. (Leipzig, 1894; repr. Hildesheim, 1965), pp. 103-417.
- Georg. Choer., *Orth.* Georgius Choeroboscus, *De orthographia*, ed. J.A. Cramer, *Anecdota graeca e codd. manuscriptis bibliothecarum Oxoniensium*, vol. II (Oxford, 1835; repr. Amsterdam, 1963), pp. 167-281.
- Georg. Choer., *Verb.* Georgius Choeroboscus, *Prolegomena et scholia in Theodosii Alexandrini canones isagogicos de flexione verborum*, ed. A. Hilgard, *Grammatici graeci*, vol. 4.2. (Leipzig, 1894; repr. Hildesheim, 1965), pp. 1-371
- Georg. Pis. Georgius Pisides, *De expeditione Persica*, ed. A. Pertusi, *Giorgio di Pisidia. Poemi. I. Panegirici epici* (Ettal, 1959), pp. 84-136.

- Georg. Schol.,
Gram. Georgius Scholarius, *Grammatica*, eds. M. Jugie, L. Petit, and X.A. Siderides, *Oeuvres complètes de Georges (Gennadios) Scholarios*, vol. VIII (Paris, 1936), pp. 351-498.
- Greg. Naz., Acc. Gregorius Nazianzenus, *Ad eos qui ipsum acciverant nec occurrerant*, PG 35, cols. 517-525.
- Greg. Naz., Ath. Gregorius Nazianzenus, *In laudem Athanasii*, PG 35, cols. 1081-1128.
- Greg. Naz., Con.
Jul. Gregorius Nazianzenus, *Contra Julianum imperatorem 1*, PG 35, cols. 532-664.
- Greg. Naz., Dogm. Gregorius Nazianzenus, *De dogmate et constitutione episcoporum*, PG 35, cols. 1065-1080.
- Greg. Naz., Fun. Gregorius Nazianzenus, *Funebris oratio in laudem Basilii Magni Caesareae in Cappadocia episcopi*, ed. F. Boulenger, *Grégoire de Nazianze. Discours funèbres en l'honneur de son frère Césaire et de Basile de Césarée* (Paris, 1908), pp. 58-230.
- Greg. Naz., Jul. Gregorius Nazianzenus, *Ad Julianum tributorum exaequatorem*, PG 35, cols. 1044-1064.
- Greg. Naz., Lum. Gregorius Nazianzenus, *In sancta lumina*, PG 36, cols. 336-360.
- Greg. Naz., Moder. Gregorius Nazianzenus, *De moderatione in disputando*, PG 36, cols. 173-212.
- Greg. Naz., Patr. Gregorius Nazianzenus, *In patrem tacentem*, PG 35, cols. 933-964.
- Greg. Naz., Paup. Gregorius Nazianzenus, *De pauperum amore*, PG 35, cols. 857-909.
- Greg. Naz., Theol. Gregorius Nazianzenus, *De theologia*, ed. J. Barbel, *Gregor von Nazianz. Die fünf theologischen Reden* (Düsseldorf, 1963), pp. 62-126.
- Greg. Nys., Inst. Gregorius Nyssenens, *De instituto Christiano*, ed. W. Jaeger, *Gregorii Nysseni opera*, vol. 8.1 (Leiden, 1963), pp. 40-89.
- Greg. Nys., Greg. Gregorius Nyssenens, *De vita Gregorii Thaumaturgi*, PG 46, cols. 893-957.
- Ps.-Greg. Nys.,
Creat. Gregorius Nyssenens, *De creatione hominis sermo primus* (recensio C), ed. H. Hörner, *Gregorii Nysseni opera*, suppl. (Leiden, 1972), pp. 2a-39a, 40.
- Harp. Harpocraton, *Lexicon in decem oratores Atticos*, ed. W. Dindorf, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1853; repr. Groningen, 1969), pp. 1-310.
- Hel., Aeth. Heliodorus, *Aethiopica*, eds. T.W. Lumb, J. Maillon, and R.M. Rattenbury, *Héliodore. Les Éthiopiennes* (Théagène et Chariclée), vols. I-III (Paris, 1960²).
- Hes., Op. Hesiodus, *Opera et dies*, ed. F. Solmsen, *Hesiodi opera* (Oxford, 1970), 49-85.
- Hes., Th. Hesiodus, *Theogonia*, ed. M.L. West, *Hesiod. Theogony* (Oxford, 1966), 111-149.

- Hesych., *Lex.* Hesychius, *Lexicon*, ed. K. Latte, *Hesychii Alexandrini lexicon*, vols. I-II (Copenhagen, 1953, 1966).
- Hom., *Il.* Homerus, *Ilias*, ed. T.W. Allen, *Homeri Ilias*, vols. 2-3 (Oxford, 1931).
- Hom., *Od.* Homerus, *Odyssea*, ed. P. von der Mühl, *Homeri Odyssea* (Basel, 1962).
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Παρεκβόλαιον τοῦ Ἀραβίτου κυροῦ Κωνσταντίνου ἡ μικρὰ ὠφέλεια

[1] Πάλαι μοι διὰ λόγων ἦν, τὸ πλήθει νέων φίλων λόγον χρηστὸν πόνων, καρπὸν οἰκείων καταλιπεῖν· ἀλλ' ἐπέιπερ, ἤχων μὲν ὅλον τῶν ἐξ ἀγορᾶς εἶχον τὸν λογισμόν, κενὸν δὲ λόγων ἀγαθῶν καὶ νοημάτων χῆρον ἐπαινετῶν, αἴτη τε τὸ τὸν αὐτὸν εἶτ' οὖν ἵτη τρόπον, ἄρτι πρὸς τῶν ἐν τρυφῇ ἦτουν· ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ θήσση ὡς θής, τραπέζη 5 προσεῖχον· καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐνδεῶς ἔχειν συνῆν, βραδεῖ τῷ τοῦ λόγου ποδί, πρὸς τὸ κατὰ σκοπὸν ἐχώρουν· εἴτα κινήσας ἐν νῷ, ὡς τὸ καλῶν οὐ καλὸν ἀμελεῖν, καὶ ὅτι ἔργων πονηρὸν ἀναβολὴ ἀγαθῶν, τῷ ἐπιπλέον ἔτι ὑπερτίθεσθαι, χαίρειν φράσας, ὦν ἴμερον εἶχον, ἡψάμην· ὡς ἂν δὲ καὶ ἄλλον, ἐφ' ὃ δεῖ, παραθήξω, καὶ τὸν πέλας ἐφ' ᾧ κάμοι αἰρετὸν ἀλείψω· ὥδι τῶν λόγων ἄρξομαι. 10

[2] Γραφεῖ μὲν τὰ πρὸς τὸ γράφειν προσήκεν, ὥσπερ χαλκεῖ πυράγρα καὶ σὺν ἄκμονι ραιστήρ· ὧδε ὀρθογραφία φίλον τὸ βιβλίων οὐκ ὀλίγων ἐν περιλήψει γενέσθαι· πρὸς δὲ καὶ ταδὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἐρεῖν· ἐὰν βούλῃ, ὦ τᾶν, οὐ ἴμερον ἔχεις τυχεῖν, ἴδει 5 ἐνασμένισον τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, ὕπνον ὥσον περιττόν· || οὐ γὰρ δεῖ τὸν αὐτὸν Ἐπιμενίδῃ τρόπον ὕπνου· εἰ γὰρ μὴ νῆψιν αἰρήσῃ, εἰ μὴ ἰδίσεις, οὐδὲ, ἂ αἰρήσῃ εἰδήσεις· ᾧ τί οὖν 5 καρπώσῃ καλόν, ἐκείνῳ συνεῖναι θέλε· καὶ ἴσθι, ὡς ἔπεται τῷ πονῆσαι, τὸ πόνων εὐρέσθαι ἀνακωχήν· καὶ ὅτι τούτῳ, οὐκ ἄλλῳ παντὶ τὸ κατ' ἔφεσιν ἀνύεται, σὺν θεῷ· ἐξ οὗ καὶ ἀρχόμεθα, ὅτ' ἂν τῶν ἡμῖν ἱμερτῶν ἐπιχειρεῖν αἰρώμεθα· ὅδε γὰρ ὡσεὶ δέρριν ἐξέτεινε τὸν οὐρανόν, ὃς ἐπὶ τέλει, ὡσεὶ περιβόλαιον εἰλιγῆσεται· ἤδρασε γὰρ γῆν ἐφ' ὕδατων, εἰ καὶ ὁ λόγος ἡμῶν οὐκ ἔχει, ἐφ' ὃ ἐρεισθῇ· ὕδωρ ἔδρασε νέφει· ἐρείσεις αὐτῷ 10 ἐν γνώσει· καὶ ἀποκλίσεις αὐτῶν ἀειφανῶν ἀστέρων· μειώσῃ τῇ αὐτοῦ βουλῇ καὶ αὕξη μῆνη δουλεύει· ἰχθὺς πελάγη ἀμείβει· ὅρον θάλασσα τὸν αὐτῇ ὠρισμένον, οὐκ ἐκβαίνει· μόνων γὰρ τῶν αἰγιαλῶν ἀψαμένη, τὴν ὀπίσω χωρεῖ εὐθέως, θισὶ δοκοῦσα εἵκειν· καὶ οἰκείων λόγον ὀρίων τίθεσθαι· κατ' αὐτὴν καὶ σύ, ἐφ' ὧν ἐτάχθης, μένε ὄρων· τὸ ἀποθεῖναι ὧν ἐπιβαίνειν οὐ κεκώλυσαι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποκέκλεισαι θέλε· 15 τοῦτο δὲ δρῶν ἔσῃ, εἰ δειδιώς ἦς, μὴ ᾧ οὐ χαίρήσεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ κλαίῃσεις, ληφθῆς·

[2] 1. χαλκεῖ πυράγρα] cf. Gal., *De usu*, 3.5.17-18: πυράγρα τὸν χαλκέα || 1-2. σὺν ἄκμονι ραιστήρ] Apoll. Rhod., *Arg.*, 3.1254, ραιστήρ ἄκμονος || 8-9. ὡσεὶ – οὐρανόν] Ps. 103.2.2: ἐκτείνων τὸν οὐρανόν ὡσεὶ δέρριν || 9. ὡσεὶ εἰλιγῆσεται] Is. 34.4.1-2: καὶ ἐλιγῆσεται ὁ οὐρανὸς ὡς βιβλίον; Jo. Dam., *Sacr.*, PG 95, 1177.17: εἰλιγῆσεται ὁ οὐρανὸς ὡς βιβλίον; idem, *Vita*, 380.20-21: καὶ εὐθὺς ὁ οὐρανὸς μὲν εἰλιγῆσεται ὡς βιβλίον || 10. ὁ λόγος – ἐρεισθῇ] Greg. Naz., *Theol.*, 26.25-26: οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ λόγος ἔχει, ἐφ' ὃ ἐρεισθῇ || ὕδωρ ἔδρασε νέφει] Greg. Naz., *Moder.*, PG 36, 181.47: ὕδωρ ἔδρασε ἐν νεφέλαις || 12. πελάγη ἀμείβει] Greg. Nys., *Creat.*, 17a13-14: καὶ πελάγη πελαγῶν ἀμείβει || 14-15. μένε ὄρων] Jo. Chrys., *Gen.*, PG 54, 509.52: ἔσω, φησί, τῶν οἰκείων ὄρων μένε; idem, *Vid.*, 4.4.56-57: ἀλλὰ μένε ἔσω τῶν οἰκείων ὄρων

[1] Titulus in rubr. L: illeg. C || 2. Π in rubr. L: deest C || διὰ λόγων] add. διαφροντίδος sup. lin. in rubr. L || 2 et 3. τὸ] πλήθει] φίλων] καρπὸν] καταλιπ(εῖν)] per sscr. α', δ', ε', γ', β' in rubr. L || 3. ὅλον τὸν L: ὅλων τῶν C || 4. χῆρον] add. ἔρημ(ον) sup. lin. in rubr. L || χῆρον η post corr. L || τε om. L || τὸ om. C || 5. θεῖς LC || 6. τὸ LC || 7. κατασκόπει LC || 10. ὡς LC

[2] 1. Γ in rubr. L: deest C || συνάκμονι LC || 2. ὧδε L: ᾧ δὲ C || 3. δν C || τὰ δι' C || τὰν L || ὦν ἴμερον C || 4. ἐπιμενίδι C || 5. ὦτι L: ᾧ τί C || 6. ἔπεται LC || 8. ὃ τὰν τῷ C || 9. δς C || γὰρ om. L || 10. αὐτῶν post corr. (ex αὐτῷ et sscr. ν) C || 13. δοκοῦσαν C || 14. λόγων LC || 15. κεκώλυσαι L

- τῶν βίων, τὸν σκληρὸν πρόκρινε τῶν ἀνειμένων· καὶ τῶν τῆς τρυφῆς, τὸν τῆς ἐγκρατείας ἀποσκευάζου περισσόν· κατὰ νώτων τίθεσο ἅπαν κενόν· ἀμιλλῶ ᾧ δέον, τὸν ἐναντίων ἀθέτει παρεκτικόν· ἄμυνε ᾧ μὴ ἐνόν, τὸν λυπῶν ἀμύνασθαι αὐτῷ
- 20 χορηγόν· ἄρκοῦ, ᾧ ἔχεις· τῷ ἐν χρεῖα τοῦ ἀκουσθῆναι, ὡτίον κλίνει ἀνεωγός· χρυσίου πλήθει κομῶν ἔργων ἀγαθῶν, τὸ μηδὲν ἡγοῦ· λόγον οὐ καλῶν, ἀπωθοῦ γεννητικόν· οἷ, φιμῶν τὸν θυμὸν ὥσπερ βίαις, ἵππον τοῖς λογισμοῖς ἄγχοντες, δι' αἰνῶν σοι ἤτωσαν· τὸν γηραιῶν ἐν αἴσῃ κατειλεγμένον, παρὰ τὸν χρόνον αἰδοῦ· δακρύων, ὅτε ἐφ' ὃ οὐ δεῖ ρέοντα ὀράς τὸν ἀδελφόν, τὸ ὄμμα ἔχε ὅλον· πλήθει ἀμείβου τὸν ἐχθρὸν
- 25 δῶρων· ἄσκει τὸ περὶ ὃ δέον πονεῖν· κατὰ φυτὸν ἄνθει· βρύον ἀγαθῶν εὐθηνοῦ· φορᾷ τίθεσο παρὰ φαῦλον χρυσόν· εἰς γὰρ κακῶν τὸν αὐτῷ φίλον φέρει βάθος· καὶ κακῶν αὐτὸν ἅπας εὖ φρονῶν κεφάλαιον ἡγεῖται· ᾧ καὶ ἃ ῥεῖ τε, καὶ εἰς οὐδὲν χωρεῖ· καὶ εἰ καινὰ δοκεῖ, τὸ μηδὲν νενόμισται· ἡγῇ τε αὐτῷ ἐφέσει τῶν ἄνω, ἐν μίσει· ἴσων τῷ ἐγγὺς ἀπολαύων· ἀγάπα μὴ τοῦ πλείονος ἵμερον νοσεῖν· πολλοὶ γὰρ τοῦτω ἐλεεινῶς,
- 30 τῶν πάλαι, τὸν βίον κατέστρεψαν.

[3] ὦρος ἐπὶ τούτῳ σταυρόν, κατ' αἰπεινῶν ὑπέστη χωρίων, τὸν ἴσον Προμηθεὶ τρόπον· τὸ τοῦ Ἀρίωνος δὲ τοῦ ἐκ Μηθύμνης, τίς ἀγνοεῖ; καὶ ὅδε γὰρ παρὰ βραχὺ βρωτὸς ἂν ὑπῆρξε νηκτῶν, ὅτε αὐτὸν αἱ ναυτίλων χεῖρες, δι' ἵμερον ὦν ἐπήκτο, ἐκκυλῖσαι τοῦ ἐτέρου βιότου ἐβουλήθησαν· τούτου δὲ μαρτύριον, τὸ κοιράνειον·

5 καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ Ταίναρον. Τὸν Ζωπύρου Ζήτην τούτῳ εὐρήσεις τὸ ζῆν ἐκμετρήσαντα· ἐπὶ τούτῳ Ἥλωνα τὸν ἐξ Εἰλαείρας ὠρμημένον, κατὰ ποταμίων δινῶν αἱ Νέσσου χεῖρες ἠκόντισαν· τούτῳ, Δαίτις Βηρίσιμον ἀνεῖλε· Ἐροῖλιος ἐπὶ τούτῳ, Εὐήχορον διεχειρίσατο· Εὐήνος τούτῳ καὶ Τέκινος, νεκρῶν ἐπληρώθησαν· καὶ Δρήσος, ἔργον ἂν ὑπῆρξε λυμῶν ἄν, Εἶρ μὴ αὐτὸν εἴσω τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἐδέξατο δινῶν, σῶς τετηρηκώς.

[4] Ὁ τῆς Εὐπωλίας Εὐαθίας τούτῳ ἀπωλώλει· τὰ Σωπίθου τούτῳ ἦλῶ βασιλεία· αἱ Γλίχωνος χεῖρες, ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῶν φίλων ἐξεύχθησαν μελῶν· Εὐλίνος τοῦτο φησὶν ὁ Κλειτορίας· ἵμερον ὀθνεῖν ἀκούω Ἑλίαν ἐλεῖν, γηραιὰν Ἥλιν· ἔση τούτῳ δῖνον ἐπιστρατεῦσαι λόγος· Βαίτις ὠδίνι πάλαι ἀνελών, ἔργον ἐπὶ τούτῳ γέγονεν οἰστῶν

5 Εἰρέσιον ὅδε ἥρηκεν· ἐδήλωσε Γέργιθον· τήνον ἔργον ἔθηκε πυρός· Κλειτόμαχος ὁ Κα-

24-25. πλήθει – δῶρων] Sir., 7:9.1: τῷ πλήθει τῶν δῶρων μου ἐπόψεται

[4] 5. ἔργον πυρός] Athan., *Gent.*, 16.21: τὸ τοῦ πυρός ἔργον

18. νώτων post corr. (e νώτω et subscr. v) C || ἀμιλλῶ L || ᾧ δέον C || 19. ἐναντίον L || ᾧ μὴ C ||

20. ἀκουσθῆναι post corr. (e κουσθῆναι et sscr. ἀ) C || κλίνει LC || χρυσίον L || 21. μὴ δὲν L || γεννητικόν C || 22. φιμῶν τὸν θυμὸν ὥσπερ βίαις ἵππον τοῖς λογισμοῖς δι' αἰνῶν per sscr. ζ', β', δ', στ', ε', γ', α' in rubr. L || 26. παραφαῦλον L || 28. τὲ LC || ἡγῇ τε αὐτῷ L || 29. τοῦτο LC

[3] 1. ὦ in rubr. L: deest C || χωρίον LC || ἴσον L || 2. παραβραχὺ C || 4. ἐκκυλῖσαι LC || 6. ἥλωνα L || Ἥλωνα verbum non inveni || ἐξεἰλαείρας L || Εἰλαείρας] verbum non inveni || αἰνέσου L: αἰνέσου C || 7. δαίτις LC || Ἐροῖλιος] verbum non inveni || Εὐήχορον] verbum non inveni || 8. διεχειρίσατο C || τέκηνος LC || δρῶσος C || 9. εἶρ LC || σῶν LC, leg. σῶς?

[4] 1. Ὁ in rubr. L: deest C || Εὐαθίας] verbum non inveni || τούτῳ² add. sup. lin. C || 2. γλίχωνες LC || γλίχωνες] leg. γλίχωνος? || Εὐλίνο] verbum non inveni || 3. κλειτορίας LC || Ἑλίαν] verbum non inveni || γηρεᾶν L: ἡρεᾶν C || γηρεᾶν] leg. γηραιᾶν? || 4. βαίτις LC || ὠδίνι LC || οἰστῶν LC || 5. εἰρέσιον C || ἥρηκεν LC || γέργιθον LC

νήθου, τούτῳ ἀπώλετο· Δάφνης ὁ ἐκ Θοκίας, τούτου ἔνεκα, τῷ χρεῶν ἐλειτούργησεν· οὗτος Δελφίνιον κατήρειψεν· ἠρίπωσεν Αἴγειρον· Κυναίγειρον ἔκτανε· τὰ Βαιτικῆς μετρήσαι ὄρια· Βώλας τούτῳ δηΐδος ὑπῆρξεν ἔργον· Γοίδιος τούτῳ, τὸ ἥλιον ἀφηρέθη ὀρᾶν· καὶ Γοαισὸς ὁ Ἑμεχωνίτης, καὶ ὁ Φαινίου Βοιωρίξ, Κομίνιος ὁ Δημάχου, ᾧ
 L 354^r Μέγης || τῷ σεμνῶς βιοῦν διὰ τιμῆς, τούτῳ ἀπέλιπε τὸ ζῆν· Κεμοίρου ἐπὶ τούτῳ, 10
 αἰνὸς κατεκρίθη μόρος.

[5] Ὅσων δὲ τὸ φθονεῖν κακῶν αἴτιον τῷ βιότῳ, τοῦτο τὸ φένειν ἀπεμπόλασε· τοῦτο φοινικῶν ὄλον κατέστησε τὸν κόσμον ἀνδρῶν· τούτῳ καινὴς σμῆχεται· πῆληξ ἐτοιμάζεται· πηλίκων ἦδε ἔργον τούτῳ ξίφος εὐκωπον θήγεται· αἰγανέα εὐτρεπίζεται· καὶ κνημὶς καὶ μίτρα· θυρεῶν ἐπὶ τούτῳ γίνεται λόγος· ὕσος τούτῳ ὥρας ἀξιοῦται καὶ γωρυτός· καὶ λαισιῶν πτερόεν· καὶ μειλινὸν δόρυ· καὶ χαλκείῃ αἰχμῇ· καὶ γέρρον 5
 οἰσύνον· καὶ γύλιος καὶ κυνὴ, ῥυομένη κάρη θαλερῶν αἰζηῶν· τοῦτο τὴν Εὐρωπαϊῶν καὶ Εὐρωμέων καὶ Θρονιέων εἰργάσατο κατάλυσιν· Ὠκάρης τούτῳ τῆς φίλης ἀπερράγη βιοτῆς· τούτῳ Δαμαίων ὅπλων κατ' Ἑρισέων ἤψατο· τὰ Γελωνῶν τούτῳ, ἐξεῖληφει χωρία· τούτῳ, Κοῖνον ἀκούω δεῖπνον γενόμενον κυνῶν, τῆς ἡδείας τοῦ ἡλίου ἀκτίνος στερηθῆναι· τούτῳ ἀμειδῆ Τήνερος ἐπῆδε κωκυτόν· τούτῳ δηῶσει Σούνιον 10
 περιέπεσε· τούτῳ ἡρείφθη Στῶνος· τούτῳ Σῆθος, τέκνων διέστη λεώς, Στῶλον εἶλεν ὁ Τήλυος· τὸ θανεῖν Κρωβύλῳ, τοῦτο ἐπήνεγκε· Μαιδύαν καὶ Πλώτιον καὶ Ῥητίαν, τὸν Ῥεῖτων ἀγόν· τοῦτο κατέστησε τὸ μηδέν· ὁ Πεδίου Μικίων, τούτῳ ἐξεμέτρησε τὸ ζῆν· τούτῳ Ἴλιος ὁ Μίλωνος, καὶ Χίλωνος εἴλωσ ὑπῆρξε· Μίσις τούτῳ ἀλούς, ἐξετρίβη τοῦ βίου· Σῶσις καὶ Σῶτις καὶ Σῶσος καὶ Σωτάδης, τούτῳ ὧν εἶχον ἐξῶστο· 15
 Νωβελίων ὁ Πρηξάσπου ὁ Ταιναρίτης, δηϊότητος αἰνῆς γέγονεν ἔργον.

[6] Καὶ τὸν ὅρον δὲ μετακινεῖν, οὐ καλόν· τούτῳ γὰρ Ἀκταίων, τὸν Ἰασέων ἐδήλωσε χῶρον, τὴν Ἀμφισσαίων ἠφάνισεν, ἤρηκε τὴν Αἰγεταίων, τὴν Ἑρμιονέων ἐληΐσατο· τούτῳ, ἐρίγων τὸν δεξιὸν ἐξεκόπη τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν οὗτος, Χορίκιον τὸν πάλαι· οὐχ

11. αἰνὸς μόρος] Hom., *Il.*, 18.465: ὅτε μιν μόρος αἰνὸς ἰκάνει

[5] 3. αἰγανέα εὐτρεπίζεται] cf. Theod. Daph., *Ep.*, 37.53-54: ἀκόντιον εὐτρεπίζεται || 5. μειλινὸν δόρυ] Hom., *Il.*, 5.666, 5.694, 16.114 et 814, 21.178: δόρυ μειλινὸν || χαλκείῃ αἰχμῇ] Hom., *Il.*, 4.461, 4.503, 5.282, 6.11, et al.: αἰχμῇ χαλκείῃ || 5-6. γέρρον οἰσύνον] *Etym. Gud.*, 306.23: γέρρον: δορικὸν σκέπασμα, ὕσος, καὶ γέρρον οἰσύνον || 6. κάρη θαλερῶν αἰζηῶν] Hom., *Il.*, 10.259: ῥύεται δὲ κάρη θαλερῶν αἰζηῶν || 11. τέκνων διέστη λεώς] cf. Jos., *Antiq.*, 12,229.1: τῶν Ἰωσήπου τέκνων, διέστη τὸ πλήθος || 16. δηϊότητος αἰνῆς] Hom., *Il.*, 5.409, 7.119 et 174: αἰνῆς δηϊότητος; Hes., *Th.*, 852: αἰνῆς δηιοτήτος

[6] 3. τὸν – ὀφθαλμῶν] cf. Harp. 200.13: ἐξεκόπη τὸν δεξιὸν ὀφθαλμόν

6. Θοκίας] verbum non inveni || 7. αἴγειρον LC || 8. βώλας LC || Γοίδιος] verbum non inveni || 9. φενίου LC || βοιωρίξ LC || Δημάχου] verbum non inveni || 10. διατιμῆς L || Κεμοίρου] verbum non inveni

[5] 1. Ὅ in rubr. L: deest C || δὲ L: δὴ C || τοῦτῳ¹ L || ἀπεπόλασε LC || 3. πηλίκων L || τοῦτο LC || 4. ἐπὶ τούτῳ L || 6. εὐρωπαϊάν LC || 7. εὐρωμίων LC || Ὠκάρης] verbum non inveni || 8. κατερισσέων LC || 8-9. ἐξεῖληφ LC || 10. ἀμειδῆ C || τήνερος] *leg.* Τήνερος? || 11. Στῶνος] verbum non inveni || σῆτος LC || εἶλεν LC || 12. Μαιδύαν] verbum non inveni || 13. τῶν L || μικκίων LC || 14. τοῦτῳ¹ L || εἴλωσ C || ἀλούς L || 15. Σῶτις] verbum non inveni || 16. νωβελίων C || δηϊότητος LC

[6] 1. K deest C || τὸ LC || ἀκτέων LC || 2. ἀμφισέων LC || Αἰγεταίων] verbum non inveni || ἑρμιοναίων C

- ῶ λόγος ἔργων, Βεΐων ἐνῆκε χερσίν, Ὠγυριν ἐνέπρησεν, Ὀροσὸς τούτῳ κατεσκά-
 5 φη, καὶ Σῶσος· Ῥωσὸς ἐάλω· Ἀρίμινον τούτῳ Αἰκουλανοὶ ἠρήμωσαν· τὴν Βαιτού-
 λων Αἰθικας τούτῳ λόγος καταδραμεῖν· βλώσις τούτῳ καὶ Βλόσσιος, καὶ Γλώσιος
 καὶ Κνώσιος οὐδ' Αἰθίγων φειδῶ ἔθεντο· ὁ ἐκ Φολόης, τοὺς ἐν Ὀγχηστῷ, τούτῳ
 ἠνδραποδίσθαι φασίν· Ἰταίων, τούτῳ Ἰφίτος οὐκ ὀλίγον διέφθειρε· τούτῳ, πολὺ
 τῶν Κρανωνίων, ὑπὸ Ἡδωνῶν ἀπώλετο· τοῦτο Ἀραιθυρέαν εἴκειν Τητωαίων,
 10 ἠνάγκασεν· ἐὼ τὴν Ἰθωμητῶν κατάλυσιν, καὶ τὴν Παννονίων καταστροφὴν· τὴν τε
 Σειραίων ἀπώλειαν· καὶ τὸν Σητανῶν καὶ τὸν Πείρων ἀφανισμόν· τὸν τε Σελεγέων
 καὶ Τρικκαίων καὶ Ἑρβιταίων καὶ Σηρῶν ὄλεθρον· τὸν Παίτου μόρον· τὸν Σολέ-
 ων καὶ Πεδιέων καὶ Σκιωναίων καὶ Ἰτωναίων καὶ Γαδειραίων καὶ Βουλιμέων καὶ
 15 Ἑτεωνέων καὶ Μινναίων ἀνδραποδισμόν· τὴν Μαιναλίων καὶ Νωρικῶν καὶ Θυραί-
 ων ἀπαγωγὴν· καὶ τὴν Σωνατίου τῆς ἀρχῆς, ὑπὸ Μειδύλου παράλυσιν, ἐφ' οὗ τὰ
 Πανιώνια καὶ τὰ Ὀσχοφόρια ἤχθη, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ Πεδανίου τὰ Διόμεια καὶ τὰ Διίπδλεια
 καὶ Νέμεια, τὰ τε Διάσια καὶ τὰ Ἰσεῖα καὶ τὰ Θήσεια· γεισίπους τοῦτο ὁ Φειδύλου
 φησί· καθ' ὃν ἐν τῇ ἐξηκοστῇ Ὀλυμπιάδι πάλιν, ἐνίκα Κρίτων ὁ ἐξ Ἰμέρας ἦν Θέρ-
 σιν εὐρέσθαι λόγος· οὐδ' Ἀθηναίων ἐξ Ἀλαΐσης· ἐπὶ τούτου Σιδήτας Κεννητηῶν, καὶ
 20 Φιδηνητῶν, περιγενέσθαι λέγουσι· καὶ Νεμεατῶν Αἰγινήτας· καὶ Βαλαιναιατῶν Τε-
 γεάτας· ἵππων τούτων ὁ Μιλήσιος ἠγεῖτο· καὶ Σουρήνας καὶ Μουρήνας ὁ Χερίνου, ὁ
 ἐκ Σωγάνης· ἰτέον δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ Φήστον καὶ Χρήστον καὶ Μήστορα· ὧν τὸν μὲν, ἄρδην
 τοῦ ζῆν λόγος ἐκβαλεῖν· τὸν δὲ ἰὸν ἐξ ἀνδρὸς τόξων εὖ εἰδότης, ἀφειμένον· τὸν δὲ
 λίθον σφενδονήτην·

- [7] Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥρα κακὸν ὅσον, σκόπει γυναικός· ἔχεις γὰρ τὸ μαρτύριον· τὴν
 εὐρύχορον Λακεδαίμονα· τὴν Μινναίων, τὴν Θεσπρωτῶν, τὴν Πέλοπος, ἦχι Μέλας, ὅθι
 Κράθις, ἵνα ῥέει, ὑγρὸς Ἰάων· ὅσων γὰρ αἶδε καὶ οἶων ἀνδρῶν, δι' Ἑλένην τὴν Λήδας
 ἐστερήθησαν· διὰ ταύτην τὸ Σκαμάνδριον πεδίον, αἵματι ἔρρευσε· Ξάνθος ὁ δινηΐς,
 5 νεκρῶν ἐστενοχωρήθη πλήθει· τὰ Στρυμόνος || ἠφανίσθη χωρία· πολλοῖς ἐπήει,

C 86^v
L 354^v

16-17. cf. Ps.-Theod., *Gram.*, 69.16-30: τὰ διὰ τοῦ ια' ὀνόματα ἐπὶ ἑορτῶν λεγόμενα διὰ τοῦ I γράφεται
 οἶον Ἀπατούρια, Ἀρτοφόρια, Βουφόνια, Διάσια, Ἑλευσίνια, Θαλύσια, Θεσμοφόρια, Ἰσια, Κρόνια, Ποσειδό-
 νια, Τιτάνια, Ὑακίνθια, Ὀσχοφόρια πλὴν τοῦ Αἰάκεια, Κυδωνίδεια, Ἀντιγόχεια, Δημήτρεα, Διόμεια, Διίπό-
 λεια, Ἡράκλεια, Ἡφαίστεια, Θήσεια, Πανάκεια, Φιλωτάρεια ... πλὴν τοῦ Νέμεια.

[7] 2. εὐρύχορον Λακεδαίμονα] Hom. *Od.*, 13.414, 15.1: ἐς τοι ἐς εὐρύχορον Λακεδαίμονα || 2-3. ἦχι ...
 Ἰάων] Dion. *Perieg.*, *Orb. Descr.* 416-417: ἐνθα Μέλας, ὅθι Κράθις, ἵνα ῥέει ὑγρὸς Ἰάων || 4. Σκαμάν-
 δριον πεδίον] Hom. *Il.*, 2.465: ἐς πεδίον προχέοντο Σκαμάνδριον

4. Ὀροσός] verbum non inveni || 5. σωσός LC || αἰκουλάνοι LC || 5-6. Βαιτούλων] verbum non
 inveni || 6. βλώσιος LC || Γλώσιος] verbum non inveni || 8. Ἰταίων] verbum non inveni || 9. κραν-
 ωνίων LC || ἠδωνῶν C || Τητωαίων] verbum non inveni || 11. Σητανῶν ... Πείρων] verba non inveni
 || καὶ το πειρ(ων) L: (καὶ) το πειρων C || 12. ἐρβιττέων LC || 14. νωρίκων LC || 14-15. θυρέων LC || 15.
 Σωνατίου] verbum non inveni || μειδύλου C || 17. διάσεια C || ἰσεῖα LC || φειδύλου post corr. (e φειδί-
 λου) C || 18. ἐξιμέρας L || 18-19. θέρσιν post corr. (e θέρσειν) L || Θέρσιν] verbum non inveni || 19.
 οὐδαθηναίων L: οὐ δαθηναίων C || ἐξαλαΐσης LC || κεννητηῶν LC || 20. φειδηνητῶν LC || αἰγινήτας LC ||
 Βαλαιναιατῶν] verbum non inveni || 21. Χερίνου] verbum non inveni || 22. ἄρδιν LC

[7] 1. Ἀ in rubr. L: deest C || 2. μινναίων LC || ἦχι C || 3. τάων LC || αἶ δὲ C || 4. ἔρρευσε C || 5. πλήθη C ||
 στρύμονος L: στρύμόνος C

Ἰλιάς κακῶν· ὅσον γὰρ Μυρμιδόνων πρὸ Ἰλίου ἔπεσεν· ὅσον Κρητῶν, ὧν Ἰδομενεὺς
 ἦδεῖτο, καὶ Μηριόνης ὁ Μόλου· καὶ ἀνδρειοφόντης, ὅσον Λοκρῶν, ὅσον Ἀχαιῶν,
 ὅσον Ἰθακησίων, ὅσον Βοιωτῶν, ὧν Πηνέλεως καὶ Λήϊτος καὶ Προθοήνωρ γε καὶ
 Κλονίος ἦρχον· οἱ Ἑτεωνὸν ποτὲ κατὰ Θεσπείας χωρία, καὶ Μυκαλησὸν εὐρύχορον
 ἐνέμοντο· Ἐλεῶνά τε εἶχον καὶ Πετεῶνα Ὠκαλέην, καὶ Μεδεῶνα καὶ Κώπας καὶ 10
 πολυτρήρωνα Θίσβην καὶ ποιήενθ' Ἀλίαρτον· καὶ Γλισᾶντα καὶ Ποσιδήϊον· καὶ τὰ
 Μιδεΐας κρήδεμνα καὶ Νῆσαν καὶ Ἀνθηδόνα ἐσχατόωσαν· οἳ δ' Ἀσπληδόνα ναῖον ἰδ'
 Ὀρχομενὸν Μινύειον Φωκῶν δέ, Σχεδίον ἡγήσασθαι ἀκούω· οἱ Πυθῶνα πετρήεσαν
 εἶχον· καὶ Κρίσαν καὶ Πανοπή· καὶ τὰς Ἀνεμωρείας ἀγυιάς· οἳ δὲ καὶ περὶ Κηφισόν,
 δῖον ἔναιον· Λίλαιάν τ' ἐνέμοντο, καὶ Ὑάμπολιν· Λοκρῶν δ' Οἴλῆος ἡγεμόνευεν Αἴας, 15
 λινοθώρηξ· οἱ Κῦνον τ' ἐνέμοντο καὶ Ὀπόεντα· καὶ Αὐγείας ἐρατεινάς καὶ Θρόνιον,
 καὶ τὰ Ἰστιάας καὶ Εἰρετρίας πεδία· Σαλαμίνιοι δέ, Ἀσίνην εἶχον καὶ Τίρυνθον, καὶ
 Μάσητα· τοῖς Ἀτρείδαις δέ, οἱ Μυκίνας εἶχον, εἵποντο· καὶ ὅσοι Ὀρνεΐας ἐνέμοντο,
 καὶ Ὑπηρεσίαν καὶ Πελλήνην, νώροπα ἐνδεδυμένοι χαλκόν· καὶ σιωπῶ τοὺς ἐξ
 Οἰτύλου, καὶ ὅσοι Φᾶριν καὶ Βρυσειᾶς ἐνέμοντο· τῷ Νηλεΐ δέ, οἳ ἐξ Ἀρήνης εἵποντο· 20
 καὶ ὅσοι Δώριον Αἰπύ τε καὶ Θρύον· καὶ παραιπύλιον τύμβον ἔναιον· Φενεόν τ'
 ἐνέμοντο, καὶ Ῥίπην, καὶ Στρατίνην, καὶ Τεγέην, καὶ Μαντινέην, καὶ Στύμφηλον·
 Ὑρμίνην τε, καὶ Ὠλενίαν πέτραν, καὶ Ἀλήσιον· Ἐπειῶν δέ, Διώρης καὶ Μέγης ὁ
 Φυλείδης ἦρχον· Ὀδυσσεὺς δέ, Κεφαλλήνων ἦρχεν· οἳ, Νήριτον εἰνοσίφυλλον εἶχον· 25
 καὶ Κροκύλειον ἐνέμοντο, καὶ Αἰγίλιπα τρηχεῖαν· Αἰτωλῶν δ' ἡγεῖτο, Θόας Ἀνδραίμονος
 υἱός, οἱ Πλευρῶν ἐνέμοντο, καὶ Ὠλενον ἡδὲ Πυλὴνην· Κρητῶν δ' Ἰδομενεὺς ἦρχεν, οἳ
 Κνωσσὸν τε εἶχον, καὶ ἀργινόντα Λύκαστον, Φαιστόν τε, Ρύτιόν τε, πόλεις εὐ ναιετοώσας,
 Κρήτη ἐν εὐρείῃ· ἥς ποτὲ Μίνως ἐννέωρος βασίλευε Διὸς μεγάλου ὀαριστῆς· Τληπόλεμος

8-9. Βοιωτῶν – ἦρχον] Hom., *Il.*, 2.494-495 || 9-10. οἱ Ἑτεωνὸν – ἐνέμοντο] cf. Hom., *Il.*, 2.497-498 ||
 10-12. Ἐλεῶνα – ἐσχατόωσαν] cf. Hom., *Il.*, 2.500-508 || 12-13. οἳ δ' – Μινύειον] Hom., *Il.*, 2.511 ||
 13. Φωκῶν – Σχεδίον] cf. Hom., *Il.*, 2.517 || 13-14. οἳ – εἶχον] cf. Hom., *Il.*, 2.519 || 14-15. Κρίσαν
 – ἐνέμοντο] cf. Hom., *Il.*, 2.520-523 || 15-16. Ὑάμπολιν – λινοθώρηξ] cf. Hom., *Il.*, 2.527-529 || 16.
 οἳ – ἐρατεινάς] cf. Hom., *Il.*, 2.531-533 || 16-17. Θρόνιον – Εἰρετρίας] cf. Hom., *Il.*, 2.533, 537 || 17-18.
 Ἀσίνην – Μάσητα] cf. Hom., *Il.*, 2.560, 562 || 18. Μυκίνας – ἐνέμοντο] cf. Hom., *Il.*, 2.569, 571 || 19.
 Ὑπηρεσίαν – χαλκόν] cf. Hom., *Il.*, 2.573, 574, 578 || 19-20. ἐξ Οἰτύλου – ἐνέμοντο] cf. Hom., *Il.*,
 2.585, 582, 583 || 20. ἐξ Ἀρήνης] cf. Hom., *Il.*, 2.591 || 21. Δώριον – Θρύον] cf. Hom., *Il.*, 2.594, 592
 || 21-22. Φενεόν – Στύμφηλον] cf. Hom., *Il.*, 2.605-607 || 23-24. Ὑρμίνην – Φυλείδης] cf. Hom., *Il.*,
 2.616-617, 619, 621, 627-628 || 24-25. Ὀδυσσεὺς – τρηχεῖαν] Hom., *Il.*, 2.631-633 || 25-26. Αἰτωλῶν
 – Πυλὴνην] Hom., *Il.*, 2.638-639 || 26-27. Κρητῶν – εἶχον] cf. Hom., *Il.*, 2.645-646 || 27. ἀργινόντα
 – ναιετοώσας] Hom., *Il.*, 2.647-648 || 28. Κρήτη ἐν εὐρείῃ] Hom., *Il.*, 13.453 || Μίνως – ὀαριστῆς]
 Hom., *Od.*, 19.179] || 28-30. Τληπόλεμος – Κάμειρον] Hom., *Il.*, 2.653-656

6. μυρμιδόνων LC || 6-7. ἰδομενεὺς ἦδεῖτο L || 8. εὐβοέων LC || γε sscr. C || 9. κλονίος LC || ἑτεωνὸν C
 || καταθεσπείας L: καὶ τὰ θεσπείας C || 10. τὲ LC || μελεῶνα LC || 11. γλίσσαν LC || ποσιδίον LC || 12.
 νίσσαν LC || ἐσχατόωσαν C || ἀσπληδὸν ἔναιον LC || 13. οἳ LC || 14. περικηφισσόν L: περὶ κηφισσόν C
 || 15. οἴλῆος LC || ἡγεμόνευεν post corr. (ex ἡγεμόνευεν) C || 17. ἰστιάας LC || εἰρετριάας C || 18. δέ
 post corr. (ε δὲ) C || 19-20. ἐξοιτύλου L || post Οἰτύλου ras. (ca. 4 litt.) L || 20. φάριν LC || φρυσειᾶς
 LC || νηλέει L: νηλεῖ C || ἐξαρόνης LC || 21. τε¹ L || παραιπύλιον τύμβον] *leg.* Αἰπύτιον παρὰ τύμβον? (cf.
 Hom., *Il.*, 2.604) || παραιπύλιον] verbum non inveni || τύμβου LC || 23. τὲ C || ἀλείσιον LC || 24. κε-
 φαλλήνων LC || 25. κροκύλιον LC || τρηχεῖαν L || 26. πλεῦραν C || 27. κνωσσόν LC || ἀργυρόντα LC || τε³
 sscr. C || ναιετώσας L: ναιετώσας (-ά- in ras. [post corr. ex ο]) C || 28. ἐννέωρος ... διὸς ... ὁ ἀριστὴς LC

- δ' Ἡρακλείδης ἡὺς τε μέγας τε, Ῥοδίων ἡγήσατο ἀγερώχων, οἳ Ῥόδον ἀμφενέμοντο Λίνδον,
 30 Ἴηλυσόν τε καὶ ἀργινόνετα Κάμειρον, ὃν τέκεν Ἀστυόχεια βίη Ἡρακλεΐη, τὴν ἄγετ' ἐξ
 Ἐφύρης ποταμοῦ ἀπὸ Σελλήεντος· κτείνας ἦδη Λικύμνιον γηράσκοντα ὄζον Ἄρηος· αὐτὰρ
 ὃ γ' ἐς Ῥόδον ἴξεν ἀλώμενος· Νιρεὺς δ' αὖ, [αἰ] Σύμηθεν, ἄγε τρεῖς νῆας εἵσας· Νιρεὺς ὁ
 Ἀγλαΐας καὶ Χάροπος, τῶν ἐκ Νισύρου δέ Φείδιππος ἡγεῖτο· Μυρμιδόνες δ' Ἀλόπηνη·
 ἠδὲ Τρηχῖν' ἐνέμοντο· τοὺς ἐξ Ὀλιζώνος δέ, Φιλοκτήτης ὁ Ποϊαντος ἦγε, τόξων εὖ
 35 εἰδώς· τούτων δέ, Μέδων ὕστερον ἦρξεν, ὃν ὑπ' Οἴλῃ Ῥήνη τέκε· Ποδαλείριος δὲ καὶ
 Μαχάονος βία, τοὺς ἐξ Ἰθώμης κλωμακοέσσης, καὶ Οἰχαλίας ἦγον· Εὐρύπυλος δὲ ὁ
 Εὐαίμονος, τῶν ἐξ Ὀρμενίου ἡγεῖτο· Πολυποίτης δέ, τῶν ἐκ Γυρτώνης καὶ Ἠλώνης
 καὶ Ὀλοοσσόνος ἦρχε· καὶ Λεοντεὺς, υἱὸς ὑπερθύμου Κορώνου Καίνειδαο· Μαγνήτων δ'
 ἦρχε, Πρόθοος Τενθρηδόνος υἱός, οἳ περὶ τὸ Πήλιον καὶ Πηνειὸν ναίεσκον.

[8] Τί δεῖ τὰ πολλὰ λέγειν; Τί δεῖ μηκύνειν τὸν λόγον; Τιμαίᾳ ὥρα τῇ αὐτῆς, τὸν
 Κορωναίων ὤλεσε στρατόν, δηλώσει τὴν Κιτιέων, δέδωκεν Ἀπίνιον, βρόχον ἄψασθαι
 ἠνάγκασε, τὸν Λαμίων ἀπηγχόνησε στρατηγόν, τὸν Αἰκανῶν ἐλιμαγχόνησε
 δῆμον· ἐὼ τὰ Ἰλίων κακὰ, τοὺς Δαρδανίωνων πικροὺς θανάτους, τὴν Ὀδυσσέως
 5 κατὰ Παλαμίδους ἐπιβουλήν, τὴν Ἑκτορος ἀναίρεσιν, τὴν Ἀχιλλέως, ὃν Χείρωνος
 ἐπιμελείᾳ χεῖρες θαρρεῖν ἐδίδαξαν, ὄρειον ἄντρον αὐχοῦντα καὶ νευρῶν παιδευθέντα
 κατατρέχειν.

[9] Ἄλλ' ἄγε, εἰς ἀρχὴν τὸν λόγον ἀνάγωμεν· καὶ τῶν ἔξω ἀφήμενοι, τῶν ἡμετέρων
 βραχύ τι ἐξόμεθα· μᾶλλον γὰρ τὰ τούτων ἢ τὰ τῶν ἔξω, τὴν τοῦ λόγου ἡμῶν
 ὀφέλλει ἐρωὴν τῶν ἡμετέρων ἔργων ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι μὲν τῶν ὀπισθεν, ἐπεκτείνεσθαι

30-31. ὃν – Σελλήεντος] Hom., *Il.*, 2.658-659 || 31. Λικύμνιον – Ἄρηος] Hom., *Il.*, 2.663 || 31-32.
 αὐτὰρ – ἀλώμενος] Hom., *Il.*, 2.667 || 32-33. Νιρεὺς – Χάροπος] cf. Hom., *Il.*, 2.672 || 33-34. Νισύρου
 – ἐνέμοντο] cf. Hom., *Il.*, 2.676, 678, 682 || 34-35. ἐξ Ὀλιζώνος – ἦρξεν] cf. Hom., *Il.*, 2.717, 718, 727
 || 35-36. ὃν – ἦγον] cf. Hom., *Il.*, 2.728, 732, 729-730 || 36-38. Εὐρύπυλος – ἦρχε] cf. Hom., *Il.*, 2.736,
 734, 740, 738, 739 || 38. Λεοντεὺς – Καίνειδαο] cf. Hom., *Il.*, 2.745, 746 || 38-39. Μαγνήτων – ναίε-
 σκον] Hom., *Il.*, 2.756-758

[8] 2. βρόχον ἄψασθαι] Lucian., 25.5: οὔτε φαρμάκου πιεῖν οὔτε βρόχον ἄψασθαι || 4-5. τὴν Ὀδυσσέως
 – ἐπιβουλήν] cf. Ps.-Nonnus, *Sch.*, 4.62.3-5: Παλαμίδης ... ἀπέθανε ... κατὰ ἐπιβουλήν τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως
 || 6. ὄρειον ἄντρον αὐχοῦντα] Greg. Naz., *Fun.*, 12.2.4: νιόντας ἀλλήλοις ὁ θαυμάσιος ἐκπαιδεύεται· οὐ
 θετταλικόν τι καὶ ὄρειον ἄντρον αὐχῶν ὡς ἀρετῆς ἐργαστήριον

[9] 1. εἰς – ἀνάγωμεν] Gal., *De loc.*, 8,30.7-8: ἐπ' ἀρχὴν ἀνάγωμεν τὸν λόγον || 3. ὀφέλλει ἐρωήν] Hom.,
Il., 3.62: νήϊον ἐκτάμνησιν, ὀφέλλει δ' ἀνδρὸς ἐρωήν || ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι – ὀπισθεν] Jo. Chrys., *Phil.*, PG
 62, 272.40: τὸ, ὅτι δεῖ τῶν ὀπισθεν ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι || 3-4. ἐπεκτείνεσθαι – ἔμπροσθεν] Greg. Naz., *Jul.*,
 PG 35, 1052.13: πάντες κάθαρσιν, ἀνάβασιν πάντες καὶ τὸ τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεκτείνεσθαι

29. δ' om. C || ἀμφενέοντο LC || 30. ἰήλυσόν L: ἰύλυσόν post corr. (ex ἰήλυσόν) C || κάμειρον LC || οἳ LC
 || Ἡρακλεΐη LC || 30-31. ἐξεφύρης L || 31. σελήεντος C || 32. ἴξεν LC || ἀλώμενος C || αἰσώμηθεν LC || 33.
 φείδιπος L || μυρμιδόνες L || 34. τριχίνας LC || ἐξολιζώνος L || 35. ἦρξεν L || ὑπὸ ἰλῃ LC || 36. ἐξιθώμης
 L || οἰχαλίας L || 37. ἐξορμενίου LC || κλώνης LC || 38. ὀλοοσσόνος LC || καὶ νεῖδαο LC || μαγνητῶν LC ||
 39. πῆλιον LC

[8] 1. T in rubr. L: deest C || 2. κορωνέων L || κιτιέων L: κιττέων C || Ἀπίνιον] verbum non inveni
 || 5. ἔκτορος L

[9] 1. ἔξω LC

L 355^r δὲ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν, ἐφίεσθαι καλῶν, περικαίεσθαι ἀδελφῶν προκρίνειν οὐκ ἀγαθῶν 5
 ἀγαθὸν μὴ || χρυσίῳ ὁμνύειν τὸν τῶν πάντων δημιουργόν· ἐπιπλήσσειν, ᾧ δέον
 ἐπιστομίζειν, τὸν βλασφημεῖν ἡρημένον, τὸν λυπῶν παρακαλεῖν ὄλον· ἐνδεῇ, εὖ
 ποιεῖν· κήδεσθαι τῶν πλησίον· ὀφειλῶν τὸν ἐν ὀφειλήμασιν ἀπολύειν· καταπτύειν,
 τῶν διαπτύειν θεῖον λόγον ἡπειγμένων· τὸν φύσσει φίλον ταλανίζειν· πονηρῶν οὐ
 πονηρὸν ἀνταλλάσσεσθαι, τῶν τὸν ἀρετῶν διατηρεῖ σωρόν· μυρίον ὡς μὴ τὰ χρηστὰ 10
 αὐτοῖς μειῶται, λόγον ἔχουσι· τὸν δῶρων παράνομον δικάζειν ἡρετισμένον χάριν,
 παρ' οὐδὲν τίθενται· τὰ πολλὰ δέ, καὶ οἰκτεῖρουσι τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὀρώντες τινα, παρ'
 ὃ δεῖ φρονούντα, καὶ ἐφ' ὅ, οὐ δεῖ νεύοντα· πάσχουσι τὸ Ἰωνᾶ τῷ Δαυΐδ· οὐ φοβερὸς
 αὐτοῖς, ὃς σοβαρὸς προκαθέζεται· ὃς δὲ ταπεινὸς ἔστηκε περὶ λόγων· μιμῶνται Πέτρου 15
 τὸν ζῆλον· Παύλου τὸν δρόμον· τῶν ὀνομαστῶν καὶ μετωνομασμένων, τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ
 Ζεβεδαίου, τὸ μεγαλόφωνον· ὃ καὶ βροντῶν υἱοὺς αὐτοὺς ὠνόμασεν· ἐπὶ τὸν σταυρόν, τὸ
 ἀληθινὸν ὄπλον καταφεύγουσι, καὶ τούτῳ σημειοῦνται κατὰ τὸν φόβον· ἥδιον αὐτοῖς,
 τὸ ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας πάσχειν, ἢ ἄλλοις τὸ εὐδοξεῖν· εὐπειστον ἴσασι τὴν κουφότητα· καὶ
 τὸν ἐρημικὸν βίον μέχρις αὐτῶν μόνον τῶν κατορθούντων ἱστάμενον, φυλάττονται 20
 τὸν πονηρόν· σπεύδει γὰρ ὁ λόγος εἰσπεσεῖν· γίνονται τῶν διωκόντων τὸ ποιεῖν
 κακῶς· τῷ πάσχειν προθύμως διώκεται· οὐχ ὑπὸ χρόνον ἀξιοῦσι κεῖσθαι τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ,
 τὸν χρόνων ποιητὴν· ποιητὴς γὰρ χρόνων, οὐχ ὑπὸ χρόνον· ὁμοῦ γὰρ τῷ εἶναι τὸν Πατέρα
 οὐ γεννητῶς, καὶ Υἱὸς ἦν γεννητός· συντρέχει γὰρ τῷ εἶναι τοῦ Πατρὸς τὸ γεγενῆσθαι τοῦ 25
 Μονογενοῦς· οὐ κοῦφόν τι πρᾶγμα τὴν σοφίαν ὑπολαμβάνουσιν, ὥστε θελήσει διή
 μόνον, καὶ εἶναι σοφόν· οὐκ ἀτιμάζουσι τὸ Θεῷ ταπεινούμενον· οὐ σοφίζονται ὑπὲρ τὸν
 λόγον· καινὴν εὐπορίαν ποιοῦνται τὸ ἀπορεῖν τὴν καινὴν καρυκεῖαν· οὐ κενῷ οἰδαίνουσι 25

4. ἐφίεσθαι καλῶν] Jo. Stob., 3.5.23.2 (fr. 4): δίκαιος ἔρως, ἀνυβρίστως ἐφίεσθαι τῶν καλῶν || προκρίνειν οὐκ ἀγαθῶν] cf. Max. Conf., *Quaest.*, 26.18: πείθων ἡμῶν τὴν προαίρεσιν τῶν αἰωνίων ἀγαθῶν προκρίνειν τὰ πρόσκαιρα || 7. κήδεσθαι τῶν πλησίον] Jo. Chrys., *Prof.*, PG 51, 315.23: κήδεσθαι τῶν πλησίον || 7-8. ἀπολύειν – διαπτύειν] Poll., *Onom.*, 2.103.2: καὶ μὴν τὸ μὲν ἀπορρέον τοῦ στόματος πτύσμα καὶ πτύαλον καὶ σίαλον, τὰ δὲ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ὀνόματα πτύειν, ἀποπτύειν, καταπτύειν || 8. λόγον ἡπειγμένων] Georg. Pis., 2.6: παλινδρομεῖν δὲ τῶν λόγων ἡπειγμένων || 13-15. μιμῶνται – υἱοῦς] Greg. Naz., *Fun.*, 76.1.1-8: ἐμιμήσατο Πέτρου τὸν ζῆλον, Παύλου τὸν τόνον, τῶν ὀνομαστῶν καὶ μετωνομασμένων ἀμφοτέρων τὴν πίσιν· τῶν υἱῶν Ζεβεδαίου τὸ μεγαλόφωνον· πάντων τῶν μαθητῶν ... καὶ υἱὸς βροντῆς, οὐκ ὀνομάζεται μὲν, γίνεται δὲ || 16-17. ἥδιον – εὐδοξεῖν] Greg. Naz., *Con. Jul.*, PG 35, 581.41-43: Χριστιανοῖς δὲ ἥδιον ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας τὸ πάσχειν, κἂν πάντας λανθάνωσιν, ἢ ἄλλοις τὸ εὐδοξεῖν μετὰ τῆς ἀσεβείας || 20 οὐχ – Θεοῦ] Cat., 293.35-294.1: ὑπὸ χρόνον, διὰ τοῦτο ἀξιώσεις κεῖσθαι καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν ὑπὸ χρόνον || 21. ποιητὴς – χρόνων] Greg. Naz., *Dogm.*, PG 35, 1073.21: καὶ πῶς ποιητὴς χρόνων ὁ ὑπὸ χρόνον; idem, *Lum.*, PG 36, 348.22: ποιητὴς γὰρ χρόνων, οὐχ ὑπὸ χρόνον || 22-23. Υἱὸς – Μονογενοῦς] Greg. Naz., *Dogm.*, PG 35, 1077.12-13: καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς ἦν γεννητῶς. Ὅστε συντρέχει τὸ εἶναι τοῦ Πατρὸς τῷ γεγενῆσθαι τοῦ Μονογενοῦς || 24. ἀτιμάζουσι – ταπεινούμενον] Greg. Naz., *Acc.*, PG 35, 520.14-15: ἀτιμάζεται δὲ τὸ Θεῷ ταπεινούμενον || 25. καινὴν – ἀπορεῖν] Greg. Naz., *Fun.*, 60.5.3-4: καινὴν εὐπορίαν τὸ ἀπορεῖν ποιοῦμενος || 25-26. κενῷ – ψυχῇ] Greg. Naz., *Fun.*, 64.1.6-7: τὴν ψυχὴν δὲ οἰδαίνειν κενῷ φρυάγματι; Nicetas David, *Laud.*, 25.21-22: οὔτε δὲ κενῆς δόξης φρυάγματι τὸν νοῦν φυσιοῦμενος ἐτέρπετο

5. τῶν τὸν L || 7. ἐνοφειλήμασιν L || 8. θεῖον L || ἡπειγμένον C || 9. ἀνταλλάσσεσθαι L || 10. παρανόμον L || 11. ταπολλὰ C || 13. ἔστηκε L || 18. αὐτῶν μέχρις μόνον C: αὐτῶν] μέχρις] μόνον] per sscr. β', α', γ', C || 19. τῷ LC || 23. κοῦφον τὶ L: κοῦφον τὶ C || 24. οὐκατιμάζουσι L

- φρυάγματι, τὴν ψυχὴν· μισοῦσι τὸ περὶ λόγον πρόχειρον· οὐ φιλοσοφοῦσι κενὰ κατὰ τοὺς καινῶ τέρποντας· μνήσθητι, Κύριε, τῶν υἰῶν Ἐδὼμ, λέγουσι· τῶν λεγόντων ἔκκενοῦτε, ἔκκενοῦτε ἕως τῶν θεμελίων αὐτῆς· θεῖον λόγον, ἐπὶ τὸν λογικὸν μόνον πίπτειν ἴσασι· τὴν Ψαλμῶν βίβλον, κοινὸν νομίζουσι χρηστῶν ταμειῶν διδαγμάτων· καὶ ὅτι
- 30 ψαλμός τὸ κυμαῖνον τῶν λογισμῶν καταστέλλει· τὸ θεῖον, καλῶν ὁμολογοῦσιν αἴτιον χορηγὸν χρηστῶν· καὶ πιστεύουσιν, ὡς ὁ Χριστός, ἄλλως κρίνει τὸν Χαλδαῖον, καὶ ἄλλως τὸν Ἰουδαῖον· κενὸν βοῶσι τὸ κενοῦν ἐπ' εὐθετήσῃ χρυσίον· καλῶν ἴσασι γὰρ ὡς οὐ καλὸν δαπανᾶν τριχί· καὶ ὅτι ἄλλω μὲν, ἄλλο δίδωσιν ὁ Θεὸς ἀγαθόν, ἄλλω δέ, ἄλλο νενόμισται καλόν, καὶ ἄλλω, ἄλλο ἀποκεκλήρωται· ἄλλω τε, ἄλλο συμφέρει·
- 35 γίνωσκε τὸν μὲν οἶνον, μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν γενέσθαι· τὸ δὲ κώνειον, μετὰ τῶν σίτων ἀναδοθῆναι καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ δηλητήρια· μῶλυ· ἑλλέβορον· ἀκόνιτον· καὶ τὸν τῆς μήκωνος ὀπὸν· καὶ βλίτον· καὶ γλήχωνα· καὶ ὠκιμον· καὶ μηλίδαν· καὶ κόμμι· καὶ κόρι· καὶ στίμμι· σὺν τῷ φύκει τε καὶ ἐρεύθει· ὁμοῦ σὺν τούτοις, καὶ τῆλιν· καὶ σίλφιον· καὶ πᾶσαν βοτάνην· ὀρίγανον· κύπειρον καὶ κύπερον· ἴριν· ξίριν· αἶραν· κρὶ λευκόν,
- 40 ἐπικῶς εἰπεῖν· ἐλένιον· καστόριον· πόλιον· κορίανον· κίκι· σίνηπι· πᾶν δένδρον, κλήθρη· φηγὸν ὑψίκομον καὶ ὑψιπέτηλον· ἐλαίαν τηλεθόωσαν· ἰτέαν ὠλεσίκαρπον·

26. μισοῦσι – πρόχειρον] cf. Greg. Naz., *Fun.*, 77.1.4-5: καὶ τὸ περὶ λόγον μὴ πρόχειρον || φιλοσοφοῦσι κενὰ] Greg. Naz., *Paup.*, PG 35, 897.10: καὶ φιλοσοφοῦσι κενὰ καὶ μάταια || **26-27.** κατὰ τοὺς καινῶ τέρποντας] cf. Greg. Naz., *Paup.*, PG 35, 901.41-42: κἂν εὐδρομῶσι τὴν γλῶτταν ἐν τοῖς ἀτόποις λόγοις καὶ δόγμασι, καὶ τῷ καινῷ τέρπωσιν || **27** et **28.** μνήσθητι – θεμελίων αὐτῆς] Jo. Chrys., *Ps.*, PG 55, 406.38-40: μνήσθητι, Κύριε, τῶν υἰῶν Ἐδὼμ τὴν ἡμέραν Ἱερουσαλήμ· τῶν λεγόντων, Ἐκκενοῦτε, ἔκκενοῦτε ἕως τῶν θεμελίων αὐτῆς || **29.** κοινὸν – διδαγμάτων] cf. Bas. Caes., *Ps.*, PG 29, 212.7-8: καὶ ἀπαξιαπλῶς κοινὸν ταμειῶν ἐστὶν ἀγαθῶν διδαγμάτων; Jo. Dam., *Sacr.*, PG 96, 13.8-9: καὶ ἀπαξιαπλῶς κοινὸν ταμειῶν ἐστὶν ἀγαθῶν διδαγμάτων || **30.** ψαλμός – καταστέλλει] Bas. Caes., *Ps.*, PG 29, 212.39-40: ψαλμός γαλήνης ψυχῶν, βραβευτῆς εἰρήνης, τὸ θορυβοῦν καὶ κυμαῖνον τῶν λογισμῶν καταστέλλων || **34.** ἄλλω τὲ ἄλλο συμφέρει] Aen., *Th.*, 29.25: ἄλλω ἄλλο συμφέρει καὶ οὐ ταῦτ' ἅπασι || **35-36.** τὸ δὲ κώνειον – ἀκόνιτον] cf. Bas. Caes., *Hex.*, 5, 4.4-6: καὶ εὐθέως συνεξεδόθη τοῖς τροφίμοις τὰ δηλητήρια μετὰ τοῦ σίτου τὸ κώνειον· μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν τροφίμων ἑλλέβορος, καὶ ἀκόνιτον ...; Jo. Dam., *Sacr.*, PG 95, 1352.32-35: καὶ συνεξεδόθη τοῖς τροφίμοις τὰ δηλητήρια μετὰ τοῦ σίτου τὸ κώνειον, μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν τροφίμων ἑλλέβορος, καὶ ἀκόνιτον || **37-40.** Ael. Her., *Pros.*, 3, 1, 354.1-10: τὰ εἰς ἰ μονογενὴ ὑπὲρ μίαν συλλαβὴν βαρύνεται, ... τὸ γὰρ κίκι εἶδος ἐλαίου παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις, κόμι τὸ κομίδιον, πέπερι, κιννάβαρι, ὅπερ Ἀττικοὶ τιγγάβαρι, σίνηπι, κοῖφι, στάχι σύνηθες Αἰγυπτίοις, ὅπερ σημαίνει εἶδος πυρροῦ, στίμμι, ὅπερ γυναῖκες κατὰ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς χρίονται, ὅπερ ἐν τῇ συνηθείᾳ λαχὰς καλεῖται, κόρι τὸ κορίανον, ... οὐχ Ἑλληνικά, ξένα δέ. Τὸ δὲ τρόφι ἀπὸ τοῦ τρόφιμον γέγονε κατ' ἀποκοπὴν ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ κρίνου τὸ κρὶ ... || **39.** κρὶ λευκόν] Hom., *Il.*, 5.196, 8.564, 20.496; *Od.*, 4.41, 4.604, 12.358 || **40.** ἐλένιον] Ael. Her., *Orth.*, 3, 2, 458.7-8: τὰ διὰ τοῦ ἰνῶν μονογενὴ οὐδέτερα διὰ τοῦ ἰ γράφει τὴν παραλήγουσαν οἶον ἐλένιον ἢ βοτάνη ... || **40-41.** πᾶν δένδρον κλήθρη ... ἐλαίαν τηλεθόωσαν] cf. Hom., *Od.*, 5.64: ὕλη δὲ σπέος ἀμφὶ πεφύκει τηλεθόωσα, κλήθρη || **41.** φηγὸν ὑψίκομον] Orph., *Lith.*, 115: ὑψίκομον ποτὶ φηγὸν || ἰτέαν ὠλεσίκαρπον] Hom., *Od.*, 10.510: ἰτέαν ὠλεσίκαρποι; Ael. Her., *Part.*, 99.14-15: πλὴν ... ὠλεσίκαρπος ἰτέα

29. κοινὸν post corr. (ε κοινῶν) L || **32.** εὐθετήσῃ LC || **33.** ὡς L || **33-34.** ἄλλο δὲ ἄλλω LC || **34.** ἄλλο τὲ ἄλλω LC || **36.** ἐλέβορον LC || **37.** βλίτον LC || **39.** ἴριν LC || ζίριν LC || κρίνον ante corr. (von in ras.) L || **40.** ἐπὶ κῶς L: ἐπὶ κῶς C || ἐλένιον LC

καὶ ταῖς ὠλεσιοίκοις γυναιξί· φίλον ἐρινεόν· ῥώπας, ἃς φασὶ καὶ ῥωπήϊα· ἀλλὰ καὶ
 κνίδην· καὶ ἐλεόθρεπτον σέλινον· ἀκαλήφην τε καὶ τὸν ἀκαλίφαν ἰχθύν· καὶ ζειάν·
 καὶ σμίλιν· καὶ σμίλακα· καὶ σχῖνον· καὶ πρίνον καὶ εἰλάτην· ἴσθι, ὡς ἐν πλουσίοις 45
 τῆς κτίσεως θησαυροῖς, ἄπορος μὲν ἢ εὗρεσις τοῦ τιμιωτέρου, δυσφορωτέρα δὲ ἡ ζημία τοῦ
 παρεθέντος· καὶ ὅτι καινὴ κτίσις Θεῶ· καὶ καινὸς ἄνθρωπος, ἡ συντετριμμένη καρδιά· ἢ
 γε οὐ ζητεῖ ἑτέραν οἰκουμένην εἰς κτήσιν, ὥσπερ οἱ οὐκ εἰδότες πέρας τῆς κτίσεως· καὶ
 L 355^v τῶν γυναικῶν αἱ ἐπὶ στίμμι κεχηνυῖαι καὶ χρίσματα, || καὶ χλιδῶνων, καὶ ἔλλοβίων,
 καὶ ἐνωτίων, καὶ τριγλῆνων ἐκκρεμάμεναι κατὰ νώτων ἤτωσαν· ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ φήσῃ
 τις, τί τούτων ἡμῖν τῶν λόγων τὸ περαιτέρω προελθεῖν, ὡς εὖ ἔχον, στεκτέον· ἐκεῖνο 50
 δὲ τελευταῖον ῥητέον, ὅτι ὁ οὐκ ὀρθῶς πορευόμενος, ἀλλὰ σκολιάζων ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ
 ὁδοῖς, ἀτιμασθήσεται.

[10]

Παρεκβόλαιον τῆς κόμης

Χρὴ τὴν κόμην τῆς κεφαλῆς, μὴ ἀνέδην εἶναι, ἡνεωμένην καὶ κεκαλλωπισμένην·
 μὴ δὲ κεκοσμηθῆσαι καὶ ἐξηπλωθῆσαι, ὡς ἱπείαν χαίτην· ἢ ὀνειδίας ἐθείρας, ὡς φησὶν
 ὁ τοῦ Μέλητος, τοὺς ἵππους τοῦ νεφεληγερέτου Διός, χρυσέῃσιν ἐθείρῃσι κομώντας·
 ἀλλ' ὑφειμένως ἐστολίσθαι τό τε μέτωπον καὶ τὰς ὀφρυς· καὶ μετήορα καὶ μετέωρα 5
 αἶρειν τὰς τρίχας· καὶ ἀπαιωρεῖν· ἀπηωρήσθαι γὰρ οὕτως, οὐ καλόν· χρεῶν δὲ

42. ῥώπας – ῥωπήϊα] Eust., *Il.*, 3.459.23-28: ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι τε ἀγρίου αἰγὸς ἢ παραβολὴ μέμνηται, ὑπὸ
 κυνῶν ἐν ὄρει ἐαλωκότος, καὶ ὅτι καὶ νῦν τὸ ἀρπάξαι κυρίως ἐλέχθη ἐπὶ λεόντων, καὶ ὅτι ταῦτόν ῥωπήϊα
 καὶ ῥώπας εἶπεῖν, καὶ ὅτι ῥωπήϊα μὲν παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς δρυμοῦ φρύγανα, ἢ καὶ ἄλλως λεπτά τινα φυτὰ
 εὐλύγιστα παρὰ τὸ ῥέπειν. Ἔστι γὰρ ὥσπερ βλέπω βλέψω βλέψ, καὶ βλώψ κατὰ ἔκτασιν, ἐξ οὗ ὁ παραβλώψ,
 οὕτω καὶ ῥέπω ῥέψω ῥώψ, ἐξ οὗ τὰ ῥωπήϊα || 43. ἐλεόθρεπτον σέλινον] Hom., *Il.*, 2.776: ἐλεόθρεπτόν τε
 σέλινον || 44. σχῖνον καὶ πρίνον] Psell., *Op.*, 33.78-79: αὐχημρά εἰσι τὰ τοιαῦτα φυτὰ, τὴν σχῖνον καὶ τὴν
 πρίνον φημι || 44-46. ἐν πλουσίοις – τοῦ παρεθέντος] Bas. Caes., *Hex.*, 5, 4.1-3: ἐν πλουσίοις τῆς κτίσε-
 ως θησαυροῖς ἄπορος μὲν ἢ εὗρεσις τοῦ τιμιωτέρου, δυσφορωτάτη δὲ ἡ ζημία τοῦ παρεθέντος || 46. καινὴ
 κτίσις Θεῶ] cf. 2 Cor., 5: 17.1-2: ὥστε εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ, καινὴ κτίσις || συντετριμμένη καρδιά] Clem.
 Alex., *Str.*, 2.18.79.1.3-4: αὕτη γὰρ θυσία Θεῶ δεκτὴ, καρδιά συντετριμμένη || 47. ζητεῖ – κτήσιν] Greg.
 Naz., *Patr.*, PG 35, 961.7: καὶ ζητοῦντες οἰκουμένην ἑτέραν εἰς κτήσιν || 51-52. οὐκ ὀρθῶς –
 ἀτιμασθήσεται] Prov., 14:2.1-2: ὁ πορευόμενος ὀρθῶς φοβεῖται τὸν κύριον, ὁ δὲ σκολιάζων ταῖς ὁδοῖς
 αὐτοῦ ἀτιμασθήσεται

[10] § 10 cf. Long., 159.14-21 || 3. ἐθείρας] Ael. Her., *Il. Pros.*, 3,2, 75.24-25: παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ τὸ
 κέρας ἐπὶ τριχὸς τάσσεσθαι· κόμην δὲ λέγει καὶ τρίχας καὶ πλοκάμους καὶ ἐθείρας || 4. χρυσέῃσιν ἐθείρῃσι
 κομώντας] Hom., *Il.*, 8.42: ὠκυπέτα χρυσέῃσιν ἐθείρῃσιν κομώντες; Eust., *Il.*, 2.522.15-17: ὅτι ἐν
 τῷ ὑπ' ὄχρεσφι τιτύσκετο χαλκόποδ' ἵππῳ, ὠκυπέτα, χρυσείῃσιν ἐθείρῃσι κομώντες, ἅπερ ἔπαινος ἵππων
 εἰσί; Max. Soph., *Dial.*, 222.167: ὠκυπέτα χρυσέῃσιν ἐθείρῃσιν κομώντες || 5. μετήορα καὶ μετέωρα] Eust., *Il.*, 2.519.4-5: μετήορα δὲ τὰ κοινῶς μετέωρα. Καὶ ἔστι τοῦτο εὐπαραγωγότερον τοῦ κοινού;
 Hesych., *Lex.*, 1096.1: μετήορα: μετέωρα (Θ 26)

42. φίλιν LC || ῥώπας LC || οὖς LC || 43. σέλινον post corr. (ε σέληνον) C || τὲ L: τέ C || ἰχθύν LC ||
 48. ἐπιστίμμι L || 50. τίς LC || προσελθεῖν LC || στεκτέον LC || 51. ὁ om. L

[10] 1. Titulus in rubr. L: π deest C || 2. X in rubr. L: deest C || μὴ ἀνέδην] add. ἡγουν μὴ
 ἀπολελυμένος sup. lin. in rubr. L || 4. νεφεληγερέτου post corr. (ε νεφεληγερέττου) L || χρυσίῃσιν
 LC

- τούς ὀφθαλμούς, μὴ κατωφρυῶσθαι σοβαρῶς, ἢ βλοσυρότητι βλοσυροῦσθαι, ὡς σκοτοδινίωντας εἶδεσθαι· μὴ δὲ βλοσυρωποτάτους ὦφθαι· μὴ δὲ συνεχέσι δίνησι διεπτοῆσθαι, ἀλλ' ἰλαρῶ καὶ εὐμενεῖ τῷ βλέμματι, δεξιουῖσθαι τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας·
- 10 τὰ τε ὑπόπια τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, ὑποπιέζειν δίκαιον, || κατὰ τοὺς εὐωποὺς Βοιωτοὺς, οὓς C 87^r
 "Ὀμηρος καρηκομόωντας εἰρήκει· καὶ μὴ ἀνέτους εἶναι τῶν κροτάφων τοὺς μῆνιγγας·
 τό τε πρόσωπον καὶ τὰς παρειάς, αἰδοῖ κεκοσμηθῆναι· καὶ μὴ μιλοπαρήους εἶναι καὶ
 φοινικοπαρήους καὶ καλλιπαρήους, δίκην ἡμιόνων, αἱ φορβείας τε φέρουσι, καὶ ζειὰς
 ἐσθίουσι· ταῦτα δὲ ἴσθι, ὡς τάχιον κωδίας τρόπον καὶ μήκωνος ἀπανθήσαντα, εἰς
- 15 οὐδὲν καταντήσουσι· τῶν ὥτων τὴν αἴσθησιν, εὐηκοωτέραν τέθεικεν ὁ τεχνίτης·
 μήνης δίκην εἰλίξας αὐτήν, καὶ τεχνιτευσάμενος τοὺς ὦπας ὀξυωπεστέρους εἶναι
 πεποίηκε, καὶ πρὸς ὀξυδερκίαν εὐσταλεῖς, τῆς ὀξυδορκίας μετεिल्χότας· τὰς ῥίνας
 καὶ τοὺς ῥώθωνας, ἀμβλυωπεστέρους εἰργάσατο· καὶ μὴ τὴν τοῦ θήλεος κεκτῆσθαι
 ὄσφρησιν, μυραλοιφαῖς ἀηλιμμένον, καὶ ἀπεοικόσι χρίσμασι· τὴν τῶν χειλέων ἔνδον
- 20 τοῦ στόματος στοιχηδὸν θέσιν, αὐτό τε τὸ λαλίστατον ὄργανον, μὴ δὲ Σειρηνείους
 τινὰς μελωδίας ἐναφιέναι, μὴ δὲ ἀτημελήτως κηλεῖν τοὺς αἴοντας τῶν ὥδων·
 ἀμβλυωπεῖν δὲ μᾶλλον χρὴ πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἢ ἀντωπεῖν καὶ ἀσκαρδαμυκτὶ τοῦτοις
 τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐπερείδειν, κατὰ τοὺς Ἰθακησίους ἐταίρους, οἱ τῷ κατὰ πόντον
 πολεῖσθαι καὶ ἀλητεία, καὶ γυμνητεία ζῆσαι, τὴν τοιαύτην ἐπίρρητον μαγγανείαν
- 25 ἐπετρίψαντο· τὴν ὑπερῶν τε, μὴ γεγνωτέραν καὶ ὠδικήν, μὴ δ' αἰμύλα κωτίλλουσαν
 καὶ διφῶσαν τὰ τῶν πλησίον· καὶ στωμύλα ληρεῖν, καὶ Κωλιάδας, ἀκηρυκτεῖ μελωδεῖν
 ὡς κῶμοις καὶ ἀσελγείαις συνήθη· κωλύειν δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ σκῶλον τιθέναι ταύτη·
 μὴ σκῶπτειν τὸν πέλας· μὴ δὲ καθηδυπαθεῖν τὸν [...] καὶ μηλείῳ κῶματι, τὸ νοερὸν

10. τὰ τε ὑπόπια τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν] cf. *Sch. Theocr.*, 1.38c.2: κύλα δὲ τὰ ὑποκάτω τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, τὰ ὑπόπια || 12. μιλοπαρήους] cf. *Eust.*, *Il.*, 1.477.21-22: μιλοπαρήους δὲ τὰς τοῦ Ὀδυσσεύς νῆας καλεῖ ὁ ποιητής || 13. φοινικοπαρήους] cf. *Hom.*, *Od.*, 11.124, 23.271: οὐδ' ἄρα τοῖ ἴσασι νέας φοινικοπαρήους || καλλιπαρήους] cf. *Hes.*, *Th.*, 907: τρεῖς δὲ οἱ Εὐρυνόμη Χάριτας τέκε καλλιπαρήους || δίκην ἡμιόνων] *Anast. Sin.*, *Const.*, 6.35: καὶ ἐπειδὴ δίκην ἵππων καὶ ἡμιόνων ἀσυνέτων || ζειὰς] *Ael. Her.*, *Part.*, 41.5-6: δίφθογα δὲ ταῦτα-ζειά, εἶδος σπέρματος ζεῖδωρος γῆ, ἢ τὰς ζειὰς δωρουμένη καὶ ζεῖ, ῥῆμα, ἀντὶ τοῦ βράζει || 19. μυραλοιφαῖς ἀηλιμμένον] *Sch. Arist. Pac.*, 862a.1: μυραλοιφαῖς ἀηλιμμένον || 20-21. Σειρηνείους μελωδίας] 4 *Mac.*, 15:21.1: σειρήνιοι μελωδία; *Ael. Her.*, *Part.*, 126.2-6: δίφθογα δὲ ταῦτα· σείω, ... σείριος, ὁ ἥλιος, ... σειρήν, σειρήνος· καὶ σειρήνιον μέλος; cf. *Long.*, 136.18: Σειρηνίους ὥδας || 22. ἀντωπεῖν καὶ ἀσκαρδαμυκτὶ] *Eustr.*, 311.10-11: καὶ ἀντωπεῖν ἀσκαρδαμυκτὶ τῷ τῆς ψυχῆς ὄμματι || 25-26. αἰμύλα – διφῶσαν] cf. *Hes. Op.*, 374: αἰμύλα κωτίλλουσα, τὴν διφῶσα καλεῖν || 26. στωμύλα ληρεῖν] *Sch. Arist. Ran.*, 842.2-4: στωμυλιοσυλλεκτάδῃ δέ, ὁ πολυλογίας συνάγων. – ἀντὶ τοῦ στωμύλα ῥήματα συλλέγων || Κωλιάδας] *Sch. Lucian.*, 49.42.1: Κωλιάδας – Γενετυλλίδας ἐπίθετα ταῦτα Ἀφροδίτης || 27. σκῶλον] *Orion*, 150.10-13: σκῶλον: παρὰ τὸ σκῶ, τὸ ξηραίνω. σκόλος ἐστὶ, καὶ ἐπεκτάσει τοῦ ο εἰς ω, σκῶλος. Ὀμηρος· ὥστε σκῶλος πυρίκαυστος, ὁ ὑπὸ πυρὸς ἐξηραμμένος. οὕτως Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν Ἐπιμερισμοῖς

7. βλοσυρότητι LC || βλοσυροῦσθαι LC || 8. βλοσυρωποτάτους LC || συνεχέσι post corr. (ε συνεχῆσι) C || 16. εἰλίξας LC || 17. ὀξυδερκίαν LC || ῥίνας LC || 20. τὲ LC || σειρηνίους C || 23. ἐπερείδειν post corr. (ex ἐπερείδειν) C || 25. τὲ C || αἰμύλα κωτίλλουσαν LC || 26. ἀκηρυκτεῖ post corr. (ex ἀκηρυκτὶ) L || 28. καθ' ἡδυπαθεῖν L || τὸν [ca. 3 litt.] (καὶ) LC

τῆς ψυχῆς καταβαρύνειν· τὴν τε γεῦσιν ἐθίζειν, λιτοτάτῃ κεχρηῆσθαι διαίτῃ· πᾶν
 τὸ ὑπὲρ κόρον, ἀηδῖαν καὶ ἀκηδῖαν τοῦ λαιμοῦ καὶ τοῦ θώρακος ἡγούμενον· μὴ 30
 κείρεσθαι τὴν γενειάδα, σφηνοπώγωνος δίκην· μὴ δὲ τὸν τράχηλον καὶ τὸ ὑμενῶδες
 ἰνίον ξυρεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ὡς ἡνίον ἐν χαλινῷ ἐσφηκῶσθαι τὰς κατακλεῖδας, δίκην
 κιγκλίδων, οἶονεὶ ἐγκεκοισυρῶσθαι προσήκον ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ὤμων πῆξιν, καὶ
 τὴν τούτων μέσον ἀνατείνουσιν ῥάχιν, καὶ τοὺς αὐχένας κατεστιχότας ἔχειν· καὶ 35
 μὴ δὲ τὰς ἐπαυχενίους ἐθείρας ποικίλλειν, καὶ τὸ στήθος, καὶ τοὺς βραχίονας· μὴ δὲ
 τοὺς ἀγκῶνας, ἢ τὴν παλαιστήν, ἢ τὴν πήχεως ὠλένην· τὸν νῶτον, μὴ ὡς πρηῶνα
 οἰδοῦσθαι, ἢ ὡς προπρήωνα, ἢ πρόωνα· καὶ τὰς κοιλότητας τῶν λαγόνων, μὴ
 ἐξωδηκίας ἔχειν· ἀλλ' ὡς ὑπογαίου γωνίας τὴν κοιλίαν, καὶ τὸν κενεῶνα, καὶ τὴν
 κύστιν, καὶ τὰς συνεχεῖς πιλήσεις· τὰ αἰδοῖα μὴ πειώλῃ εἶναι· μὴ δὲ ὥσπερ εἰ λαΐσια 40
 ὑποδείκνυσθαι· τὸ γόνυ καὶ τοὺς μηρούς, καὶ κάτωθεν τὰ ὑποκνήμια, μὴ τε μὴν
 ἐρηρησμένα εἶναι, καὶ ἐδρασμένως ἰδρῦσθαι, ἀλλὰ νεκροῦντας τὴν σάρκα, οὕτως
 L 356^r τὸν ἐπώδυνον τοῦτον || διάγειν βίον καὶ πολυκύμονα.

[11] Ὁδοιπόρει δέ τις ἀνὴρ, ὁδοιπορικῶς ἐσταλμένος, ἄμφω τῷ χεῖρε πετάσας
 καὶ τὴν ἐξ ὕψους βοήθειαν ἐκκαλούμενος, ἀκρονυχίας οὕσης· καὶ διῆι ὄρη βησ-
 σήεντα, καὶ ἀκρωνυχίας ἔρεισμα τειχίου, καὶ ἐρκίου, καὶ θωρακίου μιμουμένης·
 καὶ γεγωνός, ἐβόα, ὡς δεῖ, σταυρίον αἶρειν, καὶ ραβδίον, καὶ μονάζειν ὡς στρου- 5
 θιον, καὶ πρὸς τὰ ὀρεῖονα φέρεσθαι, ἀποχρώντως καὶ ἀραρότως· καὶ εἰ μὴ οὕτως
 ἦν, ἀπωλῶλει ἂν ὁ λαὸς ἅπας καὶ ἀπωλωλέκει, ὀρκωμότης ὢν, καὶ συνωμοσίαις
 ἡδόμενος· ἀλλὰ μικρόν τι ἀπώνατο τῶν θεῶν τοῦδε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς λογίων, ἐν περι-
 λήψει γενόμενος.

[12] Αἰγιαλὸς ἦν, καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ, ἐπίνεια, καὶ νεώσοικοι, καὶ νεώρια, καὶ νηά-
 ρια ἐγκεκολπισμένα· ἔνθα τις ἀνὴρ εἰστήκει, τῶν γαλαθηνῶν ἀρνίων ἐπειλημμένος,

33. ἐγκεκοισυρῶσθαι] *Sch. Arist. Nub.*, 46a.6-7: ἀφ' ἧς ἔλεγον Ἑρετριεῖς ἐγκεκοισυρῶσθαι τὸ μέγα
 φρονεῖν || 39. πειώλῃ] *Ael. Her., Orth.*, 3,2, 566.6-8: πειώλης διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου σημαίνει δὲ τὸν
 πόρνον καὶ τὸν διὰ τὸ πέος ἀπολλύμενον· παρὰ γὰρ τὸ πέος γέγονε πεόλης καὶ πλεονασμῷ τοῦ ἰ καὶ
 ἐκτάσει τοῦ οἰ εἰς τὸ ω πειώλης

[11] 1. cf. *Long.*, 126.8-9 || 2-3. ὄρη βησσήεντα] *Sch. Hes.*, 527bis. 3-4: φεύγουσιν ἀνὰ τὰ δρυμὰ καὶ
 τὰ ὄρη βησσήεντα || 6. ὀρκωμότης] *Ael. Her., Part.*, 205.6-9: ὁμῶ, τὸ ὁμνῶ, μικρόν· τὰ δὲ παρ' αὐτοῦ
 συγκείμενα διὰ τοῦ ω μεγάλου γράφονται· οἶον ... ὀρκωμότης ὀρκωμοτῶ ... καὶ τὰ ὅμοια

[12] 1. νεώσοικοι καὶ νεώρια] *Hesych., Lex.*, 425.1: νεώσοικοι· τὰ νεώρια, ἔνθα ἡ ναὺς χειμῶνος
 εἰσφέρεται || 2. γαλαθηνῶν ἀρνίων] *Crates*, 1.2: νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἡμῖν παιδικῶν ἄλις ὅκως περ ἀρνῶν ἐστι
 γαλαθηνῶν τε καὶ χοίρων· cf. *Long.*, 119.1

32. ἡνίον C || κατακλεῖδας LC || 33. ἐγκεκοισυρῶσθαι post corr. (ex ἐγκεκοισυρῶσθαι et sscr. oi) L ||
 37. προπρήωνα LC || πρόωνα LC || 39. πειώλης LC || λαΐσια] verbum non inveni || 41. ἡδρασμένως
 L: ἡδρασμένως C || ἰδρῦσθαι L: ἰδρῶσθαι C || οὕτω C

[11] 1. Ὡ in rubr. L: deest C || ὠδοιπόρει L || 2. ἐξύψους L || 3. μιμουμένους LC || 6. ἀπολῶλει C

[12] 1. Αἰ in rubr. L: A deest C || 2. τίς LC || εἰστήκει L

- καὶ κρουνὸν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν δακρύων καταλείβων, ὀδόντι γὰρ σκύλακος δηχθεὶς νεογιλῆς, ἀκατονόμαστα ἐπωδύρετο· οὐ μέντοι ἀνωνόμαστος ἦν οὗτος, ὡς ἐφ' ἑκείνῃ·
- 5 ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν καὶ ῥυδὸν ἀφνειῶν· τότε δὲ λειπόνεως, ὥσπερ γε εἰκὸς γενόμενος, ἐν ἀπορίᾳ καθήστο, τοῦ ὅτι καὶ δράσειεν· ἀνανήψας δὲ καὶ νιψάμενος, ἐλαίῳ ἐχρήσατο· λαβὼν τοῦ ληκυθίου, καὶ τὴν ἀληλιμμένην ἔχων ἀσπίδα, ἥ λαίᾳ χρησάμενος, τῶν κυμάτων ἐξέθορε· καὶ πρὸς ἀνάντη ἐπήει· καὶ τινι ἐντυγχάνει φόνιον ἐνορώντι, καὶ φονεῖους ἡδομένῳ, φονίᾳ τε χειρὶ, πλείστους ὅσους αἰζηοὺς οὐδὲι
- 10 προηρηκότι, καὶ πολλὰ σώματα τετρωμένα, δεδαίγμένα ὀξείῃ χαλκῷ, πλησίον που τῶν χώρων κείμενα ἐθεάσατο· κώνειον δὲ ἄρα ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἀλιτήριος εἶχεν ἐν τῇ ἀργαλίᾳ, καὶ ἀκόνιτον· ἀλλὰ μὴν, καὶ ἐλλέβορον καὶ μῶλυ, καὶ τινες τῶν συνειθισμένων αὐτῷ τοῖς πλησιοχώροις, τὸ γεγονὸς ἐμήνυσαν· οἳ καὶ λαμπαδηφόροι γενόμενοι, τὴν ἀστιβὴν στεῖβειν ὁδὸν βιαίως ἀπὸ τῆς ἀργαλείας ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος καὶ Σιδῶνος, κρηπίδας
- 15 ἐμπεπερονημένοι, καὶ σιδηρεῖους κνημίδας· ἀκρωτηρίῳ δὲ τινι προσωκείλαντες περὶ τὴν Παλαιστίνην, ὁ Σικυὼν κατωνόμαστο, χώρῳ οἰοπόλῳ ἐνέτυχον· οὐδὲν τοῦ ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι Κιθαιρώνας ἀπειοικότι, ἐν ἀγνωσίᾳ μέντοι τὴν ἀργαλίαν ἐκείνην ὠδοιπόρουσαν ὁδόν· ὅμως γε μὴν, τὴν ὁμότητα τοῦ ἀλιτήριου ἐκεῖνου καὶ ἀλιτροῦ χαλεπωτέραν καὶ δισοψυχοτέραν ἡγούμενοι, οὐδὲν δεινὸν ἐκ τῆς ὠδοπορίας πεῖσεσθαι ᾔσονται· ἴσασι δὲ πολλὰ, καὶ εἴσονται τὸ μετὰ ταῦτα, οἷα τὸν ἐξάγνιστον ἐκείνον, καὶ μαστιγίαν εἰργάσαντο, καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν περιωδυνίας τὸ ἀκμαιότατον, ὡς οὐκ ἀνώδυνον ὄν· ἀποτρόπαιον γὰρ ἡγοῦντο οἱ ἄνδρες τὸ μέσον τῶν φόνων, τῷ συνείρειν καὶ κατενείρειν ἐναντίους ὡς ὑπαιτίους· καὶ ἡπειγμένως κατηλοήσαντο, στίφος τῶν ἀνδροφόνων καὶ ὡσανεὶ καταλελειμμένα ὦα, ἐλυμαίνοντο τοὺς
- 25 ὠμοθύμους, καὶ ὠμηστάς.

3. δακρύων καταλείβων] Vita S. Pauli, 25.16-17: καὶ δάκρυα καταλείβων αὐτῶν ἀφίστατο οὐδαμῶς || 3-4. σκύλακος νεογιλῆς] Eust., Od., 2.8.22-23, 2.14.10 et al.; cf. Long., 119.1 || 5. ῥυδὸν ἀφνειῶν] Hom., Od., 15.426: κούρη δ' εἶμ' Ἀρύβαντος ἐγὼ ῥυδὸν ἀφνειοῖο; Ael. Her., Pros., 3,1, 509.3-11: τὰ εἰς δὸν ὀξύνεται, ... παρακλιδόν, ῥυδὸν «ῥυδὸν ἀφνειοῖο» (ο 426), ... || λειπόνεως] Ael. Her., Part., 78.3-10: δίφθογγα δὲ ταῦτα ... λείπω, τὸ καταλιμπάνω, ὅθεν καὶ λειποτάκτης, καὶ λειποψυχῶ, καὶ λειπόνεως, ... || 9. φονία τε χειρὶ] Ael. Her., Part., 221.18-222.2: σημειωτέον καὶ ταῦτα ... φονεύω, φονεῖα, ἢ φόνευσις· φονία δὲ χεὶρ καὶ γνώμη, διὰ τοῦ ἰῶτα || 10. ὀξείῃ χαλκῷ] Hom., Il., 4.540, 5.132 et al. || 14. ἀστιβὴ ὁδόν] Jo. Aproc., Ep., 1.29-30: τὸ δὲ παρὸν ὁδὸν ἀστιβὴ τέως ἔως καὶ δεῦρο ἐμοὶ μελετῶ ... || 16. χώρῳ οἰοπόλῳ] Hom., Il., 13.473, 17.54: χώρῳ ἐν οἰοπόλῳ || 17-18. ἀργαλίαν ὁδόν] Ps.-Lucian., Asin., 1.7: ἐκείνην τὴν ἀργαλίαν ὁδὸν ἀνύσαντες || 24. καταλελειμμένα ὦα] Is., 10:14.1-3: καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην ὅλην καταλήμψομαι τῇ χειρὶ ... καὶ ὡς καταλελειμμένα ὦα ἄρῳ || 25. ὠμηστάς] Ael. Her., Il. Pros., 3,2, 76.26-30: ὠμησταί: Ἀρίσταρχος ὡς ἀθληταί, Τυραννίων δὲ ὡς κομήται, σύνθετον ἐκδεχόμενος τὴν λέξιν. Ἄμεινον δὲ λέγειν ὡς ὅτι τὰ εἰς στίγας λήγοντα, τῷ ἡ παραληγόμενα, ἔχοντα πρὸ τοῦ τὸ ὅ, ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβάς ὄντα ὀξύνεται, ἐρηπστής, ὀρχηστής. Οὕτως οὖν καὶ ὠμηστής

4. νεογιλῆς LC || ἀκατονόμαστα post corr. (ex ἀκατωνόμαστα) L || 6. ἀπορία L || ἐλέω LC || 8. πρὸς L || τίνι C || 9. τὲ LC || 10. προηρηκότι L || 12. ἐλλέβορον LC || 13. γεγώνος C || 14-15. κρηπίδας ἐμπεπερωνημένοι LC || 15. κνημίδας LC || 16. οἰοπόλῳ post corr. (ex οἰοπόλῳ) L: οἰωπόλων post corr. (ex οἰωπόλων) C || 17. τοῦ ἀθήνησι C || κυθαιρώνας LC || ἀργαλίην C || 18. ὠδοιπόρουσαν L || 19. δισοψυχοτέραν LC || 19-20. πῆσεσθαι C || 22. οὐκ ἀνώδυνον L

[13] Ἐν εἰαρινῷ καιρῷ ἦρος ἡρινουῦ ἐφειστώτος, ὀπηνίκα λειμώνες καὶ λείμακες συνηρεφεῖς τῶν Ἑλυσίων πεδίῳ τῶν πετήλων ἐκόμων, τὰ τε λήϊα χλοάζοντα, χλωρὸν τὸν σίτον ἐδείκνουν· τηνικαῦτα νήσις τοὺς πρέσβεις ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐκέλευσε, τὰς Ἀλπεῖς ἐκδραμόντας καὶ τὸ Τηϋγετον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰνδῶν ἀφίχθαι βασιλέα· οἱ καὶ τοὺς λάτρεις, τοὺς τὰς ἴβεις θεραπεύοντας παρακεκληκότες, εἰς πρεσβείαν τὰς 5 ἔριδας διελύσαντο· ἀλλ' οὗτοι τῷ ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν χώρων πλεῖν τοῦ εἰκότος δηθῆναι χειμῶνι χαλεπῷ καὶ κλύδωνι περιέπεσον· χιόνος γὰρ χειμερινῆς ἐξ αἰθέρος καταρραγείσης, τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῖς ἀποκέκλεικεν.

[14] Ὅτε δὴ καὶ ὄρνις ἅπασαι, τὰ πρόσειλα τῶν χωρίων καὶ προσήλια, καὶ τὴν ἀλέαν τῶν πρὸς εἴλην κειμένων ζητοῦσαι, κατὰ τὰς λεωφόρους περιήεσαν περιπετόμεναι καὶ ποτῶμεναι· καὶ κατειλήφασιν τῆς Εὐρωπαϊκῆς γῆς τὸ ἀλειινότατον καὶ χαροπώτατον· ἡπείγετο δὲ καὶ ἴλη τρυγόνων ἀνόπιν καὶ κατόπιν σὺν τραχεῖ 5 τῷ ῥοίζῳ· πολλὰ δ' ἄναντα κάταντα πάραντ' αὐτὰ δόχημα τε μετήλθον· καὶ χωρία ση- 5 ραγγώδη, πλεῖστα τε ἀκρωτήρια καὶ ἀκρωρείας καὶ πρυμνωρείας· παρορείους τε

[13] 1. λειμώνες καὶ λείμακες] Suda, 838.1: μεῖλαξ: ὁ λειμών, ὁ παράδεισος. καὶ λείμακες, τὸ πληθυντικὸν || 3. νήσις] Ael. Her., *Locut.*, 248.20-29: ἔτι ἀμαρτάνουσιν οἱ λέγοντες, νήσις εἰμί· λέγειν οὖν δέον νήσις συμβαίνει γὰρ ὅμοιοι τῷ νήσις ὁ κλώστης, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ νήθω τὸ κλώθω, μόνως οὖν ὁ νήσις κοῖνον γὰρ τοῦνομα, λόγῳ δὲ τούτῳ· πρῶτον μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν ὅμοιος ἐκείνοις, ὥς ἀπὸ τοῦ νήθω, νήσις· νήστω γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν· ἐπεὶ ἂν ἦν καὶ ὁ νήσις εἰ τοιαύτη χρῆσις ἦν, μόνως γὰρ ὁ νήσις οἱ Ἀττικοὶ λέγουσι, καὶ Ὅμηρος δὲ εἰπὼν νήσις ἀκμηνοῦς (*Il.* T 207) ἔδειξεν ὅτι νήσις ἔστιν· εἰ γὰρ ἦν νήσις, εἶπεν ἂν νήσας, τοῦ μέτρου ἐγχωροῦντος || 4. Τηϋγετον] Ael. Her., *Pros.*, 3,1, 390.20-22: Ταῦγετον ὄρος τῆς Λακωνικῆς. Ὅμηρος «ἦ κατὰ Τηϋγετον περιμήκετον ἢ Ἐρύμανθον» (*Od.* ζ 103). Λέγεται καὶ ἀρσενικῶς καὶ θηλυκῶς καὶ οὐδετέρως, ἀπὸ Ταῦγέτης τῆς μητρὸς Εὐρώτα

[14] 1. τῶν χωρίων καὶ προσήλια] Bas. Caes., *Hex.*, 7.4.53-54: καὶ τὰ προσήλια τῶν χωρίων ἐπείγονται || 2. εἴλην] Ael. Her., *Orth.*, 3,2, 499.30-31: εἴλη ἢ θερμασία διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθογγῶν· παρὰ γὰρ τὸ ἔλη γέγονε κατὰ πλεονασμὸν τοῦ ι || 2-3. cf. Long., 160.17 || 4. ἴλη] Ael. Her., *Orth.*, 3,2, 456.13-15: τὰ διὰ τοῦ ι ἴλη μήτε ἀπὸ κράσεως ἔχοντα, μήτε ἀπὸ πλεονασμοῦ τὸ ι ἀποστρέφεται τὴν εἰ διφθογγὸν οἷον ... ἴλη ἢ ἄθροισις, ... || ἀνόπιν καὶ κατόπιν] Ael. Her., *Part.*, 258.13-259.1: τὰ εἰς ἡν ἐπὶ ῥήματα διὰ τοῦ η γράφονται· οἷον μάτην, ... Πλὴν τοῦ ..., ἀνόπιν, καὶ κατόπιν || 5. ῥοίζῳ] Ael. Her., *Pros.*, 3,1, 117.1-3: ὥσπερ γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρμόδω γίνεται ἀρμόδιος τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἀπὸ τοῦ ῥοίζω γίνεται ῥοίδιος καὶ πλεονασμῷ τοῦ εἰ καὶ ἐκτάσει τοῦ ο εἰς ω ἐρωδιὸς καὶ μένει τὸ ι προσγεγραμμένον || πολλὰ – μετήλθον] Hom., *Il.*, 23.116: πολλὰ δ' ἄναντα κάταντα πάραντ' αὐτὰ δόχημα τ' ἦλθον; Ael. Her., *Pros.*, 3,1, 495.11-16: τὰ εἰς αἰ δισύλλαβα, ὑπεσταλμένων τῶν εἰς δα καὶ θᾶ, βαρύνεσθαι θέλει, ... τινὲς δὲ ὥζυναν. Συντιθέμενα δὲ δισύλλαβα προπαροξύνεται, ἄναντα, πάραντα || 6-7. ἀκρωρείας – ὑπορείους] Ael. Her., *Part.*, 268.4-5: ... ἀκρωρεία, πρυμνωρεία, μέγα καὶ δίφθογγον ...; Ael. Her., *Part.*, 232.15: ἀκρωρεία, ὑπώρεια, κρημνωρεία, μέγα καὶ δίφθογγον; Suda, 571.1-3: ὑπόρειος· ἡ ἐξοχή τοῦ ὄρους. Καὶ Ὑπόρειον, τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄρους. Ὑπόριον δὲ τὸ μικρὸν ἀκρωτήριον. Ὑπώρεια δὲ καὶ ἀκρωρεία διὰ τοῦ ω μεγάλου; Ael. Her., *Part.*, 173.1-2: τὰ παρὰ τὸ ὄρος, ὁ βουνός, διφθογγίζονται· οἷον ὄρειος τόπος· ὑπόρειος οἶκος· καὶ τὰ ὅμοια; cf. Long., 142.13-14

[13] 1. Ἐ in rubr. L: deest C || 3. τοὺς πρέσβεις: post add. sup. lin. L || 4. ἐκδραμόντας (καὶ) τὸ τηϋγετον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰνδῶν ἀφίχθαι βασιλέα L: ἐκδραμόντας, ἐπὶ τὸ τηϋγετον, (καὶ) ἐπὶ τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἀφίχθαι βασιλέα C || 5. λάτρεις LC || 6. ἔρις LC || δηθῆναι] verbum non inveni || 7. χειμῶνι χαλεπῷ καὶ κλύδωνι χαλεπῷ C || ἐξαίθερος L

[14] 1. Ὅ in rubr. L: deest C || τὴν post corr. (ε τιν) L || 2. εἴλην LC || 4. ἡπείγετο C || ἴλη LC || συντραχεῖ L || 5. πάραντα δόχημα τε C || 6. πλεῖστα τε LC

καὶ ὑπορείους χώρους διελθοῦσαι, πρὸς τὰ πεδινώτερα καὶ εὐδιδεῖνα καὶ ὑπόγαια κατήεσαν γῆδια· ἢ καὶ τὴν ζείδωρον καὶ χλοερὰν γῆν ἀσπασάμεναι, ὥριμον ὄντα L 356^v
τὸν σίτον καὶ πέπειρον ἤδη, κατήεθιον· τητείσις τε καὶ τοῖς ἐξηνηθηκόσι χωρίοις
10 προσωμίλουν· ἔν τινι δὲ σιρρῶ, εἰστήκει πολυωπὸν δίκτυον, ἐν ᾧ κακὴν ἐκείναι
αὐλιν ἔθεντο, ἄρδην ἐκείσε κατασχεθεῖσαι.

[15] Ἄνῆρ τις τῶν περὶ τὸ τελώνιον καὶ τὰς δημοκοπίας ἐνησχολημένων, οἰκίαν αὐτῷ ἀνεστήλωσε διώροφον καὶ χρυσόροφον· ἀλλὰ μὴν, καὶ δωμάτιον ὀροφώσας ἄχρι δόμων καὶ δωματίων, τὴν ποικιλίαν καὶ περιεργίαν ἐξέτεινε, σανίσιν ἐπηγκενίσιν τῶν

7. εὐδιδεῖνά] Ael. Her., *Part.*, 175.1-5: εἰ δὲ μήτε καιρὸν σημαίνουσι, μήτε ἔθνη καὶ ἢ τοπικά εἰσι, διὰ δι-
φθογγῶν γράφονται· οἷον ... εὐδιδεῖνός· ταπεινός ... ἢ 8. γῆδια] Ps.-Zonar., *Lex.*, 435.17-23: γῆδιον· ἡ
μικρὰ γῆ. Τριῶν ὄντων τῶν πρωτοτύπων, ἀπὸ τοῦ γῆ καὶ τοῦ γαῖα καὶ τοῦ γέα διὰ τοῦ εἰ ψιλοῦ, ἐκ ποίου
τούτων γέγονε τὸ γῆδιον· λέγει δὲ ὁ Δίδυμος, ὅτι γέα διὰ τοῦ εἰ ψιλοῦ, καὶ κλίνεται γέας, καὶ ἐκ τούτου γί-
νεται γείδιον διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθογγῶν, καὶ κατ' ἔκτασιν ἀττικὴν τοῦ εἰς ἢ γῆδιον ἢ ζείδωρον γῆν] cf. Hom.,
Il., 8.486, 20.226 et al.: ἔλκον νύκτα μέλαιναν ἐπὶ ζείδωρον ἄρουραν ἢ γῆν ἀσπασάμεναι] cf. Jo. Chrys.,
Bab., 68.26-27: καὶ τοῦτο πάσης τῆς γῆς μάλιστα ἀσπάζεσθαι καὶ φιλεῖν ἢ 10. σιρρῶ] Ps.-Theod., *Gram.*,
71.20-23: καὶ πάλιν πονηρός, ... διὰ τοῦ Η πλὴν τοῦ κίρρός, σιρρός ὁ λάκκος, καὶ ἱρός, ἅτινα διὰ τοῦ Ι
γράφεται ἢ πολυωπὸν δίκτυον] Ps.-Zonar., *Lex.*, 1567.16-19: (πολυωπὸν) τριβώνιον, μικρόν· πολυωπὸν
δὲ δίκτυον, μέγα· ἀπὸ τοῦ πολλὰς ὁπὰς ἔχειν ... ἐκτείναντος τοῦ οἰ εἰς ᾧ μέγα; Eust., *Od.*, 2.287.7-13:
πολυωπὸν δὲ δίκτυον κατὰ τοὺς παλαιούς τὸ πολλὰς ἔχον ὁπὰς, ἐκταθέντος τοῦ οἰ. Βίαιον γάρ, φασί,
πολυωπὸν εἰπεῖν τὸ πολυόφθαλμον· καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ὀρθόν. Εἰ δὲ τις ἐνθυμηθεῖ καὶ τεχνητοὺς εἶναι
ὀφθαλμούς, ὅποιοι καὶ οἱ κατὰ τὰς τριήρεις, λέγονται γὰρ ὀφθαλμοὶ ῥητορικῶς ἐν ἐκείναις αἰ ὅπαι ὧν αἱ
κῶπαι διεύρονται, οὐκ ἂν ἀπαγορεύσοι πολυωπὸν εἰρῆσθαι δίκτυον, οὐ πολλοὶ τεχνικῶς οἱ ὀφθαλμοί.
Πολυωπὸν μέντοι ῥάκος οὐ κατὰ τέχνην ἔχον ὀφθαλμούς ἀλλὰ τετρημένον ἄλλως ἐκ πάθους εἰς ὁπὰς
ἐθέλει τῷ οἰ μικρῷ παραλήγεσθαι ... ἢ 11. αὐλιν ἔθεντο] Hom., *Il.*, 9.232; Ael. Her., *Pros.*, 3.1, 90.3-21:
τὰ εἰς λίς δυσύλλαβα ... εἰ βαρύνεται ... καὶ αὐλὶς ἢ ἔπαυλις αἰολικῶς, Αὐλὶς δὲ ἢ πόλις Βοιωτίας ὀξύνεται
«καὶ Αὐλὶδα πετρήσαν» (B 496). Ἡ δὲ αἰτιατικὴ «Αὐλιν τ' ἔσφαγον» παρὰ τῷ Εὐφορίωνι (fr. 129 Mein.)
ἀπὸ εὐθείας βαρυνομένης γέγονε· ἡ γὰρ εἰς τὴν κατάληξιν ἀπὸ βαρυτόνων ἐστίν, ἡ δὲ εἰς δα καὶ βαρυτόνων
καὶ ὀξυτόνων. Τρύφων τὴν Αὐλὶς παράγει παρὰ τὸ ἀλισθῆναι ἀλὶς καὶ αὐλὶς, ὅτι εἰς αὐτὴν ἠθροίσθησαν οἱ
ἔλλαγες· βέλτιον ἀπὸ τῆς Αὐλίδος τῆς Εὐνύμου τοῦ Κηφισσοῦ

[15] 2. διώροφον καὶ χρυσόροφον] Ael. Her., *Part.*, 203.19-204.3: ὄροφος μικρόν· τὰ δὲ παρ' αὐτοῦ γι-
νόμενα, εἰ μὲν ἔχουσι τὴν πρὸ τοῦ ὄροφος συλλαβὴν βραχεῖαν, διὰ τοῦ ω μεγάλου γράφονται οἷον·
ἀνώροφος διώροφος ... Εἰ δὲ μακράν, διὰ τοῦ ο μικροῦ οἷον· ὑπόροφος χρυσόροφος ... ἢ ὀροφώσας] *Etym. Gud.*, 433.22: ὀροφώσας, ἐκ τοῦ ὄρος καὶ τοῦ φῶ τὸ φαίνω ἢ 3. σανίσιν ἐπηγκενίσιν] *Etym. Magn.*,
357.4-7: ἐπηγκενίς· τὸ ἐπὶ μήκος παρατεταμένον μακρὸν ξύλον, ἡγουν ἡ μακρὰ σανὶς. Παρὰ τὸ ἐνέκω ἢ
ἐνέγκω γίνεται ἐνεγκίς· καὶ ἐκτάσει, ἐνηγκίς· καὶ καθ' ὑπερβίβασμόν, καὶ μεταθέσει τοῦ ν εἰς γ, ἐπηγκενίς
ἐπηγκενίδος; Ps.-Zonar., *Lex.*, 799.9-15: ἐπηγκενίς· τὸ ἐπιμήκης παρατεταμένον ξύλον, ἡγουν ἡ μακρὰ
σανὶς. Παρὰ τὸ ἐνέγκω ἢ ἐνέκω, πλεονασμῷ τοῦ γ, ἐνεγκίς, καὶ τροπῇ τοῦ εἰς ἢ ἐνηγκίς, καὶ ἐν συνθέσει
ἐπενηγκίς, καὶ καθ' ὑπερβίβασμόν καὶ μετάθεσιν τοῦ ν εἰς γ ἐπηγκενίς. Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἐνέγκω γέγονεν ἐνεῖκω
κατὰ πλεονασμόν τοῦ ἰώτα; Eust., *Od.*, 1.213.7-11: ἐπηγκενίδες δέ, σανίδες ἐκ πύρας εἰς πύρναν τε-
ταμέναι καὶ ἐπενηνεγμέναι. Ὅθεν καὶ ἐτυμολογεῖται. Παρὰ γὰρ τὸ ἐπενεγκεῖν, ἐπενεγκίς γίνεται. Καὶ κατὰ
μετάθεσιν, ἐπεγκενίς καὶ κατὰ ἔκτασιν, ἐπηγκενίς. Ἔστι δὲ ἐπηγκενίς ἢ καθ' ἣν οἱ σκαλμοὶ πῆγνυνται, ἢ
ὅπερ κοινῶς περίτονον λέγεται παρὰ τὸ διόλου τεῖνεσθαι. Παρὰ δὲ τοῖς παλαιοῖς φέρεται, καὶ ὅτι
ἐπηγκενίδες, μακρὰ ξύλα τῆς σχεδίας ἢ τὰ παραθέματα. (Vers. 254)

8. χλοερὰν L ἢ ὥριμον LC ἢ 9. σίτον C ἢ τητείσις τὲ C

[15] 1. Ἀ in rubr. L: deest C ἢ τὸν τελώνιον LC ἢ 2. χρυσόροφον post corr. (ε χρυσόροφον et eras. ε) L

ἀητῶν ἀλεωρὴν τεκταινόμενος· κίονας δέ, ὡς βραχίονας ὑπήρεισεν ἐπτά πρὸς τὸ
 γείσσειν ἐρηρεισμένας, ἐν ᾧ ὁσημέραι εἰσῆι καὶ ἐξῆι· ὃ γε μὴν χρώς αὐτοῦ, ὡχρός 5
 καὶ ἐξίτηλος· ὀρρωδῆσας γὰρ τὴν τῶν λωποδυτῶν καὶ τοιχορυκτῶν ἐπανάστασιν,
 ὠρακία καὶ ὠχριάκει· ὠρρωδικῶς, ὥσπερ εἵπομεν, τοὺς κλῶπας καὶ φῶρας καὶ
 τοιχωρύχους, ναὶ δὴ καὶ τινας λοιδοροὺς καὶ λυμεῶνας, φένακάς τε καὶ ἀπατεῶνας,
 τραγωδούς τε καὶ κωμωδοὺς φληνάφους· οἳ δ' ἐδόκουν αὐτῷ, ἐπήβολοι λογισμῶν καὶ
 ἐπητυί κεκοσμημένοι καὶ ἐπηετανῶς ἐπηλυγάζειν, ἅπερ αὐτὸς ἡμάρτανε· τούτους 10
 ἐπισυναζάμενος, καθῆσθαι παρήνει, καὶ συμμετέχειν αὐτῷ τῶν ἐξηρημένων ἐκείνων
 λήρων· τῶν τις δὲ μίμων καὶ γελοίων παρήν, ἀμφορέα κατέχων, ὑδάτων ἔμπλεων
 καὶ ἀσκόν οἴνου πλήρη, ὅσπερ ἀπέσκωπτεν καὶ εἰς [τὸν] τοὺς πέλας πλήρεις ὄντας
 αὐτοὺς οἰνοφλυγίας, καὶ ληρωδοῦντας ἀκαίρως.

[16] Ἦρων δέ τις ἀνὴρ τῶν φιλοσοφίαν εἰς ἄκρον ἐξησκημένων, εἰρωνευομένοις
 τούτοις καὶ τὰ ἄτοπα πράττουσιν, τὸ οὖς ἀφίστη καὶ ὑπετίθει· καὶ αὐτοῖς παρήνει
 λήξειν ἥδη ποτὲ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀνακωχῆς αἰσθῆσθαι λυπηρῶν· ἀλλ' οὗτοι ἄποθεν
 αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπωτάτω ἀπώσαντο, ὡς μὴ εἰρηνικὸν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπευκταῖον καὶ 5
 οὐκ εὐκταῖον || καὶ ἴσα Ἴρω τῷ παρὰ τῷ Μέλιτος ἀδομένῳ, ὃς ἐν ἀνέσει καταστάς

4. ὑπείρεισεν ἐπτά] cf. Prov., 9:1.1-2: ἡ σοφία ὠκοδόμησεν ἑαυτῇ οἶκον καὶ ὑπείρεισεν στύλους ἐπτά ||
 5. ἐρηρεισμένας] *Etym. Gud.*, 518.13-18: ἐρεῖδω: ... τὸ εἰ δίφθογγον, ὅτι ἀνεφάνη τὸ ἔν τῷ ἐρηρέδαται.
 Ὁ Ἀττικὸς παρακείμενος ἐρήρεικα, ἀλλ' οὐ συστέλλεται διὰ τὸ μὴ συνεμπεσεῖν τῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐρίζω. Ἐρεῖδω:
 τὸ ἐπακουμβίζω· καὶ ὁ μέλλων ἐρεῖσω, ὁ παρακείμενος ἥρεικα καὶ ἐρήρεικα, ὁ παθητικὸς ἥρειμαι καὶ
 ἐρήρειμαι, ἡ μετοχή ἥρεισμένος καὶ ἐρηρεισμένος ...; *Suda*, 2970.1-1: ἐρηρεισμένος: ὁ ἡδρασμένος.
 Ἐρηρεισμένος δὲ ὁ πεφιλονεικημένος || ὡχρός] *Ael. Her., Pros.*, 3,1 203.13-19: τὰ εἰς ῥὸς δισύλλαβα ...
 ὡχρος τὸ μονογενές, ὡχρός τὸ μονογενές, ὡχρός τὸ ἐπίθετον. Τάχα δὲ καὶ τὸ ὡχρος ἐγένετο παρὰ τὸ
 ἄχρος, ὃ ἐν ὑπερθέσει γίνεται ἄχρος καὶ κατὰ συναλοιφὴν ποιεῖ τὸ ὡχρος βαρυνόμενον; *Ael. Her., Part.*,
 104.14-105.3: τὸ πρὸ τοῦ χ μικρύνεται ... Πλὴν τοῦ ὡχρός ὡχρότης· ὡχρία, τὸ αὐτὸ ὡχρίας· ὡχρίω,
 ῥήμα· καὶ ὅσα ἐπὶ παρωχημένων ὡχόμην· ὡχύρωκα· καὶ τὰ ὅμοια || 6. ἐξίτηλος] *Ael. Her., Orth.*, 3,2,
 508.7-8: ἐξίτηλος ἰ. Παρὰ τὸ ἐξιέναι τὸ ἐξελεθῆναι. Λέγεται δὲ κυρίως τὸ ἀπολλύμενον || τοιχορυκτῶν] *Ael.*
Her., Part. 204.18-205.3: ὀρύσσω μικρόν· τὰ δὲ παρ' αὐτοῦ, εἰ μὲν ἔχουσι τὸ χ, διὰ τοῦ ᾧ μεγάλου γράφον-
 ται· οἷον τυμβωρύχος· φρεωρύχος· γεωρύχος· καὶ τὰ τούτων ῥήματα τυμβωρυχῶ· φρεωρυχῶ· καὶ τὰ ὅμοια.
 Ὅσα δὲ ἔχουσι κτ, διὰ τοῦ ᾧ μικροῦ γράφονται· τυμβορύκτης· τοιχορύκτης· φρεορύκτης· καὶ τὰ ὅμοια ||
 8. φένακάς τε καὶ ἀπατεῶνας] *Hesych., Lex.*, 285.1: φένακας· ἀπατεῶνας

[16] 1. Ἦρων] *Ael. Her., Part.*, 51.6-52.2: ἡ ἰ συλλαβὴ πρὸ τοῦ ρ διὰ τοῦ ἰ γράφεται· οἷον· Ἴρος, ὁ πτωχός
 καὶ Ἴρος, ὄνομα κύριον· ... Πλὴν τοῦ ... Ἦρων, φιλόσοφος, καὶ κλίνεται Ἦρωνος || 3. ἄποθεν] *Ael. Her.,*
Part., 261.7-11: τὰ διὰ τοῦ οθῆν καὶ οσε ἐπίρρηματα διὰ τοῦ ᾧ μικροῦ γράφονται ... Σὺν τούτοις καὶ ...
 ἄποθεν ... || 4. ἀπευκταῖον] *Ps.-Theod., Gram.*, 77.11-13: πάντα τὰ θετικά διὰ τοῦ Ε φιλοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ο
 μικροῦ γράφονται ... πλὴν τοῦ εὐκταῖον ἀπευκταῖον καὶ τελευταῖον; *Suda*, 3095.1-3: ἀπευκταῖον, καὶ
 εὐκταῖον διὰ διφθόγγου. Ἀπευκτὸν δὲ μισητόν

4. ὑπείρεισεν post corr. (ex ὑπείρεισεν) C || 5. γείσειν LC, verbum non inveni, leg. γείσσειν? || χρώς post
 corr. (ε χρώμενος et enc. ος) C || 7. ὠρακία LC || 8. λυμαῖωνας L || 9. αὐτῶν C || 10. ἐπιτύι L: ἐπὶ τύι C
 || 11. ἐπὶ συναζάμενος C || 13. τὸν post corr. (ε τῶν) C || 14. ἀκαίρως L

[16] 1. H in rubr. L: deest C || 2. ἀφίστη τὸ οὖς C || 3. ἀνακωχῆς ἔσεσθαι C || 4-5. οὐκαπευκταῖον καὶ
 οὐκευκταῖον L

καὶ ῥήσει εἰρηνικῇ, τὴν αὐτῶν ἀπώλειαν ἀπομοσάμενος, ἀπῆι· πλείστα τῷ αὐτῶν ἀρχετύπῳ ἐξώλειόν τι καὶ μαινόλῃ καὶ φαινόλῃ, καὶ σκωπτόλῃ ἐπαρσάμενος· ὅπερ ἐκεῖνος ὁ προώλης ἀκηκώς, ὑπέστρωσέ τε καὶ ὑπεστόρεσε τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀνύπεικτον καὶ ἀνήκεστον· καὶ τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ ἀνδρός, οἶονεῖ κληθμῷ τῆς μήνιδος, ἐξελάθετο.

- [17] Ἀνὴρ τις τῶν ἐν δυναστείαις καὶ περιφανείαις ἐζητασμένων, καὶ πλείστον ἐσμὸν χρυσῶν συνειληχότων, ἄνδρας τινάς, τρεῖς τὸν ἀριθμόν, ἀναιτίους ὡς ὑπαιτίους καταδικάσας εἰρκτῇ καθεῖρξε καὶ κλεισὶ σιδηρεῖαις κατέκλεισε, κλοπὴν αὐτῶν τῶν τῷ δημοσίῳ ἀφιερωμένων καταδικάσας, κλωπεῖα χαίρων οὗτος καὶ κλωπιτεῖα ἡδόμενος· ἀλλ' ὁ χειρώναξ λεώς, οὐ δίκαιον οὐδὲ περιώσιον τὸ τοιόνδε ἡγησάμενος, ὥϊθη δεῖν, εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀπελθὼν, [...] τῶν ὅλων κρατεῖν ἀφιέρωτο ὑπὲρ τοῦτου κοινολογήσασθαι· ἡῶθι δ' ὡς εἰώθει ὁ βασιλεύς, ἐπὶ μετεώρου καθίσας τοῦ βήματος, σκηπάνιον ἐν χεροῖν ἦν καὶ τῷ λαιῷ μηρῷ, ἀσπίδα προσερηρισμένην· ὃς καὶ ὀρκωμοσίαν ἐνεκάλει τοῖς ἀνδράσιν· καὶ οὐδαμῶς μεθήσειν ἔλεγεν, εἴ τι καὶ γένοιτο·
- 10 ἀλλ' οὗτοι, σκαιὸν εἶναι λογισάμενοι, εἰ ἐτώσιον ἄχθος ἀρούρης φανείεν καθήμενοι, τοὺς τε ἄλλους δεσμώτας τῶν δεσμῶν ἀνέεσαν, καὶ τοῖς δημόταις ἐνεχειρίζον· ὡς ἰθαιγενεῖς, καὶ ἰθαγενεῖς, καὶ ἡμεδαπούς, καὶ οὐκ ὀθνεῖους Πιγύτης οὗτος καὶ

7. μαινόλῃ ... σκωπτόλῃ] Ael. Her., *Part.*, 211.16-19: τὰ παρὰ τὸ ὅλλω γινόμενα ὀνόματα, καὶ διὰ τοῦ ὧλης ἐκφερόμενα, διὰ τοῦ ὧ μεγάλου γράφονται· οἶον· πανώλης· ἐξώλης· προσώλης· καὶ τὰ ὅμοια. Πλὴν τοῦ μαινόλης· σκωπτόλης || 8. προώλης] Ael. Her., *Pros.*, 3,1, 70.4: ἔτι βαρύνονται τὰ παρὰ τὸ ὅλλω, πανώλης, ἐξώλης, προώλης ...; cf. Long., 159.5 || ἀνύπεικτον] Hesych., *Lex.*, 5566.1: ἀνύπεικτον· ἀνυποχώρητον || 9. κληθμῷ] Ael. Her., *Schem.*, 113.1-4: κληθμὸς λέγεται ἡ τῆς ἀκοῆς θέλξις· εἴρηται ἀπὸ χαληθυμός τις ὢν, καὶ συγκοπῇ χαληθυμός, καὶ τροπῇ κληθυμός

[17] 4. κλωπεῖα] Ps.-Zonar., *Lex.*, 1219.12: κλοποφορία. Κλωπεῖα δὲ μέγα καὶ δίφθογγον; Georg. Schol., *Gram.*, 2, 463.10-11: κλώψ, ὁ κλέπτης καὶ κλωπεύω καὶ κλωπιτεύω, τὸ κλέπτω, μέγα; cf. Long., 132.2-4 || 5. χειρώναξ] Ael. Her., *Part.*, 215.10-11: τὰ διὰ τοῦ ὠνᾶς ἐκφερόμενα ἅπαντα διὰ τοῦ ὠ μεγάλου γράφονται· οἶον· ... χειρώναξ· ... || 7. ἡῶθι] Ael. Her., *Part.*, 44.4-5: ἡῶς, ἡ ἡμέρα καὶ ἡ πρωῒα· καὶ ἡῶθι, ἐπὶ ῥῆμα, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐκ πρωῒας || 10. ἐτώσιον] Hom., *Il.* 18.104; Ael. Her., *Path.*, 3,2, 181.5-8: *Ep. Hom.*, 73,23 coll. E. M. 39, 47: παρὰ τὸ ἐτεὸν τὸ ἀληθές γίνεται, ὥς φησιν Ἡρωδιανός, ἐτώσιον καὶ συνθέσει τοῦ ᾧ ἀετώσιον τὸ μὴ ἀληθές καὶ ἀφαιρέσει τῆς στερήσεως ἔμεινε τὸ ἐν τῇ συνθέσει σημαινόμενον || 12. ἰθαιγενεῖς] Theogn., 458.1-8: τὰ παρὰ βαρύτονον ἐνεστώτα συγκείμενα, εἰ μὲν ὁ ἐνεστώς εἴη δυσύλλαβος, τοῦ τρίτου προσώπου ἀποβάλλει τὸ ἰ, ... Εἰ δὲ ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς βαρύτονος ἐκκόπτει μίαν συλλαβὴν, ὅπως ἀναλογίῃ τοῖς δυσύλλαβοις· οἶον, ... ἰθαῖνω, ἰθαῖνεις, ἰθαῖνει, ἰθαινάθυμος, ἰθαῖγενής || ἰθαγενεῖς] Eust., *Od.*, 2.70.7-13: παῖς ἰθαγενής ὁ γνήσιος, ἦγουν ὁ μὴ ἐκ παλλακίδος, καθάπερ αὐτὸς ἐδήλωσεν, εἰπὼν ὡς οὐ γνήσιος μὲν ἦν τῷ πατρί, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἴσον ἰθαγενέεσσιν ἐτίμα. Ἔστι δὲ ἰθαγενής ὁ ἐκ τῆς κατ' ἰθὺ, τουτέστι κατ' εὐθύτητα νόμου, γενήσεως καὶ μὴ πλαγίως πῶς τῷ γένει ἐπεισαγόμενος. Λέγεται δὲ ποτε ἡ λέξις καὶ ἐπὶ πολιτῶν αὐτοχθόνων. Ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ πλεονασμῷ τοῦ ἰῶτα λέγεται ἰθαγενής, ὡς καὶ ἐνταῦθα τινὲς γράφουσιν, ὁμοίως τῷ, Ἰθαμένης Ἰθαμένης κύριον. Οὐκ οὖν διὰ τοῦ ἦ ἢ ἄρχουσα τοῦ ἰθαγενούς, καθά τινες πλανῶνται, ὡς δῆθεν παρὰ τὸ ἦθος. Ὅμηρος γὰρ εἰς δακτύλου ἀπαρτισμὸν αὐτὴν τίθησιν, εἰπὼν· ἀλλὰ με ἴσον ἰθαγενέεσσιν ἐτίμα (vers. 204)

7. ἐξώλειον] verbum non inveni || 8. ὑπέστρωσέ post corr. (ex ἐπέστρωσέ) L || ἀνέπεικτον LC

[17] 1. Ἀ in rubr. L: deest C || τίς LC || ἐσμὸν LC || 3-4. εἰρκτῇ ... καταδικάσας desunt (homoioioteleuton) C || 3. σιδηρεῖαις L || 6. ἀπελθὼν [ca. 8 litt.] τῶν LC || 9. ἀνδράσι L || ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ οὐδαμῶς μεθήσειν C || 11. δεσμώτας LC

Δίφιλος καὶ Ἡρόδοτος ἐκαλοῦντο, οἱ ἐξ ἐπικρατείας καὶ ἐγκρατείας, εἰς ἀριστοκρατίαν
 τὴν μοναρχίαν, καὶ ὡς εἶπεν, δημοκρατίαν καταστήσαντες, καὶ εἰδεχθῆ ἀπὴνειαν
 καὶ ἀπανθρωπίαν τοῦ βασιλέως ἀποσεισάμενοι καὶ ἀποφορτισάμενοι, σεισάχθειαν 15
 τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἀπένειμον· τὸν γε μὴν ἀμείλικτον ἄνθρωπον, κατὰ κρημνῶν ὥθισαν·
 εἰκαιοβουλίαν αὐτοῦ καταψηφισάμενοι, αὐθις δὲ πρὸς πάλιν χωρήσαντες ἀγωνίας,
 L 357^r ὑπόπλεων τὸν βασιλέα ἔδειξαν· ὃς ἐν λιτότητι διέζη, πᾶσαν ἥ βλακείαν καὶ μαλακίαν,
 ὡς εἶπεν ἀπωσάμενος· αἶ γε μὴν σιαγόνες αὐτοῦ, ὥδινον γελῶντος σεσηρός τι καὶ
 ὑπωχρον καὶ ἀμειδῆς· τῆς δὲ τῶν πέλας καταστοχαζόμενος ἐπιεικειάς καὶ καταστοχῶν 20
 τῆς τελειότητος καὶ ἀπαλότητος, κατευμεγεθεῖν ἐδόκει τῶν παρευρημένων· καὶ
 σοφός τις δοκῶν μὲν εἶναι, οὐκῶν δὲ τὴν ἀχρείαν χρησιμοδοσίαν, ὡς χρησιμῶδιαν
 χρειώδη καὶ ἀπεχρησιμοδοτεῖ· ἀλλ' ὑπωπτευκῶς τὸν ὑποτοπασμὸν καὶ τωθασμὸν τῶν
 τονθορυζόντων καὶ ἐνοχλεῖσθαι δοκῶν, καὶ παρηνωχλῆσθαι οἰηθείς, ἀντηνώχλει 25
 καὶ αὐτός, ὡς ἐνὸν πεινῆν καὶ διψῆν, καὶ μόνον ζῆν ἐφιέμενος· τὸ δὲ ὑποταρτάριον
 σμῆνος ὠδυνῶντο πανσυδί· καὶ διήεσαν, ὡς ἀνάπηροι καὶ ἡκρωτηριασμένοι, καὶ
 χωλείαν νοσοῦντες, ἀποδυρόμενοι τὴν αὐτῶν ἀπώλειαν, καὶ ἐρητύομενοι παρὰ τὸ
 Καπιτώλιον, αἶπος εἰσφρήσαι· ἀρτιγένειος γάρ τις, ἢ μᾶλλον τῶν ἀπωγόνων τὰ βάρη
 πάντων ἐπωμισάμενος, καὶ κούφως διὰ τῆς στενοτάτης ὁδεύσας, εἶλεν αὐτοὺς κατα- 30
 κράτος καὶ διαταχέος ὠδυνωμένους καὶ ἀνιωμένους.

[18] Τοῖς κωμασταῖς ἥδιον τὸ ὠραῖζεσθαι, ἢ ταῖς μελίτταις τὸ συνεῖναι σμῆνει
 σφικῶν· αἱ δὲ ὄρνις αἱ ἡεροφοῖτιδες, πλήθη ἔχουσιν εἰδῶν διάφορα· αἱ μὲν γάρ,
 κωτίλοι· αἱ δέ, ὠδικοί· αἱ δέ, μιμηλοὶ καὶ λαλίστατοι· αἱ δέ, ταῖς καλιαῖς ἐπιπολάζουσιν
 ἐπ' αἰχμαζοῦσαι· καὶ φυτῶν τὰ κομῶντα περισκαίρουσι καρπῶ, οἷον αἰγείρους καὶ μηλέας
 καὶ ροιάς καὶ ἰτέας ὠλεσικάρπους· ἔν τινι δὲ εἰαμενῇ εἰστήκει δένδρον τεθιγλός, ᾧ 5

13. Δίφιλος] Ael. Her., *Orth.*, 3,2, 493.11-13: Δίφιλος: ἰ. Ὡσπερ γὰρ παρὰ τὴν Ἄρηϊ δοτικὴν γίνεται
 ἀρῆφιλος, οὕτω παρὰ τὴν Διὶ Δίφιλος καὶ κατὰ κράσιν τῶν δύο π̄ εἰς ἐν μακρὸν Δίφιλος ἥ 15. σεισάχθει-
 αν] Ael. Her., *Orth.*, 3,2, 579.17-19: σεισάχθεια: σημαίνει δὲ τὸ ἀποσειεῖσθαι τὸ ἄχθος. Διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθόγ-
 γου γράφεται. Κατὰ τὴν παραλήγουσαν τῷ λόγῳ τῶν διὰ τοῦ εἰα προπαροξυτόνων ἥ 27. χωλείαν] Ael.
 Her., *Part.*, 152.17-12.13: πᾶσα λέξις ἀπὸ τῆς χῶ συλλαβῆς ἀρχομένη διὰ τοῦ ὀ μικροῦ γράφεται· οἷον
 χορός ... Πλὴν τοῦ ... χωλός χωλεύω χωλεία· χωλαίνω ἥ 28. αἶπος] Plut., *Romul.*, 17.6.4: ἡ δ' ἀγχοῦ
 Τάρπεια παραὶ Καπιτώλιον αἶπος

[18] 2. ἡεροφοῖτιδες] Ael. Her., *Il. Pros.*, 3,2, 67.30-33: ἡεροφοῖτις: τὰ εἰς τς παρώνυμα θηλυκά, παρα-
 κείμενα τοῖς εἰς τς ἀρσενικοῖς βαρυνόμενοις, προπερισπᾶται, εἰ φύσει μακρὰ παραλήγοιτο, ... οὕτως δὲ καὶ
 ἡεροφοῖτις ἥ 5. ἰτέας ὠλεσικάρπους] cf. supra, § 9.41

13. ἐξἐπικρατείας L ἥ 15. σεισάχθειαν LC ἥ 22. οὐκῶν LC ἥ χρησιμοδοσίαν post corr. (ε χρησιμῶδιαν et
 sscr. σι) C ἥ 23. χρειώδει LC ἥ 23-24. τῶν τὸν τονθορυζόντων L: τῶν τονθοριζόντων C ἥ 24. ἐνωχλεῖσθαι
 post corr. (ex ἐνωχλῆσθαι) C ἥ παρηνωχλεῖσθαι L ἥ ἀντηνώχλει] verbum non inveni ἥ 27. ἀποδυρό-
 μενοι LC ἥ ἐρητύομενοι LC ἥ 29. ἐπωμισάμενος LC ἥ στενοτάτης post corr. (ε στενιτάτης) L: στενοτή-
 τος C ἥ εἶλεν C

[18] 1. T in rubr. L: deest C ἥ 2. αἰηεροφοῖτις L: ἡεροφοῖτις C ἥ 4. κωμῶντα L

- καὶ ὑπέστρωντο ῥοδωνιαί καὶ κρινωνιαί καὶ ἰωνιαί· ἔνταῦθα Ἄνυτος καὶ Μέλητος
 εὖσχημόνως ἐκάθηντο, τοῖς Μελιτίδαις σαφηνίζοντες, Αἰσώπειά τινα καὶ Πυθαγόρεια,
 καὶ Πελόπεια καὶ Ξενοφώντεια ῥησεῖδια· τοῖς δὲ Ἀβδηρίταις καὶ Σταγειρίταις καὶ
 Ἐφυρήταις καὶ Αἰγινήταις, Ἡσιόδεια καὶ Ὀμήρεια· τούς γε μὴν Στωϊκοὺς καὶ τοὺς
 10 ἐξ Ἀκαδημίας καὶ πώγωνας ἔχοντας καθειμένους, τοῖς ἐν πωλητηρίοις καθημένοις
 ἀπέικασεν· ὕστερον δὲ τοῦ σκίμποδος μέγα καθίσας, σκηπάνιον τε λαβών, ἅπαντας
 αὐτοὺς κακηνηκῶς ἀπώλεσε· φασὶ δέ, ὡς τοὺς φοιτητὰς αὐτοῦ προσηνῶς δεδε-
 γμένους τὸ μεγαλουργημα, οὐκ ἀπηνεῖς ὦφθαι καὶ ἀπειθεῖς ἄλλ· ἐκ περιχαρείας καὶ
 ἐπεικειάς, ἅπασαν περιπέτειαν ἀπώσάμενος, τῷ κρύει καὶ ψύχει, τῷ πληῶ καὶ τῇ
 15 πλινθείᾳ, τοὺς περιπατητικοὺς ταλαιπωρημένους, συναυλίῳ τετιμηκέναι ἱκανῶς
 αὐτοὺς τεταλαιπωρηῆσθαι καὶ κεκαινοτομηῆσθαι συνεγνωκότας.

[19] Ἐπανιτέον οὖν πρὸς τὴν προτέραν διήγησιν· καὶ λεκτέον ὑμῖν τὰ λειπόμενα· ἐν
 γὰρ τῷ προειρημένῳ τόπῳ, τοῖχοι μὲν εὐπεριόριστοι καὶ κωνοειδῶς ἐσκευασμένοι
 ἐτύγχανον, καὶ δένδρα δὲ ἐπεφύκεισαν στοιχηδὸν αὐτῷ, περιπεφυτευμένα· τῇ
 τε γῇ ἀνεδίδοδοτο λωτὸς θερσῆεις, ἡδὲ κρόκος, ἡδ' ὑάκινθος καὶ ἡ καρηβαροῦσα
 5 μήκων, τῷ χώρῳ ἐπεπόλαζεν· Ὀμήρῳ πειστέον, μήκων δ' ὡς ἔκλινε κάρη, εἰρηκότι,
 ἀπὸ δὲ ψυχῇν ἐκάπυσσε καὶ ἄλλο πλῆθος βοτανῶν, τὸν νοσηλείᾳ κατισχημένον,
 ἰᾶσθαι δεδυνημένον· ἄλλ' οὕτω μὲν τὸ χωρίον, ἐξαίσιόν τι χρῆμα καὶ εἰς κάλλος

6. ῥοδωνιαί] *Suda*, 207.1-208.3: ῥοδωνία· ἡ τῶν ῥόδων φυτεία, ὥσπερ ἰωνία ἡ τῶν ἰων. Ῥοδωνία· ἔστι
 μὲν ὁ τῶν ῥόδων λειμών· ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ τὴν ῥοδοδάφνην οὕτω φασὶ καλεῖσθαι. Ἕτεροι δὲ εἶδος ἀμπέλου
 φεροῦσης σταφυλὴν παραπλησίαν τῷ ῥόδῳ κατὰ τὸ χρῶμα; *Poll.*, *Onom.*, 1.229.6-9: τόποι δὲ τῶν
 ἀνθέων ὁ μὲν πάντων λειμών, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων οὐκ οἶδα εἴ τι κέκληται, τῶν δὲ ῥόδων ῥοδωνία,
 καὶ ἰωνία τῶν ἰων; *Ael. Her.*, *Paron.*, 3,2, 860.19: τὸ ῥοδωνία καὶ ἰωνία περιεκτικὴν τοπικὴν ἔννοιαν
 δηλοῖ || Ἄνυτος] *Ael. Her.*, *Pros.*, 3,1, 221.4-5: τὰ εἰς τὸς ὑπερδυσύλλαβα παραληγόμενα ὃ βραχεῖ κύρια
 ὄντα βαρύνεται, Ἐρυτος, Ἄνυτος ... || Μέλητος] cf. *supra*, §16.5 || 10. πώγωνας καθειμένους] *Aelian.*,
Nat., 17.39.4-5: καὶ πώγωνας καθειμένους καὶ βαθεῖς; *Arist.*, *Eccl.*, 99-100: τὸν πώγωνά τε ὅταν
 καθῶμεν || καθειμένους, καθημένους] *Ael. Her.*, *Part.*, 273.16-17: παρήμεν, ἀνήμεν, καθήμεν, διὰ τοῦ ἡ.
 Ἄνεῖμαι δέ, καθεῖμαι, παρεῖμαι, ἀφεῖμαι, δίφθογον || 13. ἀπηνεῖς] *Theogn.*, 241.1-4: τὰ διὰ τοῦ ηνῆς
 ὀξύτονα ἐπιθετικά διὰ τοῦ ἡ γράφει τὴν παραλήγουσαν· οἶον, ἀπηνῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ κυρίου, διὰ ἡ γράφεται· πινὸς
 γὰρ ὁ ῥύπος παρὸ Ἀπινὸς ὄνομα κύριον· ἐξ οὗ Ἀπινῆς ὁ ἀμόλυντος || ἀπειθεῖς] *Theogn.*, 255.1-3: τὰ ἀπὸ
 ῥημάτων συγκείμενα τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει τῷ ῥήματι γραφὴν κατὰ τὴν παραλήγουσαν· οἶον, ... πείθω ἀπειθής ||
 14-15. τῷ πληῶ καὶ τῇ πλινθείᾳ] *Ex.* 1.14.2: καὶ κατωδύνων αὐτῶν τὴν ζωὴν ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις τοῖς
 σκληροῖς, τῷ πληῶ καὶ τῇ πλινθείᾳ ...

[19] 1. ἐπανιτέον] cf. *supra*, § 15 || 5. μήκων] *Ael. Her.*, *Onom.*, 3,2, 728.3-4: τὰ εἰς ὧν λήγοντα
 θηλυκὰ βαρύτερα φυλάττει τὸ ὦ ἐν τῇ γενικῇ οἶον μήκων μήκωνος, ... || μήκων ... κάρη, εἰρηκότι] cf.
Hom., *Il.*, 8.306: μήκων δ' ὡς ἐτέρωσε κάρη βάλεν || 6. ἀπὸ δὲ ψυχῇν ἐκάπυσσε] *Hom.*, *Il.*, 22.467: ἤριπε
 δ' ἐξοπίσω, ἀπὸ δὲ ψυχῇν ἐκάπυσσε

6. κρινωνιαί LC || ἰωνιαί L || 7. μελιτίδες LC || τινα L || 8. ξενοφώντεια καὶ ῥησεῖδια L || αὐδηρίταις
 LC || 9. ἐφειρήταις LC || 10. ἐξακαδημίας L || 12. κακὴν κάκως L || φασὶ δε L || 13. περιχαρίας LC ||
 15. πλινθία C || 16. ἡκαινοτομηῆσθαι LC

[19] 1. Ἐ in rubr. L: deest C || 2. τρόπῳ LC || τοῖχοι LC || κωνοειδῶς LC || 4. κάρ βαροῦσα LC || 5. ὅς
 LC || 6. νοσηλία LC || κατισχημένον post corr. (ε κατεσημένον) L

εἰργασμένον ἐτύγχανεν· ὁ δὲ ναὸς ἄφετος ἐστὼς, ἐν μεσαιτάτῳ τόπῳ· πολλῶ τῷ
 περιόντι, τοὺς ἐκεῖσε ἐξέπληττεν· ὥστε γὰρ ἡελίου αἴγλη πέλεν, ἡὲ σελήνης δῶμα καθ’
 ὑψηρεφές, ὃ τῷ Πυθίῳ ἀνεῖτο καὶ ἀφιέρωτο· τούτῳ δ’ ἐξ ἀμπέλου μὲν συνεπεπῆγει τὸ 10
 σῶμα, ποικιλωτάτῃ τέχνῃ καὶ θαυμασίᾳ, πρὸς μιᾶς συμφυῖας ἰδέαν συναρμοσθέν·
 ἀλλὰ καὶ πέπλος ἀνετος ἐξ ὧμων ἐς σφυρὸν ἀπηώρητο, ὃς χρυσεῖω τελαμῶνι κατὰ
 στέρνων ἔσφιγγε· τῷ ἐστῶτι δὲ μετὰ χεῖρας ἦν κιθάρᾳ μουσηγετοῦντά τινα ἐκμιμουμένῳ·
 αἶ τε κόμαι καὶ τῆς δάφνης ὁ στέφανος, χρυσῷ ἦν καὶ αὐτὰ πεποιημένα· ὑάκινθοί τε δύο 15
 τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῷ, τύπον ἐπλήρουν, αἶι τῷ κάλλει, καινοπρεπέστερον δεικνύντες
 τὸ ἄγαλμα.

L 357^v [20] Μαιμακτηριῶνος μηνὸς ἐνισταμένου, ὁ στρατηγὸς Δηϊόταρος ἐξελεγμένην
 στρατιὰν συνειληφὼς περὶ || τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἐκώμαζε· καὶ τὸ βασίλειον πανστρατὶ
 ἐπολιόρκει, τειχομαχίαις καὶ παντοδαπῇ ἰδέᾳ ἐλεπόλεων· τὸ μέντοι φρούριον,
 ἀναιμωτὶ καὶ ἀμογητὶ καὶ ἀνουτητὶ περιειληφθαι, οὐ ῥάδιον ἦν, ὀχυρώτατον ὄν, καὶ
 ἰσχυρότατον καὶ ἀνάλωτον· ἦλω δὲ τότε πανδημεῖ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ δι’ εὐθείαν· ἄπωθεν 5
 γὰρ κοιλαινομένη τάφρος εὐρεῖα ὠρώρυκτο· καὶ σκόλοπες ἐν αὐτῇ συνηρεφεῖς
 ἐπεπῆγεισαν στοιχιδόν· καὶ διέρρει κάτωθεν ὀχετηγός, ὑποβρυχίοις σποράδην
 ἔξω διατεινόμενος, εἰς ὃν καθιέντες οἱ ἀστικοί, τὰς ὑδρίας διὰ καθειμένης ἰμονιάς
 καὶ κηλωνεῖου, τὴν ὕδρειαν εἶχον αὐτάρκως· ταύτῃ ἐπεισπεσόντες οἱ ἔφηβοι, τοὺς

9-10. ὥστε γὰρ – ὑψηρεφές] Hom., *Od.*, 4.45-46: ὥς τε γὰρ ἡελίου αἴγλη πέλεν ἡὲ σελήνης / δῶμα καθ’
 ὑψηρεφές || 10-11. τούτῳ δ’ – σῶμα] Jo. Dam., *Artem.*, 52.1-2: ἐξ ἀμπέλου μὲν αὐτῷ συνεπεπῆγει τὸ
 σῶμα; cf. Philostorg., *Hist.*, 7.8a20-24: τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοιόνδε τὴν κατασκευὴν ἦν· ἐξ
 ἀμπέλου μὲν αὐτῷ συνεπεπῆγει τὸ σῶμα πανθαυμάστῃ δὴ τέχνῃ πρὸς μιᾶς συμφυῖας ἰδέαν συναρμοσθέν,
 χρυσῷ δὲ πᾶς ὁ περικείμενος πέπλος ἀμφιεννύμενος τοῖς παραγεγυμνωμένοις καὶ ἀχρύσοις τοῦ σώματος
 εἰς ἄφραστόν τι συνεφθέγγετο κάλλος || 12. ἐξ ὧμων ἐς σφυρὸν ἀπηώρητο] cf. Max. Plan., *Ovid.*,
 12.518-19: καὶ χρυσῇ ἐξ ὧμων κόμῃ εἰς μέσους ἀπηώρητο τοὺς ὦμους || χρυσεῖω τελαμῶνι] Quint.,
Posthom., 5.114-15: ἀγχοθὶ δ’ ἄσχετον ἄορ ἄδην περιμαμαίρεσκε χρυσεῖω τελαμῶνι || 13-15. τῷ ἐστῶτι
 – ἐπλήρουν] cf. Jo. Dam., *Artem.*, 52.5-11: ἐστῶτι τε μετὰ χεῖρας ἦν ἡ κιθάρᾳ μουσηγετοῦντά τινα
 ἐκμιμουμένῳ· αἶ τε κόμαι καὶ τῆς δάφνης ὁ στέφανος τὸν χρυσὸν ἀναμιξέπληθον, ὥς ἤμελλε χάρις
 ἐξαστράπτειν πολλὴ τοῖς θεησομένοις. Ὑάκινθοί τε αὐτῷ δύο λίθοι μεγάλοι τὸν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν
 ἐξέπληθον τύπον κατὰ μνήμην τοῦ Ἀμυκλαίου, παιδὸς Ὑακίνθου, καὶ αἶι τὸ τῶν λίθων κάλλος καὶ μέ-
 γεθος τὸν μέγιστον προσετέλει τῷ ἀγάλματι κόσμον

[20] 1. Μαιμακτηριῶνος] Ael. Her., *Part.*, 198.8-10: ὡσαύτως καὶ τὰ μηνῶν ὀνόματα διὰ τοῦ ᾧ μεγάλου
 κλίνονται· οἶον· Ἑκατομβαιῶν, Ἑκατομβαιῶνος· Μαιμακτηριῶνος· Ἐλαφηβολιῶνος· Θαργηλιῶνος· καὶ τὰ
 ὅμοια || 4. ἀναιμωτὶ ... ἀμογητὶ] Ael. Her., *Pros.*, 3, 1, 536.19-24: τὰ εἰς τὴν λήγοντα ἐπιρρήματα, εἰ γένοι-
 το ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς τῶν ληγόντων ῥημάτων ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς ὧν ἐπιρρημάτων, συστέλλειν θέλει τὸ ἴ... τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ
 τῶν πτωτικῶν οὕτω μηκύνεται, ὥς ἔχει τὸ ἀκονιτὶ, ἀναιμωτὶ, ..., ἀμογητὶ || 8-9. ἰμονιάς ... κηλωνεῖου]
 Poll., *Onom.*, 10.31.2-4: εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐκ φρεάτων ἢ λάκκων τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπαντλεῖς, δέοιτ’ ἂν σκευῶν ἀντλητήρος,
 ἀντλίας, ἰμονιάς, ἰμάντος, κάλου, σχοινίου, κάδου, τροχαλίας, τάχα δὲ καὶ κηλωνεῖου || 9-10. cf. Long.
 121.6-7

9. ἡελίου C || 10. ἐξαμπ(έ)λου L || συνεπῆγει L || 12. ἐς σφυρὸν C || 13. μουσηγετοῦντα τινὰ LC || 14.
 χρυσῶν LC || 15. δεικνύντες L

[20] 1. M in rubr. L: deest C || δηϊόταρος LC || 3. ἐλεπόλεων C || 4. περιηλεῖσθαι L: περιηλεῖσθαι
 post corr. (e περιειληφθαι et sscr. η et ει) C || 5. ἰσχυρὸν C || πανδημεῖ post add. sup lin. L || τοῦ
 στρατηγοῦ πανδημεῖ C || 7. ἐπεπῆγεισαν C || 8. ἰμονιάς L

- 10 πρωθήβας καὶ ἀκρήβας ἔπαιον ἀφειδῶς· τὰς τε κλίμακας περιστήσαντες, εἰσιτηρίου
τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἐποίησαν· ξιφήρεις ἐς τὰς ἀγυῖας καὶ τοὺς στενωποὺς ἐχώρουν·
ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἵπποι τὴν ταφρεῖαν ὑπερθορόντες, διὰ τῶν ἐρειπίων ἔστειβον· τὸ δὲ
τεῖχος κατηρέπετο ἤδη· πλείστα δὲ ὑπορόφων καὶ διωρόφων δωμάτων, ἠρήκεσαν
καὶ ἠδάφισαν· καὶ πολὺς ἐγήγερτο κωκυτὸς τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ὀλλυμένων, καὶ
15 οἰμωζόντων, καὶ κωκύντων καὶ κατωδυνημένων ὄντων, τῷ ἄλωτοι γεγενῆσθαι
καὶ εὐχείρωτοι· οἵπερ διὰ τῆς αὐλείου παρήεσαν, ἐπτοημένοι· παρεῖσαν γὰρ ἤδη τὰς
χεῖρας, καὶ τῷ ἐκπεπλήχθαι θανατᾶν ἐβούλοντο.

- [21] Ἐπειδὴ περ ἡ πόλις ἦλω, καὶ πᾶν, ὅπερ ἐβούλοντο, τοῖς στρατιώταις κατείργαστο
καὶ τοῖς τροπαίοις ἐγεμίσθησαν, ἅτε μὴν ὀχυρωμένην ἐκείνην πόλιν εἰληφότες,
τῆς λείας ἐξαίρετα λαφυραγωγῆσαντες, ἔξω τοῦ ἄστεος σκηνωσάμενοι, παιᾶνα
ἦδον καὶ σὺν ὑμεναίῳ ἐκώμαζον· τὸ δὲ καινὸν τοῦ πράγματος καὶ ἀνύποιστον,
5 ὡς ἐωράκεισαν οἱ ἐάλωκότες, ἀχανεῖς ἦσαν, οὐκ ἔχοντες ὅ τι καὶ πράττειν, καὶ
διαδρᾶναι τὰς προλοχίσεις τῶν πολεμίων· ἱταμώτεροι ὄντες γὰρ καὶ ἀφειδεῖς,
ἐνενόουν· οἱ δ' ἥρηκότες, αὐτοὺς τριστοιχεῖ περικαθῆσθαι τοὺς ἀλωσίμους ταῖς
σφῶν ὕλαις, διηγγέλεισαν, οὐδὲ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς εἵλης θέρεσθαι, γυμνήτας καὶ
θοῖματίων χωρὶς περιέναι ἐθίσαντες· εἰσιτύνοντο δὲ αὐτοὶ ἐν τοῖς ληΐοις τῶν
10 ἀνθερίκων τοῖς ἀθηρηλοιοῖς κατακλωμένην πανδαισίαν ἐπιτερπῆ καὶ ἀγαθοῖς
βρυάζουσιν· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖ σύες χαμαιευνάδες καὶ ἀλοιφῇ θαλέθοντες, εὐόμενοι
τανύοντο διὰ φλογὸς Ἡφαίστοιο· πολλοὶ γὰρ ὄϊες ἠδὲ μηκάδες αἶγες, καὶ βόες μηκόμενοι,
τῷ πυρὶ ὠπτῶντο· οἱ δὲ τὴν πόλιν κατηθαλωμένην ἀναιμωτί, καὶ κατηριπωμένην
ἀνιδιτί, καὶ δεδηωμένην ἀνουτητί, ὡς ἐώρων, παμπληθεὶ ὠραῖζοντο· θιάσον δὲ τῷ
15 ἄστει περιστήσαντες, καὶ θιασώτας θειάζοντας, ὀρχηστὴν ἐώκεισαν μιμούμενοι·
καὶ οἶονεῖ τωθάζοντες τοὺς εἰλημμένους, οὐδὲ θωπεῖαν ἔλειπον· καὶ ὑφεῖναι τι

12. ἵπποι ... ὑπερθορόντες] cf. Hom., *Il.*, 8.179: ἵπποι δὲ ῥέα τάφρον ὑπερθορέονται ὀρυκτὴν ||
13. ὑπορόφων ... διωρόφων] cf. supra, §15.2 || 14. κωκυτός] Ael. Her., *Part.*, 71.1-8: πλὴν τοῦ Κών-
στας, ... κωλύω· κώλυμα· κωλύμη, ἡ κώλυσις· κῶλον, τὸ ὁστοῦν· Κωλιάς, ἡ Ἀφροδίτη· κωκύω, τὸ θρηγῶ·
κωκυτός, ὁ θρήνος

[21] 7. τριστοιχεῖ] Ael. Her., *Orth.*, 3,2, 464.19-23: τὰ ἔχοντα $\overline{\theta} \overline{\lambda} \overline{\mu} \overline{\xi} \overline{\rho} \overline{\phi} \overline{\chi} \overline{\psi}$ διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου γρά-
φεται οἶον ... τὸ χ τριστοιχεῖ, ἀμαχεῖ ... || 11. σύες χαμαιευνάδες] Hom., *Od.* 10.243, 14.15 || 11-
12. ἀλοιφῇ – αἶγες] cf. Hom., *Il.*, 23.31-33: σφαζόμενοι, πολλοὶ δ' ὄϊες καὶ μηκάδες αἶγες πολλοὶ δ'
ἀργιόδοντες ὕες θαλέθοντες ἀλοιφῇ εὐόμενοι τανύοντο διὰ φλογὸς Ἡφαίστοιο || 13. πυρὶ ὠπτῶντο] *Eust.*, *Il.*, 4.677.11-12: ἰστέον δὲ καὶ ὅτι «εὐόμενοι τανύοντο διὰ φλογὸς Ἡφαίστοιο» περίφρασις ἐστὶ τοῦ
ὠπτῶντο πυρὶ || 14. ἀνιδιτί] Ael. Her., *Part.*, 256.9-10: τὰ εἰς τὴν ἐπιρῆματα διὰ τοῦ ἰῶτα γράφονται· οἶον·
ἀνιδιτί, ἀπονῆτι, ἀμογητί, ἀναιμωτί ...; cf. supra, § 20.2-4 || 14 et 15. θιάσον ... θιασώτας ... θειάζοντας] *Etym. Gud.*, 257.13-15: θειάζω, τὸ θαυμάζω, καὶ ἐκθειάζω τὸ θαυμάζω, διφθόγγω. θιάσος δὲ ὁ χορὸς καὶ
θιασώτης ὁ χορευτής, ἰῶτα

12. ὑπερθερόντες LC || ἔστιβον LC

[21] 1. Ἐ in rubr. L: deest C || 5. οὐκ ἔχοντες L || 6. διαδρᾶναι LC || γὰρ om. L || 7. τριστοιχεῖ C || 8. εἵλης
C || 11. σύες LC || ἀλοιφῇ θαλέοντες C || εὐόμενοι LC || 12. διαφλογὸς L || 13. κατηριπωμένην L: κατει-
ριπωμένην C || 14. θείασον L || 15. ἐώκεισαν C || 16. εἰλιμμένους C || ὑφεῖναι τί LC

C 88^r τῶν μὴ προσηκόντων, οὐκ ἠνείχοντο· ἀλλ' ὠμωμόκεισαν ἡμῖν, λήψεσθαι ποινὴν ἐξ αὐτῶν· φοράδην οὖν τὰ κειμήλια τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων καὶ γηπόνων ἀγροχότες, ἐλεηλάτουν τὰς πέριξ κωμοπόλεις || καὶ τοὺς κωμήτας τοῖς γείτοσιν ἀπημόλων· οἱ δὲ προθυμότερα ἑωνοῦντο, τοὺς αὐτοῖς γειτνιαζόντας, προτιμότερον παντὸς καὶ 20 ἐντιμότερον καὶ ἀλυπότερον, ἡγούμενοι μὴ περιδεῖν ὄλλυσθαι, τοὺς τοιοῦτους ἄνδρας, ἐπικινδυνότερον ἀγωνισαμένους, ἐν ὧσι φονώντων ἀνδρῶν, καὶ μὴ διαπεφωνηκότας· ἀπρίξ δὲ εἶχοντο τῶν ληφθέντων καὶ οὐ μεθήσειν ἔφασκον.

[22] Παρέπλει ναὺς τὴν Ἰωνίαν, ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον· καὶ πλωτῆρες οἱ ἐν αὐτῇ ἀνήγοντο εὐδία τῶν πλοῦμων ἐπιτηδείων γεγεννημένων· ἢ γε μὴν ὀθόνη, (ἐ)κεκέρτωτο ταῖς λιγείαις πνοαῖς καὶ ὧδε κάκεισε δίῃστη τὸ ὕδωρ τῇ τρόπιδι· ἢ δέ, ἰθυτενῶς ὥρμητο, καὶ σὺν εὐροῖᾳ ἐφέρετο τῶν κεροιάκων εὐφυῶς παρὰ σου τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ 5 ἐπειλημμένων· κατὰ νώτων δὲ τῆς θαλάσσης γαληνιώσης, δελφῖνες ἐσκίρτων, καὶ ἐκυβίστων ἐνάλοι· αἰφνίδιον δέ, ἄνεμος ἐξώστης, καὶ λαίλαπι συμμιγής, καὶ πρηστήρες λάβρως ἐπαιγίζοντες κατόπιν τῆς νεώς, ἄωρι τῶν νυκτῶν ἐφέροντο· δέος ἐπὶ πάντας 10 εἰσῆι· καὶ θανάτου φόβῳ προ-|| καταληφθέντες, κατέσπων τὰς ἀγκύρας· εἴτα συνεχεῖ εἰρεσίᾳ χρώμενοι, τὸ ρόθιον διήσαν, ὥς ἂν καὶ τύχη φθειρόμενοι· ἐποκεῖλαντες δὲ τῇ θινί, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν καχλήκων ἐκβάντες, εἵρπυζον· καὶ βόλους καθεικότες, ἀνιμῶντο πολλοὺς τῶν ἰχθύων, καὶ σηπίας, καὶ ὄστρεα, ἃ ἀφθόνως τῷ δικτύῳ ἐξέλκυον καὶ 15 ἐξεῖργον· ἀλλὰ πειρατὰι ποθὲν ἐξαπίνης ἐπιφανέντες, ἐκ τοῦ Ἀτλαντικοῦ πελάγους αὐτῶν ἐπεισέφρησαν· ἰδόντες γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐν σηρικῇ ἐσθῇτι ἄβρυνομένους, ἐπέθεντο καὶ φονεῖα πάντας παρέδωσαν· ἄλλους δὲ λωποδυτήσαντες καὶ ἀποικίσαντες, εἰς 20 δουλείαν ἦγον· εἴτα τῶν αἰγιαλῶν ἐπιβάντες, ὠψωνηκότες καὶ σιτησάμενοι, ἔτι δὲ οἰνισάμενοι ἐκ τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων καὶ περικτιόνων καὶ πλησιοχώρων, ἐπὶ χαλίκων καὶ σταλίκων εἰστινῶντο χαμαῖζε, καὶ χαμαιριφεῖς, ὥς εἰωθὸς ἦν αὐτοῖς· ἡῶθι δέ, τὰς

18. φοράδην] Ael. Her., *Part.*, 258.13-15: τὰ εἰς ἦν ἐπιρρήματα διὰ τοῦ ἡ γράφονται· οἶον· μάτην ... φοράδην ... || 23. ἀπρίξ] Ael. Her., *Mon.*, 3,2, 951.14-15: πέριξ. Τὰ εἰς ἰξ λήγοντα ἐπιρρήματα φιλεῖ πως ὀξύνεσθαι, ... ἀλλὰ τὸ πέριξ μόνον βαρύνεται

[22] 5-6. δελφῖνες ἐσκίρτων ... ἐνάλοι] Mich. Chon., *Or.*, I,10.164.11: κήτη καὶ δελφῖνες ἐσκίρτων; Callistr., *Stat.*, 14.4.1-2: παρεσκίρτων δὲ καὶ ἐνάλοι δελφῖνες τὸ ρόθιον ἐν τῇ γραφῇ τέμνοντες || 6-7. ἄνεμος – πρηστήρες] Hel., *Aeth.*, I,22.4.2-4: ... καὶ ἄνεμος ἐξώστης καὶ λαίλαπες συμμιγείς καὶ πρηστήρες τὴν θάλατταν καταγίζοντες τὴν ναὺν τοῦ εὐθέως παραφέρουσι || 7. λάβρως ἐπαιγίζοντες] Hom., *Od.*, 15.292-293: οὐρον ... / λάβρον ἐπαιγίζοντα δι' αἰθέρος || ἄωρι τῶν νυκτῶν] Greg. Nys., *Greg.*, PG 69, 46.929.24: ἄωρι τῶν νυκτῶν || 9. εἰρεσία ... ρόθιον] Ael. Her., *Orth.*, 3,2, 502.21-22: εἰρεσία ἢ κωπηλασία διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου. Παρὰ γὰρ τὸ ἐρέτης γέγονεν ἐρεσία καὶ κατὰ πλεονασμὸν τοῦ εἰρεσία; Phot., *Lex.*, 490.11-12: ρόθιον ἢ εἰρεσία· καὶ ῥοθιάζειν, τὸ ἐρέσσειν εὐτόνως || 10. εἵρπυζον] Georg. Choer., *Verb.*, 47.9-20: τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑ ἀρχόμενα ῥήματα ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς τρέπουσι τὸ εἰς τὸ ἦν ἐν τῷ παρατατικῷ, οἶον ... καὶ χωρὶς τοῦ ἐρπύζω εἵρπυζον (ἐρπύζω δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ βαδίζω) || 14. φονεῖα] cf. supra, §12.9; Mich. Attal., *Hist.*, 190.14: ἔτεροι πάλιν φονεῖα χειρὶ παρεδίδοντο

17. οὐκηνείχοντο L || ὠμωμόκεισαν C || 21. ἀλυπότερον post corr. (et -on in ras.) L

[22] 1. Π in rubr. L: deest C || 2-3. κεκέρτωτο LC || 3. ὧδε L || κακέισε C || 8. ἀγκύρας C || 9. τύχη post corr. (ε τύχοι et sscr. η) L: τύχοι C || 10. βόλους C || 11. σηπίας post corr. (ε σηπειας et sscr. η) L || 12. ἐπιφανέντες post corr. (ε φανέντες et add. in marg. ἐπι) C || 13. ἄβρυνομένους LC

- ἀγκύρας ἀνελόμενοι, προσκωπητῷ ἐπινείω ἐπήεσαν· καὶ γὰρ ἐδεδίδεσαν μὴ καταποθῶσιν, ἀπόλιδες καὶ ἀνέστιοι· οἱ δὲ ἀπολειφθέντες τῇ ἀπαιόλῃ τῆς δαιτὸς καὶ τοῦ κώμου, ἀλύοντες καὶ ἀδημονοῦντες, ἐπὶ τῶν ἐκεῖσε τόπων διέτριβον, τὸ εἰληχὸς τούτους κλυδώνιον ἀποδυρόμενοι.

[23]

Παρεκβολαὶ τῆς ἀκτίνος

- Ἡ ἀκτίς τοῦ θέροντος ἡλίου ἐν γλαυχίνι ὑπείσδῳσα, κῶνόν τινα εἴωθεν ὑπὸ τοῦ στεγανωτέρου τῶν δόμων λαμβάνειν· τιμῆς δὲ ὁ τὸν Ὑπερίονα πρωΐθεν ἐν δωματίῳ καὶ ἐν ἀντηρίδι δεχόμενος, ἐν ὑπερώῳ τε ὕλην οἴκημα ὡς ὄφρυόν, ὃν
5 βορεινὸν δέχοιτο ἀήτην, ὥσπερ ἦν καὶ τοῦ Ἀμφίονος· καὶ Χίος δὲ καὶ Κεῖος οὕτως ἐδείξαντο· ἀρείων γὰρ ἂν οὗτος, οὐ μείων οἶκος ἤπερ χερείων· ἐπεὶ καὶ ἀλικρείων ἐξ ἔργου διεσάρησεν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ Δολίονος καὶ Ἰξίονος στέγη, οὕτω δεδόμητο· Ἡετίωνος, τοῦ ὑπὸ Πηλείδου, τοῦ καὶ Αἰακίδου ἡρημένου ὡς αἰχμάλωτου, οὕτως ἦν,

19. ἀπαιόλῃ] Ael. Her., *Pros.*, 3,1, 323.3-4: τὰ διὰ τοῦ ὀλῆ ὑπερδυσύλλαβα βαρύνεται, εἰ μὴ σύνθετα εἶη ἐκ προθέσεως, ... ἀπαιόλη ἢ ἀπάτη || 20. ἀλύοντες ... ἀδημονοῦντες] Sch. II., 5.352.1-4: τὸ «ἀλύουσα» ψιλοῦται παρὰ γὰρ τὴν ἄλῃν γέγονεν. Ἄλῃ δὲ ἡ πλάνη· οἱ γὰρ ἀδημονοῦντες ἐν πλάνῃ ἔχουσι τὴν ψυχὴν, τὸ δὲ ἀλύουσα ἀντὶ τοῦ λύσιν οὐχ εὐρίσκουσα τῶν δεινῶν. Διὸ οὐδὲ φθέγγεται || 20-21. τὸ εἰληχὸς ... κλυδώνιον] Hel., *Aeth.*, 4.19.9.5: καὶ παρήνεγκεν ὃ τί ποτέ ἐστι τὸ εἰληχὸς με κλυδώνιον

[23] 3. τιμῆς] Ael. Her., *Onom.*, 3,2, 618.9-12: Choer. 203,22: τὰ εἰς εἰς λήγοντα ὑπὲρ μίαν συλλαβὴν ὀνόματα κοινολεκτούμενα καθαρὰν θέλει ἔχειν τὴν εἰ δίφθογγον, τουτέστι μὴ ἔχουσιν σύμφωνον προηγούμενον, οἶον ... τιμῆς, ... || 4. ὕλην ... ὄφρυόν] Georg. Choer., *Verb.*, 214.17-19: οὐδέποτε γὰρ εὐρίσκεται ὄνομα οὔτε ἀρσενικὸν οὔτε θηλυκὸν οὔτε οὐδέτερον εἰς εἰν λήγον· τὸ γὰρ ὕλην καὶ ὄφρυόν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕλην καὶ ὄφρυόν γεγόνασι κατὰ πλεονασμὸν τοῦ ι || 5. Χίος ... Κεῖος] Georg. Choer., *Orth.*, 275.14-17: Χίος· σημαίνει δὲ τὸν πολίτην τῆς Χίου· διὰ τοῦ ι γράφεται ... οὕτως καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Χίος, Χίος, καὶ κατὰ κράσιν τῶν δύο ὦ εἰς ἓν μακρὸν Χίος; Georg. Choer., *Accent.*, 5.36.1-2: Ἡ Χίος, ἡ Κίος, ἡ Τίος παροξύνονται. Χίος δὲ ἀνήρ προπερισπᾶται; idem, *Orth.*, 3,2, 192.2-6: ἰστέον, ὅτι τὸ Χίος, καὶ δίος, διὰ τοῦ ι γράφεται ... καὶ Κεῖος, διὰ διφθόγγου ... καὶ τὸ Κεῖος ἀπὸ τοῦ Κέως, ὃ ἐστὶν ὄνομα πόλεως· Κεῖος, καὶ κατὰ κράσιν Κεῖος || 6. ἀρείων ... μείων ... χερείων] Ael. Her., *Pros.*, 3,1, 41.3-5: τὰ εἰς ὦν συγκριτικὰ πάντα βαρύνεται, ... χερείων, ..., μείων, ἀρείων, ... || 7, 8 et 9. Δολίονος ... Ἡετίωνος ... Ἀτρείωνος ... Καδμείωνος] Ael. Her., *Onom.*, 3,2, 723.15-22: Choer. 71,5: τὰ εἰς ὦν καθαρὰ βαρύνονται ἔχοντα δίχρονον ἐν τῇ παραληγοῦσῃ, εἰ μὲν ἐκτείνει τὸ δίχρονον, τρέπει τὸ ὦ εἰς τὸ ὦ ἐν τῇ γενικῇ οἶον ..., Δολίων Δολίονος ...· εἰ δὲ συστέλλει τὸ δίχρονον, φυλάττει τὸ ὦ ἐν τῇ γενικῇ οἶον Ἡετίων Ἡετίωνος; Ael. Her., *Orth.*, 3,2 434.3-12: καθόλου τὰ διὰ τοῦ ιὼν βαρύνονται τρέποντα τὸ ὦ ἐν τῇ γενικῇ εἰς τὸ ὦ εἴτε κύρια εἴτε μὴ κύρια ἀποστρέφεται τὴν εἰ δίφθογγον κατὰ τὴν παραλήγουσαν οἶον ... Ἰξίων Ἰξίονος, ... Τὰ διὰ τοῦ εἰὼν διὰ τῆς εἰ δίφθογγου γράφεται μὴ ὄντα συγκριτικὰ φυλάττοντα τὸ ὦ κατὰ τὴν γενικὴν οἶον Ἀτρείων Ἀτρείωνος, Καδμείων Καδμείωνος, ... πρόσκειται μὴ συγκριτικὰ διὰ τὸ χερείων χερείονος, ἀρείων ἀρείονος || 8. Πηλείδου] Georg. Choer., *Nomin.*, 156.6-8: τὰ εἰς δῆς πατρωνυμικὰ ἢ τύπου πατρωνυμικοῦ ὄντα εἰς τὴν ὄν δίφθογγον ἔχουσι τὴν γενικὴν, πατρωνυμικὰ μὲν, οἶον ... Αἰακίδης Αἰακίδου, Πηλείδης Πηλείδου, ...

18. ἀγκύρας C || προσκωπητῷ] verbum non inveni || ἐπινείω post corr. (ex ἐπινείω) C || 19. ἀπαιο- λῇ LC

[23] 1. Titulus in rubr. L: Παρεκβο in rubr. et λαὶ τῆς ἀκτίνος in nigro C || 2. Ἡ in rubr. L: deest C || κῶνόν τινα LC || 4. τὲ C || 5. χίος LC || 6. οὕτως C || ἀλικρείων LC || 7. δεδόμητο L || 8. ὀποπληίδου L || αἰακίδου post corr. (ex ακίδου et sscr. αἰ-) C || ἡρημένου L

ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Ἡμαθίωνος, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Ἀτρείωνος, καὶ Καδμείωνος, καὶ Καρνειώνος· ἐν
 Ἀνθεστριώνι, Πυανεισίῳ δὲ καὶ Βοηδρομιώνι, οἱ περικτίονες τῶν Πυθοῖ ὤκημένων, 10
 τὰ Πύθια καὶ Διάσια τελοῦσιν· ὁ τοῖνυν τοῦ Ζήθου ὁμαίμων καὶ υἱωνὸς Διδὸς καὶ
 Ἀντιόπης, ὁ καὶ Θήβας πάσας οἰκίσας, ἐν Ὑπίῳ Ζηνί, τὸν Πελαγίδην, δορὶ τὸν βίον
 ἐξέκοψεν, καὶ ἐν Ἀρνείῳ τῶν μηνῶν, ἀγρεῖος δὲ τὸν τρόπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν γνώμην,
 ἄγριος καὶ ὠμηστὴς καὶ δερμηστὴς· ὁ δὲ Ἴμφιος, γομφίῳ διατρήσας τὸ σκαφίδιον,
 ἐκείσε τὸν λαὸν εἰσαγαγὼν καὶ πελάγιον ἀφεικῶς, οὕτως τὴν νεολαίαν ὑποβρύχιον 15
 πεποίηκεν· ἀγχιστίνῳ δὲ τῷ βυθῷ ἀποδιοπομπησθέντες πλησίον τοῦ ἀγχιβαθοῦς
 ποταμοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ, τὸ ζῆν ἀπώλεσαν· ὁ δὲ ἀκέστῳ τῶν ποταμῶν Ἀλφειῷ, ὅταν ῥεῖ
 ἐξωδικῶς τοῖς ποταμίῳις ῥέιθροις, Ἀμνειὸν δέχεται θυμάτιον· ὀριγνώμενος γάρ ἐστι
 καὶ τούτου, ὅτε καὶ τύχοι, ἀνιατότατα τοὺς ὁδίτας ἀλγύνεται· κονία δὲ ὑποπέφυρται,
 πρὸς δὲ τῷ χεῖλει καὶ τῇ ὄχθῃ τούτου, ῥοδωνία τις καὶ ἰωνία ἐξήνθησαν· ὅπως ἐν 20
 ἀγορανομίᾳ ἰσωνήτης γίνηται, κηλωνεῖω δὲ καὶ ἰμονιᾷ, ἕκ τινος πίδακος ἀνιμῶνται

9. Ἡμαθίωνος] Georg. Choer., *Orth.*, 168.8-10: τὰ γὰρ διὰ τοῦ ἰων βαρύτερα τρέποντα τὸ ὦ εἰς ὃ ἐν τῇ γενικῇ, εἴτε κύρια, εἴτε μὴ κύρια βαρύτερα· οἶον, Ἡμαθίων, Ἡμαθίωνος ἢ Καρνειώνος] Theod., *Oxyt.*, 22.16-18: τὰ εἰς ὦν λήγοντα καθαρὰ ἀρσενικὰ ὀξύτονα μὴ ὄντα ἐθνικὰ πάντα διὰ τοῦ ὦ κλίνεται, οἶον ... Καρνειὼν Καρνειώνος (ἔστι δὲ ὄνομα πόλεως) ... ἢ 10. Πυανεισίῳ, Βοηδρομιώνι] Ael. Her., *Pros.*, 3.1, 40.14-16: τὰ εἰς ὦν ὀνόματα μηνῶν ἢ χρόνων ὀξύνεται, ..., Βοηδρομιών, Πυανεισίῳ, Μαιμακτηριών, ..., Ἀνθεστριών; cf. supra, § 20.1 ἢ 11. Πύθια, Διάσια] Eust., *Il.*, 1.700.26-28: ... σὺν ἄλλοις καὶ τὰ Ἰλίου, ἑορτὴ ἐγχώριος ἐπώνυμος τῇ Ἰλίου. Τούτων δὲ ἡ παραλήγουσα γραφόμενη διὰ τῆς εἰς διφθόγγου, ἀνομοίως τῷ Ὀλύμπια, Πύθια, Ἰσθμία, Διάσια, Διονύσια ... ἢ υἱωνός] Theogn., 371.1-2: τὰ διὰ τοῦ ὦνος ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς ἀπλᾶ ὀξύτονα διὰ τοῦ ὦ μεγάλῳ γράφονται· οἶον, υἱωνός ὁ υἱοῦ υἱός; cf. Long. 115.7 ἢ 13-14. ἀγρεῖος ... ἄγριος] Ael. Her., *Orth.*, 3.2, 440.22-25: τὰ διὰ τοῦ ἰὸς τρισύλλαβα βαρύτερα ἔχοντα ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ συλλαβῇ τὸ ᾠ, μεθ' ὃ ἐπιφέρεται δύο σύμφωνα ἢ καὶ πλείονα, διὰ τῆς εἰς διφθόγγου γράφεται οἶον ... ἀγρεῖος ὁ ἄγροικος. Ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ ἀνημέρου ἄγριος προπαροξυτόνως διὰ τοῦ ἰ ἢ 14. ὠμηστὴς ... δερμηστὴς] Ps.-Zonar., *Lex.*, 477.7-13: δερμηστὴς: Λυσίας ὁ ῥήτωρ τὸν σκώληκα φησὶν· Ἀρίσταρχος δὲ τὸν ὄφιν. Δερμηστὴς δὲ εἴρηται ὁ ἐσθίων τὰ ὠμὰ δέρματα. Παρὰ τὸ ἔδω, ἔσω, ὁ παρακείμενος ἦσμαι, τὸ τρίτον ἦσται, καὶ ὄνομα ἦστος, ὁ ἐσθίων, ἀφ' οὗ νῆστις, ὁ ἐστερημένος τῶν σιτίων καὶ τοῦ ἐσθίειν. Καὶ ὠμηστὴς καὶ δερμηστὴς ἢ σκαφίδιον] Ael. Her., *Part.*, 238.12-14: τὰ διὰ τοῦ ἰδίου οὐδετέρως ὑποκοριστικὰ διὰ τοῦ ἰῶτα γράφονται· οἶον ... σκαφίδιον, τὸ πλοιάριον ἢ 15. ἀφεικῶς] Ael. Her., *Part.*, 273.10-17: ἄνειμι, κάτειμι, ἔξειμι, πάρειμι, ἀνεισιν, ἔξεισιν, καὶ τὰ ὅμοια τῷ εἰ διφθόγγῳ παραλήγονται. Ἀνίημι δέ, καὶ κατήημι, ἐξήημι, καὶ παρήημι. Ἄνιμεν δέ, καὶ κάτιμεν, ἔξιμεν, καὶ πάριμεν. Ἄνειτε καὶ κάτειτε, ἔξειτε, καὶ τὰ ὅμοια διὰ διφθόγγου. Ἀνῆ δέ, ἀπῆ, παρῆ, καὶ τὰ ὅμοια διὰ τοῦ ῆ. Ἀνειακῶς δέ, ἀφειακῶς, παρειακῶς, διὰ διφθόγγου. Παρήμεν, ἀνήμεν, καθήμεν, διὰ τοῦ ῆ. Ἀνείημι δέ, καθεῖμαι, παρειαίμαι, ἀφείημαι, δίφθογγον ἢ 18. θυμάτιον] Ael. Her., *Part.*, 60.12-15: πᾶσα λέξις ἀπὸ τῆς θυ συλλαβῆς ἀρχομένη, διὰ τοῦ θ ψιλοῦ γράφεται· οἶον ... θυμάτιον, τὸ θύμα ἢ 20. ῥοδωνία] cf. supra, § 18.6 ἢ 21. κηλωνεῖω - ἰμονιᾷ] cf. supra, § 20.8-9 ἢ 21. ἰμονιᾷ ... ἀνιμῶνται] *Etym. Gud.*, 278.39-47: ἰμῶ, τὸ ἀντλῶ καὶ ἀναπέμψω, ἐκ τοῦ ἰμᾶς ἰμάντος, ὁ συστέλλει τὸ ἰ. Ὡς παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ, ῥῆξεν ἰμάντα βοδὸς ἰφικταμένοιο. Καὶ τὸ ἀνιμῶμαι δὲ διὰ τοῦ ἰ γράφεται. Παρὰ γὰρ τὸ ἰμᾶς ἰμάντος γέγονεν ἰμᾶς, καὶ ἀνιμῶ τὸ ἀνασπῶ. Ἰμονία, ἐκ τοῦ ἰμᾶς, ὁ σημαίνει τὸν λῶρον. Σημαίνει δὲ σχοινίον ἀντλήματος. Ἡ ἰμονία τὸ δέρμα εἰς ὃ ἀντλοῦμεν τὸ ὕδωρ, ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ ἰμᾶς ἰμάντος, ἐξ οὗ καὶ τὸ ἀνιμῶμαι διὰ τοῦ ἰ γράφεται; Ael. Her., *Orth.*, 3.2, 452.3-4: τὰ διὰ τοῦ ἰᾶ ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς ὀξύτονα διὰ τοῦ ἰ γράφεται· οἶον ... ῥοδωνία, ἰμονία τὸ ἀντλητήριον ...

9. οὐδε L ἢ ἡμαθίωνος C ἢ 10. βουδρομιώνι LC ἢ 11. τελοῦσι C ἢ 12. ὑπίῳ L: ὑπίῳ C ἢ Πελαγίδην] verbum non inveni ἢ 13. ἔκοψεν C ἢ ἀρνεῖωνι LC ἢ 14. Ἴμφιος] verbum non inveni ἢ 15. νεολαίαν LC ἢ 16. ἀγχιστίνῳ LC ἢ ἀγχιβαθοῦς L ἢ 19. τύχη L ἢ ὁδίτας L ἢ 20. ῥοδωνία τις LC ἢ ἰωνία LC ἢ ἐξήνθησεν LC ἢ 21. ἰσωνήτης] verbum non inveni sed interpr. ex ἰσωνία ἢ γίνηται post corr. (et-ῆται in ras.) L ἢ κηλωνεῖω LC

ποτόν· οἱ δὲ πολιῆται, μνεῖαν τῶν Ἀσκαλωνιτῶν οὐ πεποιήνται· ἐκεῖσε γοῦν φασι
 ὅτι βίη Ἡρακλεΐη ἵκετο, καὶ φυλέτης καὶ Κυδωνίτης ἐν δὲ τῷ τεμενικῷ χωρίῳ, ὡς
 ὁ μνηματίτης λόγος ἐσαφηνίσε· καὶ ὁ Τεμενίτης ἐπῆλθεν, ὃ τε ἐν τῷ Ταυρομενίῳ
 25 καὶ ὁ τορεῖαν πολλὴν ἡσκηκῶς Ναυκρατίτης, ἐπὶ τὸν ἀκαλαρρεΐτην ῥοῦν ἐθεώρει·
 ἐν οἷς καὶ Δαμοίτης καὶ Θυμοίτης καὶ Ζειποίτης καὶ ἀλιτρὸς καὶ τῷ ὄντι ἀλείτης
 καὶ ὀρείτης Ζελεΐτης· καὶ Ὁρος καὶ Ὁρείτης, τῶν δαιτυμόνων ἐστιόντων, ψίχας
 παρελικμῶντο οἱ τραπεζεῖται κύνες· Εἰλωτες δέ, οἱ τὴν Μεσσηνιακὴν οἰκήσαντες,
 παρειστήκεισαν, ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ Σινωπίτης τραπεζίτης· λιτανεῖα οὖν ἐχρῶντο οἱ
 30 ἐκεῖσε, ὃ τε Ἐχίσης ὁ ἀριδηλότατος Ἐρίσης, καὶ ὁ ἀπὸ Κυρίσου ποταμοῦ τῆς Κελτικῆς
 ἀδηνιτώτατα δὲ εὐωχηθέντες ἦσαν· ὁ τοίνυν Θεοδώριτος Ληϊτῶ καὶ Ἐπικτήτῳ καὶ
 Ἡρακλείτῳ, ἐν ἀκονίτῳ πεδίῳ παρήεσαν, ὅπου καὶ οἱ ῥεῖτοι παρα-|| ναύουσι· καὶ
 ὁ σειστός ἐστι χώρος, πλησίον τῆς Σηστοῦ· μίτρας δὲ ἡμπισχημένοι οὗτοι ἰδίοντες
 ἦσαν τότε· καὶ ὁ μυρίος ἰδρώς, ἀνεκῆκιε τῶν ἱματισμῶν· ὁ δὲ Κίνυψ καὶ οἱ Χάλυβες,

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22. πολιῆται ... Ἀσκαλωνιτῶν] *Etym. Gud.*, 212.21-27: Ἀσκαλωνίτης· διὰ τοῦ ἱ γράφεται. Καὶ πάντα τὰ
 τοιαῦτα ... καὶ τὸ πολιῆτης, ... μνηματίτης, ..., Ναυκρατίτης, ... καὶ τὰ εἰς τῆς βαρύτονα ἐν φωνήεντι πα-
 ραλήγεσθαι, οἷον φυλέτης, ... ἐν πλεονασμῷ γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα τοῦ ἱ ἐστίν. ... Δαμοίτης, Θυμοίτης || **23.** βίη
 Ἡρακλεΐη] *Hom.*, *Il.*, 11.690: ἐλθὼν γὰρ ῥ' ἐκάκωσε βίη Ἡρακλεΐη || Κυδωνίτης] *Suda*, 2616.1: Κυ-
 δωνιάτης καὶ Κυδωνίτης· ἀπὸ τόπου || **23-27.** φυλέτης, μνηματίτης, Τεμενίτης, Ταυρομενίῳ, Ναυκρατίτης,
 ἀκαλαρρεΐτην, Δαμοίτης, Θυμοίτης, ἀλείτης, Ζελεΐτης] *Etym. Sym.*, 1, 274.16-276.21: Ἀσκαλωνίτης· διὰ
 τοῦ ἱ. Καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ... ὅτι γὰρ ταῦτα διὰ τοῦ ἱ γράφεται δείκνυσιν ἡ συστολὴ τοῦ ἱ· ἅμα γὰρ τῷ
 πλεονάσαι τὸ ἡ συνεστάλη τὸ ἱ, οἷον πολιῆτης ... ἄλλως τε, εἰ ἐγράφετο διὰ διφθόγγου ταῦτα, τὸ ἡ πρὸ τῆς
 συλλαβῆς τῆς οὔσης ἐν τῇ παραληγοσῆς εἶχεν εἶναι, ἐπεὶ τὸ ἡ οὐδέποτε πλεονάζει μετὰ τὴν εἰ, ἀλλὰ πρὸ
 αὐτῆς, οἷον ... βίη Ἡρακλεΐη. Καὶ ἄλλως τὰ εἰς τῆς λήγοντα βαρύτονα ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβάς, εἴτε ἀπλᾶ, εἴτε
 παρασύνθετα, μὴ ἔχοντα ἀντιπαρακείμενον τὸ ὄ, μὴ ἀπὸ πρωτοτύπου τὸ εἰ, μὴ ἀπὸ πλεονασμοῦ τὸ ἱ ἐνὶ
 φωνήεντι παραλήγοντα· ἀπλᾶ μὲν ... φυλέτης ... Ἀσκαλωνίτης μνηματίτης (λόγος ἐπιτάφιος) τεμενίτης,
 ... παρασύνθετα δὲ ... Ταυρομενίον ... Ναυκρατίτης ὄνομα πόλεως. Πρόσκειται ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβάς διὰ τὸ
 ναύτης δυσὶ φωνήσεσι παραληγόμενον· βαρύτονα δὲ ... ἀπλᾶ δὲ ἡ παρασύνθετα διὰ τὸ ... ἀκαλαρρεΐτης ...
 (ἰδοὺ γὰρ ταῦτα διὰ διφθόγγου γράφεται, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀντίκειται ἡμῖν, ἐπεὶ οὕτε ἀπλᾶ εἰσὶν οὔτε παρασύν-
 θετα, ἀλλὰ σύνθετα παρὰ τὸ ῥεῖν)· μὴ ἔχοντα δὲ ἀντιπαρακείμενον τὸ ὄ διὰ τὸ ἀλείτης, ἔχει δὲ
 ἀντιπαρακείμενον τὸ ὄ ἀλόιτης· πρόσκειται μὴ ἔχοντα ἀπὸ πλεονασμοῦ τὸ ἱ διὰ τὸ ... Θυμοίτης καὶ Δαμοί-
 της, ἀπὸ γὰρ ... θυμὸς καὶ δᾶμος γέγονεν ... θυμότης δαμότης καὶ ἐν πλεονασμῷ τοῦ ἱ ... Θυμοίτης Δαμοί-
 της· πρόσκειται μὴ ἔχοντα ἀπὸ πρωτοτύπου τὸ εἰ διὰ τὸ ..., Ζέλεια Ζελεΐτης ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως τῆς Τρωϊκῆς (ἐπὶ
 δὲ τῆς Λιβύης διὰ τοῦ ἱ, ἐπεὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ζηλὶς Ζηλίδος γέγονε Ζηλίτης, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔχει τὸ εἰ ἀπὸ πρωτοτύ-
 που) ... || **27.** Ὁρείτης] *Ael. Her.*, *Paron.*, 3, 2, 870.5-6: Ὁρεὸς πόλις Εὐβοίας. Τούτου τὸ ἔθνικόν διὰ τῆς
 εἰ γράφεται Ὁρείτης ὡς Ζελεΐτης ... || **28.** τραπεζεῖται κύνες] cf. *Hom.*, *Il.*, 22.69, 23.173, *Od.*, 17.309:
 κύνες τραπεζῆς; *Ps.-Zonar.*, *Lex.*, 1740.3-5: Τραπεζίτης· ὁ καταλλάκτης. Τραπεζεῖτης δὲ κύων, ὁ τὰς
 ψυχὰς ἐσθίων ὑποκάτω τῆς τραπέζης, διφθογγὸν || Εἰλωτες] *Ael. Her.*, *Paron.*, 3, 2, 897.6-8: Ἔλος πόλις
 Λακωνικῆ· οἱ πολῖται Εἰλωτες. τῇ ἐκτάσει καὶ τῷ γένει καὶ τῇ προσθέσει τοῦ ἱ διαφέρει. λέγονται καὶ
 Εἰλωται καὶ Ἐλειοι καὶ Ἐλείται || **33.** σειστός, Σηστοῦ] *Ael. Her.*, *Part.*, 178.13-179.4: τὰ διὰ τοῦ ἱστος
 δέζοντα διὰ τοῦ ἱῶτα γράφονται· οἷον ... καὶ Σηστός, πόλις. Σειστός, καὶ σειόμενος· ... διφθογγα ||
34. ἰδρώς, ἀνεκῆκιε] *Hom.*, *Il.*, 23.507: στή δὲ μέσῳ ἐν ἀγῶνι, πολὺς δ' ἀνεκῆκίεν ἰδρῶς || Κίνυψ ... Χά-
 λυβες] *Ael. Her.*, *Pros.*, 3, 1, 247.4-5: τὰ εἰς ὕψος βαρύνεται, Κίνυψ ὁ λιμὴν· ἔστι δὲ καὶ ποταμός. Χάλυψ,
 περὶ τὸν Πόντον ἔθνος ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ Θερμῶδοντι ...

23. βίη Ἡρακλεΐη LC || φυλέτης LC || **24.** ὁ τεμενίτης LC || ταυρομενίῳ LC || **25.** ἀκαλαρίτην LC ||
26. ὄντι C || **27.** ἐστιόντων L || **28.** κύνες L || μεσσηνιακὴν LC || **30.** Ἐχίσης] verbum non inveni ||
 ἐρίσης LC || **32.** ἐνακονίτῳ L || **33.** τοῦ LC || ἰδίονες LC

τῷ Σειληνῷ Διονύσῳ θυσιάζουσιν· οὐ μόνον δὲ οἱ νεανικώτεροι τοῦτο πράττουσιν, 35
 ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ὀνομασμένοι Σιληνοί· ἀβροδιαίτατα οὖν τὰ ἐπιτραπέζια βρωτά, ὥσπερ
 τῶν Συβαριτῶν· ἐν αὐταῖς εἰσὶ καὶ φίλοινοι· ἀλλ' οὖν πρὸς τὸ πολεμεῖν, Ῥηγίνοι
 καὶ παλλακαῖς δὲ ἀσελγαίνουσι, μῦθόν τινα ὁρμὴν ἔχοντες, καὶ θοιμάτια αὐταῖς
 ὑσγίνοβαφῇ· τὸ δ' οὖν γναφεῖον τοῦτο, ὥσπερ σίδης τὸ εἶδος, καὶ γυρῖνοι πολλοί,
 καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὀρχημάτων, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἀπόκι(ν)ον οὗτοι ὀρχοῦνται· ὅτε καὶ 40
 τῆς ἀμπέλου ὁ ἔλινος αὖξεται, τούτων οἱ πόδες, πολύγληνοι ἐκ τῶν ὀρχημάτων·
 ἐλαίῳ δὲ ἐλαιοῦνται τὰ ἰνία καὶ πιαλέοι τούτῳ γίνονται· ἡ δὲ Εὐηνίνη καὶ Ὁκεανίνη,
 αὐτοῖς συνώκησαν· πῖναι δὲ ἡδύτατα λιπαινόμεναι, ἄρισταί εἰσιν· ἐρατεινὴ δὲ καὶ
 ῥίνη ἐν Μυρσίῃ, καὶ Ἀσίνη τοῖς πολυχνίοις ἀφίκοντο· ταύτῃ πλησιάζει καὶ Αἰγίνα·
 συναλοιφῇ δὲ τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τὸ μάχεσθαι προσίενται. 45

[24] Ἀλίβας ὅταν σορῷ παραδοθῆναι, εἰλαπίναις χρῶνται· καὶ γραῖδιον δέ τι γύ-
 ναιον, σὺν ἐτέρᾳ γυναικί, εὐθρεῖα δουλοσύνη ὥσπερ ἀγωνίζονται· ὅτι καὶ ἄϊρος σὺν
 αἰέρῳ τῷ δουλεύειν προσεδρεύουσιν· ὁ δὲ περὶ αὐτοῖς Βρασίων ἦκων λύκειον ἐν
 χερσὶ κατέχων, ἅμα τῷ Ἀρείονι ἐπὶ ἀστιβῇ ὁδὸν βαδίζειν, πρὸς τῷ Ἀρτεμισίῳ χωρίῳ,
 Ἀκριβήσιος δὲ οὐδεῖς· ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ Ἀρκεισίῳ· πλησίον τοῦ Ἀλησίου πεδίου, ἀπερείσιοι 5

35 et 36. Σειληνῷ ... Σιληνοί] *Etym. Gud.*, 497.35-44: Σειλινός, ὁ γέρων, παρὰ τὸ εἶρω, ὁ σημαίνει τὸ
 λέγω σειρηνός, καὶ κατὰ μετάθεσιν τοῦ ρ εἰς, λ καὶ τοῦ η εἰς ι, σειλινός· ἡ παρὰ τὸ σείεσθαι λίαν· σειληνός
 ὁ δῖονυσος, παρὰ τὸ σείεσθαι ἐν τῷ ληνῷ· σιληνός δὲ ὁ μωρός, ἐκ τοῦ σιλαίνειν τὸ μωραίνειν, καὶ φλυαρεῖν.
 Σειλινός, σειλινοὶ λέγονται οἱ γέροντες τῶν σατύρων· γράφεται δὲ διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου· ἡ γὰρ παρὰ τὸ
 σείεσθαι αὐτούς, περὶ τὸν ληνόν· ἡ παρὰ τὸ σεσυρέναι καὶ χαίρειν γέγονε σέριος καὶ προσθέσει τοῦ ἰῶτα,
 καὶ τροπῇ τοῦ ρ εἰς λ· σειλινός || 38-39. μῦθόν τινα ὁρμὴν – ὑσγίνοβαφῇ] cf. Long. 162.14-15 ||
 42. Εὐηνίνη ... Ὁκεανίνη] Georg. Choer., *Orth.*, 170.33-171.2: τὰ γὰρ διὰ τοῦ ἰνῆ μονογενῆ, μὴ γενό-
 μενα ἀπὸ ἐπιθέτων κύρια, ἀποστρέφονται τὴν διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου γραφήν· οἶον, Ὁκεανίνη· Εὐηνίνη ...;
 Theogn., 691.1-5: τὰ διὰ τοῦ ἰνῆ μονογενῆ ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς βαρύτερα τὸ ἰ παραλήγεται· οἶον, ...
 Εὐηνίνη ... || 43. ἡδύτατα] *Apoll. Dysc., Adv.*, 2.1.1, 153.9-12: βαρύνεται καὶ ὅσα ἐν ὁμοφωνίᾳ καθέστη-
 κε πληθυντικῶν βαρυτόνων ὀνομάτων· ἡδύτατος, καὶ πληθυντικὸν ἡδύτατα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπιρρηματικῶς τὸ
 ἡδύτατα

[24] 1. ἀλίβας] *Ael. Her., Onom.*, 3,2, 656.3-6: τὰ εἰς ας τρισύλλαβα παραληγόμενα διχρόνῳ συνεστα-
 λμένῳ, ἀρχόμενα ἀπὸ τοῦ α, εἰ ἔχει ἄρχον τῆς τελευταίας συλλαβῆς ἐν τι τῶν μέσων ἢ τὸ μ, περιττοσυλλά-
 βως κλίνεται· οἶον ἀλίβας ἀλίβαντος, ὁ σημαίνει τὸ ὄξος ... || 2. ἄϊρος] *Ael. Her., Orth.*, 3,2, 449.1-7: τὰ
 διὰ τοῦ ἰρος ἐπὶ πόλεως λεγόμενα καὶ μὴ οὐδέτερα διὰ τοῦ ἰ γράφεται, ... τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πάντα διὰ τῆς εἰ
 γράφεται, ... ἡδύτατα] *Ps.-Zonar., Lex.*, 319.13-14: ἀστιβῆς· ὁδὸς ἀτριβῆς, ἀπάτης, ἄβατος. Στίβος γὰρ ἡ ὁδός; cf. *supra*, § 12.14 || Ἀρτεμισίῳ] *Ael. Her., Orth.*, 3,2, 444.16-17: τὰ διὰ τοῦ ἰσῖος διὰ τοῦ ἰ γράφεται, ..., Ἀρτεμίσιος πλην τοῦ Ἀρκεισίου, ... ||
 5. Ἀλησίῳ πεδίου] *Ael. Her., Pros.*, 3,1, 367. 7-10: Ἀ λ ἡ σ ι ο ν τῆς Ἠλιδος «πέτρης τ' Ὀλενίης καὶ
 Ἀλησίῳ» (*Il.* Α 757). Ἀπὸ Ἀλησίου τοῦ Σκυλλοῦντος υἱοῦ. Γράφεται καὶ Ἀλεισίον. ἔστι καὶ Ἀλήσιον πεδί-
 ον τῆς Ἠπείρου, ὡς πηγνυμένου ἐκεῖ πολλοῦ ἁλός || ἀπερείσιοι] *Her., Orth.*, 3,2, 477.18-19: ἀπερείσια·
 τὸ ρεῖ διφθογγὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἄπειρος ἀπειρέσια καὶ καθ' ὑπερβιβασμὸν ἀπερείσιος καὶ ἀπερείσια

36. ἀβροδιαίτατα LC || 37. συβαρέων LC || ἐναυταῖς L || 38. παλακαῖς LC || μῦθόν τινα LC || 40. ἀπόκι[et
 spatium vacuum ca. 2 litt.] Jov L: ἀπόκι[et spatium vacuum ca. 5 litt.] Jov C || 41. τὸ ἔλινον LC || πο-
 λύγληνοι LC || 42. ἐλαιῶνται LC || εὐκνήνη LC || 43. πῖναι LC || 44. πολυχνίοις LC || 45. συναλοιφῇ L

[24] 1. Ἀ in rubr. L: deest C || ἄλιβας LC || 2. εὐθρεῖα] verbum non inveni || δουλοσύνης C || 3. Βρα-
 σίων] verbum non inveni || 4. ἄριον C || ἀρτεμισίῳ C || 5. Ἀκριβήσιος] verbum non inveni ||
 ἀλεισίῳ LC

- πλησιάζουσιν ἡμερήσιοι· εἰσὶ δέ τινες αὐτῶν, καὶ κρηπιδοπῶλαι· καὶ βολὶς ἡλίου, σεσηρῆναι ποιεῖ τὴν τούτων ὄψιν· πλησιαιάτα δὲ τῶν θυμιαμάτων, ῥεῖ ὁ Ἀμνισός, καὶ Πηνειός, καὶ Ὀλμειός, καὶ Κηφισός, καὶ Ἰλισός, καὶ Δαρδανειός δὲ σὺν αὐτοῖς, ἅμα τῷ Σαγγαρίῳ· καὶ κρήνη Ἀκιδαλίνη ἐκείσε παράκειται· ὥστε ἀλίσαντά τινα τὸν
- 10 ἵππον ἐν κόνει, οἴκοι ἄγειν· οὗτοι γοῦν αὐτονυχεῖ ἀλλήλοις ἐπιπεσόντες, ἀνωῖστί αὐθεντία ἐχρήσαντο, αὐτοψεῖ πρὸς τὸ θανεῖν· τότε δὴ καὶ αὐτοψηφεί διηρέθησαν τῶν μαχησμῶν ἀναιμωτί· οὗτοι καὶ κύλικα οἴνων πληροῦντες, ἀμυστί ἐπεπώκεισαν· ἀτρύγιον δὲ τὸν ἀμφιφορῆα, λιπόντες καὶ ἐν τρυγοίῳ τὴν τρύγα διυλίσαντές τε καὶ διηθήσαντες ἀπαταγί, πανθοινεῖ εἰσιτώντο· καὶ ἀστρεπτί τὴν πορείαν ἤνυσον· καὶ τὸν
- 15 ἰδρῶτα ἀστακτί, οὐκ εἶων ῥεῖν· ὥσπερ δὲ ἀκηρυκεῖ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐπέπεσον ἐκ τῆς κόνεως, μὴ ἐώμενοι ἀσκαρδαμυκτί πρὸς ἐνώπιον ὀρᾶν· οὐκ ἀσπουδεὶ δέ, ἰκετείαις ἐκέχρητο, ἀλλὰ προκληδί ἐλιτάνευον, ἀμοχθεὶ καὶ ἀμοθεὶ τὴν πατρίδα καταλήψεσθαι ἡλπιόκοτες· πολὺ γάρ τι ἄχθος τὴν καρδίαν σέσεικεν αὐτῶν, μὴ ἡλπιόκτων τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν τελεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴ δὲ ἀσυλεῖ· τούτων οὕτως ἠνωχλημένων οὐκ ἀναιμεί,
- 20 οὐδὲ ἀμερμερεῖ τῶν πόνων ἐπαύσαντο· ἀλλὰ πανδημεὶ τῷ θανάτῳ παρεδόθησαν, ὡς εἰπεῖν αὐτολεξεῖ, καὶ οὐχ ἀμαχεῖ ἀλλὰ παμμαχί κατεκαίοντο, ὥσπερ τὸ χοίρειον κοῖ, τῷ θνήσκειν γρυλίζοντες· τότε ἴρις ἀερία ἐξηπλώθη καὶ ἀργυρίδιον οὐ μικρὸν οἱ ἐγκαταλειφθέντες ἀπενήσαντο· διὰ γραφεῖον δὲ τὸ τοιοῦτον πραξίδιον καὶ τὰ τοιάδε γνωμίδια τοῖς μετέπειτα ἐπαγγέλλουσιν· ἀπεθησαυρίζοντο γοῦν καὶ ἐν ἀγγειδίῳς

7-9. Ἀμνισός – Σαγγαρίω] *Etym. Sym.*, 1, 360.25-361.6: Ἀμνισός· ποταμός Κρήτης ... τὸ μνι τ· τὰ εἰς ὃς τρισύλλαβα ἐπὶ ποταμῶν ὀξύτονα, εἰ μὲν καθαρὰ διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου γράφονται, οἷον Ἀλφειός, ..., εἰ δὲ μὴ καθαρὰ διὰ τοῦ τ, οἷον Ἀμνισός Κηφισός Ἰλισός. ... τὸ δὲ Δαρδανειός (ἔστιν ὄνομα ποταμοῦ), εἰ καὶ ὑπὲρ τρεῖς συλλαβάς ἐστιν, ἀλλ' οὖν ὀξυνόμενον ἠκολούθησε τῷ Ἀλφειός. Πρόσκειται «τρισύλλαβα» διὰ τὸ Σαγγάριος || **9.** Ἀκιδαλίνη] *Georg. Choer., Orth.*, 172.16-17: Ἀκιδαλίνη: Ἔστιν δὲ ὄνομα κρήνης παρὰ τὸ Ἀκίς, Ἀκίδος || **10** et **21.** αὐτονυχεῖ ... ἀμαχεῖ ... παμμαχί] *Ps.-Theod., Gram.*, 76.3-7: Τὰ εἰς χεῖ διὰ διφθόγγου γράφονται· ἀμαχεῖ, αὐτονυχεῖ, ... πλὴν τοῦ ... παμμαχί, ... καὶ ἦχι ἀντὶ τοῦ ὅπου || **10**, **12** et **14.** ἀνωῖστί ... ἀναιμωτί ... πανθοινεῖ] *Ael. Her., Orth.*, 3.2, 464.11-23: Τὰ εἰς τὶ λήγοντα ἐπιρρήματα ὀξύτονα, ... τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ πτωτικῶν διὰ μακροῦ τοῦ τ γράφεται, ... ἀνωῖστί, ... ἀναιμωτί, ... πανθοινί, ... τὸ τ ἔσθ' ὅτε καὶ συνεσταλμένως προφέρεται ἀδεία ποιητικῇ. ... Τὰ ἔχοντα θ λ μ ξ ρ φ χ ψ διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου γράφεται οἷον διὰ τοῦ θ ἀμοθεῖ, ἀμοχθεῖ ... τὸ μ πανδημεῖ, ... τὸ ξ αὐτολεξεῖ. ... τὸ χ ... ἀμαχεῖ. Τὸ ψ αὐτοψηφεί; *Ps.-Theod., Gram.* 78.4-5: Τὰ εἰς δεῖ διὰ διφθόγγου γράφονται, οἷον ... ἀσπουδεὶ πλὴν τοῦ ... προκληδί. Τὰ εἰς γι διὰ τοῦ ι γράφονται, οἷον ... ἀπαταγί. Τὰ εἰς θι διὰ τοῦ ι γράφονται ... πλὴν τοῦ ἀμοχθεῖ ... Τὰ εἰς μεῖ διὰ διφθόγγου οἷον ... ἀναμεί (sic), ... πανδημεῖ ... Ἔτι καὶ τὰ εἰς ρεῖ, οἷον ... ἀμερμερεῖ. Ἔτι τὰ εἰς χεῖ οἷον ἀμαχεῖ, ... αὐτολεξεῖ, αὐτοψεῖ; cf. *supra*, § 20.2-4 et § 21.13-14 || **14-15.** πανθοινεῖ ... ἀστρεπτί ... ἀστακτί] *Ps.-Theod., Gram.* 77.30-78.1: ἔτι τὰ εἰς πτι διὰ τοῦ ι γράφονται ἀμεταστρεπτί, ἀστρεπτί· ἔτι τὰ εἰς κτι ... ἀστακτί· ... ἔτι τὰ εἰς νι, ... πλὴν τοῦ πανθοινεῖ διὰ διφθόγγου... || **15** et **16.** ἀκηρυκεῖ ... ἀσκαρδαμυκτί] *Ps.-Theod., Gram.* 76.18-20: Τὰ εἰς κτι διὰ τοῦ ι γράφονται, οἷον ἀτακτί, ἀσκαρδαμυκτί πλὴν τοῦ ἀκηρυκεῖ. Τὰ εἰς πτι διὰ τοῦ ι γράφονται, οἷον ἀστρεπτί || **20** et **21.** πανδημεῖ, αὐτολεξεῖ] *Georg. Choer., Orth.*, 172.21-24: ... πλὴν τῶν διὰ τοῦ θ λ μ ξ ρ φ χ ταῦτα γὰρ διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου γράφονται οἷον, διὰ ... τὸ λᾶσυλεῖ τὸ μ πανδημεῖ τὸ ξ αὐτολεξεῖ; cf. *Long.* 112.22-113.1

7. σεσηρῆναι post corr. (et -έ- in ras.) L || **8.** κηφισός LC || **9.** σαγγαρίω LC || ἀκηδαλίη LC || ἀλίσαντά LC || **12.** κύλικα in ras. L || ἀμυστεῖ LC || **13.** ατρύγιον L || τὸν τρύγα LC || διυλίσαντες post corr. (e διελίσαντες) C || τε om. C || **15.** οὐκείων L || **17.** προκληδί post corr. (e προκλυδί) L || **18.** ἐόσεικεν LC || **19.** οὐκναιμεί L || **21.** αὐτολεξεῖ LC || κατεκαίοντο C || χοίριον C || **22.** κοί LC || τὸ θνήσκειν C || ἴρις LC || **24.** ἐναγγειδίῳς L

πολλά ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ συνεχρήσαντο· ὁ δὲ αἴτης Ἄδωνις παρὰ τοῦ Ἄρεος 25
 ἠπεύλητο ἀποθανεῖν· ὁ δὲ Πελοπίδης καὶ Παναριστίδης, Ἀριστείδης τε καὶ Μινωΐδης
 καὶ Ἡρωΐδης, καὶ Εὐτυχίδης, συνελάβοντο τῶν πόνων· καὶ Ἀχαιμενίδης, Καλλιείδης
 C 88^v τε καὶ Ἀχιλλείδης καὶ Φιλομηλείδης· ὡς τις καὶ ποιητῶν ἔφη, || ἐξ ἔριδος Φιλομηλεί-
 δης ἐπάλασεν ἀναστάς· αἰφνίδιον ὑπεισῆλθε καὶ Δαναΐδης, καὶ Λητοΐδης, καὶ Φιλυ-
 L 359^r ρίδης· κύνειον οὖν δέρμα ἐν χερσὶ || κατέχοντες, ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ ἐν δουρεῖω σκεύει 30
 τὸ μάχεσθαι ἐποιοῦντο· ἄλγιον δὲ τὸ θεώρημα· ὀνειδείους γὰρ ῥησιδίοις, ἀλλήλους
 κατεκωμῶδουν ἐν τῷ τεμνίῳ χωρίῳ καὶ Ποσειδωνίῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ Περσεφονεῖ· ὁ δὲ
 Λέσβιος Πυθαγόρας ἐκ κατήλιφος πεπτωκώς, τὸ σκέλος ἐξεκόπη· τότε καὶ ἡ τούτου
 γαμετή, τὸ πηνίον ἐξέλκουσα, μέγα ἐκώκυσε· καὶ οἱ παῖδες δέ, κατὰ τὸν παιδείον
 τρόπον, ἐθρηνώδουν· ὁ δὲ μύειος σωρὸς ἐνδέδυκε τοῖς φωλεοῖς· αἱ δὲ θεράπαινοι, 35
 ὄνειον δέρμα ἡμφιεσμένοι, ἀλέαν ἐποιοῦντο τῷ σαρκίῳ· καὶ σύειον δὴ κρεάδιον
 χερσὶ κατελιηφυῖαι, νύχια ἥσθιον· ἦδον γοῦν καὶ τὸν παιάνιον, καὶ σιτάνειον χο-
 ρόν· καὶ οἱ αὐχένιοι τένοντες κατὰ τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν νόμον, τοῖς Δελφίνιοις ἐδέδεντο·
 ἐν Τραχινίοις, καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἑλικωνίῳ τὸν Δημοφώντειον λόγον ἦδον οἱ Ποσειδώνιοι,
 καὶ οἱ Θεώνιοι· ὅτε καὶ ἡ Ἀπολλωνία βάξις, παρὰ Λίβυσιν ἐκηρύττετο, ὁ δαφνή- 40
 εις κτείς, θαμινῶς τῇ ἐθειρῇ προσφερόμενος, θαμειὰς τὰς φθείρας ἀναιρεῖ· ὄρθιος
 γὰρ ὁ λοίσθιος λόγος, ὃς καὶ τὸ πολύρρηνας ἐξεῖπε καὶ τὸ ἀφνειὸς ἐκείνῳ προσέ-
 θηκε· καὶ ἐν τῷ κωμικῷ δὲ Διῖφίλῳ δῖαμα ἀλειπτίας γεγραμμένον ἔνεστιν εὐρεῖν
 τὰ τοιαῦτα· ἀνάλειπτον οὖν οἱ φιλαλειποῦντες, οὗ φασι τὸν ἀγωνισάμενον· ἀλλ'
 οἶον· ὑψηλιφεῖς, ὡς μὴ ὄντες πρότεροι, ἐκβάλλονται τῶν ἀγωνιστικῶν, καὶ τὸν 45
 διφριακὸν ἵππον ἀναβαίνουσιν· ἀορτῇσι γοῦν χρυσεῖοις ἐκκρεμῶσι τὸ ἄορ, καθὼς

26. cf. Long., 162.12 || 26, 27 et 28.] Ael. Her., *Pros.*, 3,1, 67.3-22: τῷ δὲ ἰ παραλήγεται ἡ μόνῃ ἢ μετὰ
 ἑτέρου φωνήεντος ἐν διφθόγγῳ ἢ ἀνεκφωνήτῳ. Καὶ ἀνεκφωνήτῳ μὲν οἶον Μίνως Μινωΐδης καὶ συ-
 ναίρεσι Μινωΐδης καὶ Ἡρώς Ἡρωΐδης καὶ Ἡρώδης, ... καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς ἧς εἰς οὐς ἐχόντων τὴν
 γενικὴν, εἰ μὲν βραχεῖα παραλήγεται, διὰ τοῦ ἰ γράφεται Εὐτυχίδης, ... Ἀχαιμενίδης, ... τύπου
 δὲ πατρωνυμικοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς ὃς ὄντα παρτάθησαν διὰ τῆς εἰ, ... Καλλιείδης, Ἀχιλλείδης, ...,
 Φιλομηλείδης «Φιλομηλείδης ἐπάλασεν ἀναστάς» (*Od.* ρ 134)... ἰ μόνῃ δὲ παραλήγεται τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς
 εἰς ὃς εἴτε εὐθείας εἴτε γενικῆς ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς ἧς εἰς οὐ ἐχόντων τὴν γενικὴν γινόμενα πατρωνυμικά, ...,
 Πελοπίδης, ... || 28-29. ἐξ ἔριδος – ἀναστάς] Hom., *Od.*, 4.343, 17.134: Φιλομηλείδης ἐπάλασεν
 ἀναστάς || 28 et 29.] Ps.-Zonar., *Lex.*, 334.1-5: τὰ δὲ μὴ πατρωνυμικά διὰ τοῦ ἰ Λητοΐδης, ὁ τῆς Λητοῦς,
 Δαναΐδης, ὁ τῆς Δανάης, Νιοβίδης, ὁ τῆς Νιόβης. Ὅθεν τὸ Φιλομηλείδης κύριον λέγεται εἶναι· εἰ γὰρ ἦν
 μητρωνυμικόν, διὰ τοῦ ἰ ἐγράφη ἄν || 34, 35 et 36.] Ael. Her., *Orth.*, 3,2, 437.23-25: τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς ῥ
 ληγόντων ὀνομάτων μονοσυλλάβων περισπωμένων διὰ τοῦ εἰος παραγόμενα διὰ τῆς εἰ γράφεται οἶον ...,
 σὺς σύειος, μὺς μύειος, παῖς παιδείος τρόπος || 38, 39 et 40.] Ael. Her., *Orth.*, 3,2, 442.18-25: τὰ ἀπὸ
 τῶν εἰς ἰν διὰ τοῦ ἰος παραγόμενα διὰ τοῦ ἰ γράφεται οἶον δελφὶν δελφίνιος, ..., Τραχὶν Τραχίνιος. Τὰ διὰ
 τοῦ οἶος καὶ ὠνιος ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς μὴ σημαίνοντα μέρος σωματικὸν μῆτε κτητικὰ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς ὦν βα-
 ρυτόνων διὰ τοῦ ἰ γράφεται ... Ἑλικώνιος, ... καὶ τὰ ὅμοια. Πρόσκειται ... «μῆτε κτητικὰ» διὰ τὸ Θεώνιος,
 Τρυφώνιος. Σησημείωται τὸ Ἀπολλώνιος καὶ Ἀμμώνιος

25. ὁ δε L || 26. ἠπεύλητο post corr. (et ἦ- in ras.) L || 27. τῶν post add. sup. lin. L || καλλίδης LC ||
 28. τὲ C || 29. ἐπάλασεν L || λιτοΐδης LC || 31. ὀνειδίοις LC || 32. περσεφονεῖ] verbum non inveni ||
 34. πηνίον LC || 37. post ἦδον γοῦν cnc. ἦδον γοῦν (dittogr.) L || σιτάνιον LC || 40. θεώνιοι LC || 40-
 41. δαφνείης LC || 41. θαμειοὺς LC || φθείρας C || 42. πολλύρρηνας C || 43. διηφίλω L || ἀλειπτίας]
 verbum non inveni

- οἱ θεῖοι μυθολογούνται· οἱ δὲ ἡθεῖοι τῶν ἀνδρῶν, σὺν Ἑρμῖα τῷ βακίλῳ οὐ παραιο-
 δούουσιν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, ὥσπερ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἔφη ἐν ἐπιγράμμασι, τὸ εὐνοῦχος ὢν
 καὶ δοῦλος ἦρχεν Ἑρμίας· οὗτοι δὲ ἀλεείνοντες τὸ ἐρεεῖν ἐρωτικὸν λόγον, τὸν
 50 ψυχρινὸν καιρὸν περιέπουσιν· ἵππει δὲ αὐτοὺς ποτὲ καὶ ὁ ἡρινὸς καιρὸς, καὶ λεί-
 πουσιν τὸν μετωπρινόν· ὅτε δὲ καὶ ἀρειή τις ἐπεισφρήσει, ὡς Ἰππῶναξ φησί, δεῖ
 ὀπλίζεσθαι· αὐτολεξεῖ γὰρ οὕτως ἔφη· χήτει τοι πρίνης ἀρίας ποιούμεθα γόμφους· φι-
 λήτης γὰρ ὢν, Αὐτόλυκος τὰς χροιάς ἐνήλλαττε τῶν κεκλεμμένων, καὶ ἀεικελίους,
 ἀπειργάζετο· ἀεικίσσας δὲ ποτε ἵππους, τῷ φωραθῆναι ἐν ὀλμείοις ἀπηγγέλη ἔκ τινος
 55 μιτείας τοῦτο πεποιῆσθαι· καὶ ἐν πολυχνίῳ δὲ τῷ Αἰγίρῳ, ὁ Κάμιρος τὸν ἀλετρίβανον
 αὐτοῦ εὐρηκώς, ἐδήλου πᾶσιν· ὅτε καὶ ἀρειμάνιος καὶ ἀρειφάτιος ἐφανεροῦντο πᾶσι
 καὶ Ἀνθεια ἡ πανδοκεύτρια κατὰ τὴν Ἑρέτριαν ἐκωμωδεῖτο· καὶ Λαμία ὁμοίως, καὶ
 Πολύμνια, καὶ Ἰάμνια, καὶ Ἀκυλία, καὶ Θευπειάν δὲ ἐν Θευπιαῖς οὕτως ἐξεῖπον· καὶ
 Πισιδία ὁμοίως καὶ ἡ Αἰλία παρ' αὐτοῖς· καὶ ἐκωμωδεῖτο καὶ ἡ Ἀλεξανδρίς γυνή, ἡ
 60 ἀπὸ τοῦ Πηλίου ὄρους.

[25] Ὅτε Ἰλιεῖς αἰσχροκερδία ἐκέχρηντο, τότε καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑπὸ εὐπαθείας εὐμαθία
 προσελθόντες, κακὰ πολλὰ πέποσθε, εὐμαρείας μὴ εὐρηκότες ὄνειρα, μὴ δὲ οἰκωφελία
 ἐσπουδακότες· ἀλλὰ τὰ Τηλεγόνεια ἀναγινώσκοντες, χάριν διαυγείας λόγων καὶ

47. Ἑρμῖα] Suda, 3040.1-11 Ἑρμίας, ὁ εὐνοῦχος, Ἀταρνεύς (χώρα δὲ ἐστὶ Μυσίας τῆς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ τῆς πρὸς
 τῷ Ἑλλησπόντῳ, ἧς καὶ ἦρχε βασιλέως τοῦ Περσῶν ὑπήκοος), εὐνοῦχος καὶ δοῦλος γενόμενος Εὐβούλου
 Βιθυνοῦ δυνάστου καὶ φιλοσόφου, ἀσκηθεὶς παιδείαν παρὰ Ἀριστοτέλει ἔγραψε περὶ ψυχῆς, ὅτι ἀθάνατος.
 οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ εὐνοῦχος ὁ τρίπατος, οἰκείως δὲ διέκειτο πρὸς Ἀριστοτέλην καὶ τὴν θετὴν αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα
 ἔδωκε τῷ φιλοσόφῳ. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Ἑρμῖαν μόνον γράφουσι διὰ τοῦ ἰ· ἐν γὰρ τοῖς τοῦ Ἰππῶνακτος στίχοις
 ἱαμβικοῖς εὔρηται στίχος οὕτως· εὐνοῦχος ὢν καὶ δοῦλος ἦρχεν Ἑρμίας. ὅτι οὗτος, καίτοι θαλάσσης ὢν,
 ἔσπειρε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα καὶ ἔτεκεν ἐξ αὐτῆς τὴν Πυθιάδα θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ. ζήτηι περὶ τούτων ἐν τῷ
 Ἀριστοτέλει, υἱὸς Νικομάχου || 48. ὥσπερ ... Ἀριστοτέλης ἔφη ἐν ἐπιγράμμασι] cf. supra, § 24.47 || 48-
 49. εὐνοῦχος ... Ἑρμίας] cf. supra, § 24.47 || 51 et 52. ἀρειή ... ἀρίας] Eur. *Fragm.* 360: χήτει τοι
 πρίνης ἀρίας ποιούμεθα γόμφους; Ael. Her., *Pros.*, 3,1, 291.21-24: ... ἀρειὰ οὐ τίθεται ἐπὶ οὐσίας, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ
 πράγματι, τὴν γὰρ ἀπειλήν σημαίνει, δηλονότι οὕτε δξύνεσθαι ὥφειλεν οὕτε ἐκτείνειν τὸ ᾧ, ἀλλ'
 ἡμάρτηται, ὡς εἴρηται· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ φυτοῦ ἀρία διὰ τοῦ ἰ καὶ παροξύνεται «χήτει τοι πρίνης ἀρίας ποιούμεθα
 γόμφους» ὡς παρ' Εὐπόλιδι || 51. ὡς Ἰππῶναξ φησί] locum non inveni || 57 et 58. Ael. Her., *Onom.*,
 3,2, 631.9-11: Choer. 323,14: τὰ εἰς ᾧ λήγοντα θηλυκὰ ἢ συστέλλει τὸ ᾧ ἢ ἐκτείνει αὐτό· καὶ ὅσα μὲν ἐστὶ
 προπαροξύτονα ὠμολόγηται ὅτι συνεσταλμένον ἔχει τὸ ᾧ, οἷον πανδοκεύτρια, Πολύμνια, ..., Ἑρέτρια ...;
 Ael. Her., *Dichr.*, 3,2, 11.29-12.4: Τὰ εἰς ᾧ λήγοντα καθαρὸν συνεσταλμένον, ὅποτε ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ δύο συλ-
 λαβάς, τὴν πρὸ τέλους ἔχει φύσει μακράν, Μήδεια, Θάλεια, Πηνελόπεια, ..., ὑπεσταλμένων τῶν πρὸ τέλους
 ἐχόντων τὴν τῇ συλλαβὴν, οἷον ποιήτρια, ... Παράλογος οὖν ὁ πρὸ τέλους χρόνος τοῦ πότνια, ὄμνια,
 Πολύμνια, Ἰάμνια, Λάμια

[25] 1, 2 et 3.] Ael. Her., *Orth.*, 3,2, 453.15-19: Τὰ παρὰ τὸ ἦθος διαφορεῖται, ..., ποιητικώτερον δὲ διὰ
 τοῦ ἰ καὶ παρὰ τὸ κέρδος ..., αἰσχροκέρδεια καὶ αἰσχροκερδία· καὶ τὰ παρὰ τὸ παθεῖν καὶ μαθεῖν, εὐπάθεια

47. δε L || 51. μετωπρινόν post corr. (e μετωπωρινόν) L || ἀρειή τις LC || ἐπισφρήσει L || 52. πρύμνης
 ὀρείους LC || 53. ἐνήλλαττε LC || κεκλεμμένων post corr. (e κεκλμμένων et sscr. e) C || 54. ἀεικίσας LC
 || ἐνολμείοις L: ὀλμείοις C || 55. μιτείας] verbum non inveni || πεποιῆσθαι post corr. (e πεποιεῖσθαι) L
 || 56. εὐρηκώς L || 57. ἐρετρίαν L: ἐρετρίαν C || 58. ἀκυλία post corr. (ex ἀκυλια et sscr. η) L || θευπει-
 αν post corr. (e θευπιάν) L || θευπειάν ... θευπιαῖς] verba non inveni

[25] 1. ὁ in rubr. L: deest C || αἰσχροκερδία post corr. (ex αἰσχροκερδεῖα et sscr. ι) L || ὑπο εὐπαθείας
 LC || εὐμαθεία L || 2. πεπόσθε C || οἰκωφελία LC

ἀνταυγείας εὐτέλειαν ἡσκήκατε· καὶ ἀτρεκεῖα ἐχρήσασθε, ἐξωλείας μὴ ἐρῶντες·
 πανώλης γὰρ ἡ τοιαύτη αἴρεσις· εὐποιῖας δὲ μὴδὲν ἔχουσα, ὥσπερ ἔφη καὶ ὁ ποιητής, 5
 ὃ δ' ἦϊε νυκτὶ εἰκῶς· καὶ Σοφοκλῆς δὲ ἐν τοῖς γράμμασιν, Εὐτυχίῳ ἐχρήσατο· ὥσπερ
 καὶ Νίκανδρος εὐφυνῶς ἄλειςον ταῖς χερσὶ κατέχων αἰπεινῶς καθήστο, ἀλγεινὸν
 ἐπιφέρων τὸ εἶδος, καὶ οὐκ ἀλγεινόν.

[26] Ὁ μὲν δ' ἦν φυζακινὸς μᾶλλον ἢ λεπτακινός· οὐ γὰρ λεπτεῖνός, ὥσπερ οἱ
 λεγόμενοι Αἰνειᾶνες καὶ Βιτακήριοι, ὥσπερ ἔλαφοι ἔδουσι καρπὸν ὀρεινόν· καὶ
 πυκινὸι καθήμενοι, ῥαδίως προσδιαλέγονται ἐν πεδινῷ χωρίῳ· ἡ δὲ κόμη τοῦ ἐρι-
 νοῦ, τοὺτους ἐπισκιάζει· ὁ δὲ βροτολογὸς Ἄρης τοῖς Βοστρονηοῖς ἐπέραστος· καὶ 5
 Ἑμεσηνοῖς [...] ἡ ἀλλαγὴ τῶν τυμπανιστῶν, ἐν τῇ πόλει Μηδεία, ἀριστοτόκειαν
 L 359^v δάμαλιν οὐκ ἔστιν εὐρεῖν· ἐν δὲ τῇ Μηδίᾳ || χώρα, θαλεῖα ἐστὶν ἡ εὐωχιῶν, ὡς καὶ
 Ἑρωῖνους καὶ Μηδεῖα ἐξεῖπεν· ἀγακλειτὸς οὖν καὶ περιδοξος, ὀνομάκλυτος, ὡς παρὰ
 Τιμωνίδη, ναυσικλειτοὶ ἄνδρες ἀσπάζονται γὰρ ξενιτεῖαν, καὶ ἀλείαν καὶ κουλείαν·
 κολυψείαν τε καὶ κολακείαν οὐ προσίενται· ὀρφανίαν τε μισοῦσι· καὶ ἐν ἐφοδείᾳ,
 ἐπιτροπείας οὐ χρήζουσιν· οὐδὲ ἐν οἰνοχοείᾳ ἐριθείαν, οὐδὲ ἐν ἐφηβείᾳ ἱππείαν, οὐδὲ 10
 ἐν λιχνείᾳ λιμβείαν, οὐδὲ ἐν ἐφοδρείᾳ παρεδρείαν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ συνεδρίαν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ
 προαγωγείαν ἢ μαστροπείαν· ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐν Τυρίᾳ διφρεῖαν, τὰ μάλιστα, προεδρίαν
 τε οὐδαμῶς, οὐδὲ ἀσωτίαν· τί δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα λέγω; ἀλλ' οὐδὲ κηδεστίαν ποτέ τις ἐξ
 αὐτῶν προσήσεται· ἀμβροσία ἐδίδοτο τοῖς θεοῖς, ὅτε καὶ Νιόβῃ ἦν ὑπὲρ τῆς πλησίον

καὶ εὐπαθία, εὐμάθεια καὶ εὐμαθία, ..., εὐμάρεια καὶ εὐμαρία, οἰκωφελία ... || **2.** κακὰ πολλὰ πέποσθε] cf. Hom., *Il.*, 3.99: κακὰ πολλὰ πέπασθε; Georg. Choer., *Verb.*, 112.12-20: Ζητοῦσι δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ πέπονθα, πόθεν γέγονεν. ... οἶον (Γ 99. ψ 53) ἐ π ε ἰ κ α κ ᾶ π ο λ λ ᾶ π έ π ο σ θ ε, (ἀντὶ τοῦ πεπόνθατε) οὕτω γέγονεν... || **6.** ὃ δ' ἦϊε νυκτὶ εἰκῶς] Hom., *Il.*, 1.47

[26] 1 et 3.] Ael. Her., *Orth.*, 3,2, 446.34-447.11: τὰ εἰς νῶς ὀξύτονα παρώνυμα διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου γράφεται, ... τὸ δὲ ... ὀπωρινὸς ἐπὶ καιροῦ διὰ τοῦ τ τὸ ... πυκινὸς οὐκ εἰσὶ παρώνυμα, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐπιρρήματος τοῦ ... πύκα. Τὸ φυζακινός, λεπτακινός διὰ τοῦ τ γραφόμενα οὐκ ἀντίκειται ἡμῖν. Ἀπὸ οὖν τοῦ φύζα τοῦ σημαίνοντος τὴν φυγὴν γέγονε φυζεινός διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου καὶ κατὰ πλεονασμὸν τοῦ αἰ γέγονε φυζακινός διὰ τοῦ τ τὸ λεπτακινός καὶ αὐτὸ γέγονεν ἀπὸ τοῦ λεπτός, λεπτεῖνός διὰ διφθόγγου καὶ κατὰ πλεονασμὸν τοῦ αἰ λεπτακινός διὰ τοῦ τ || **2.** Αἰνειᾶνες] *Suda*, 216.1-2: Αἰνειάδες: οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Αἰνείου καταγόμενοι. Αἰνειᾶνες δὲ ὄνομα ἔθνους. Καὶ Αἰνιεῖς, πληθυντικῶς || **5, 6 et 7.]** Ael. Her., *Part.*, 83.12-85.8: πᾶσα λέξις ἀπὸ τῆς μὴ συλλαβῆς ἀρχομένη διὰ τοῦ ἰῶτα γράφεται· πλὴν τοῦ μῆ ... Μηδεία, κύριον Μηδεῖα, πόλις Μηδία, χώρα Μηδῖς, τὸ αὐτό, καὶ κλίνεται Μηδίδος, ὅθεν καὶ Μῆδοι, οἱ Πέρσαι || **6.** θαλεῖα] Ael. Her., *Orth.*, 3,2, 519.18-23: θάλεια ἐπιθετικῶς διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου «τίθεντο δὲ δαῖτα θάλειαν» (H 475), «δαιτὶ συνήγορός ἐστι θαλείη» (*Od.* θ 99). Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς εὐωχίας αὐτῆς διὰ τοῦ τ «θαλίη ἐνὶ πολλῇ» (I 143 et 285). Θάλεια δὲ ἡ μοῦσα διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου τῷ λόγῳ τῶν διὰ τοῦ εἰα προπαροξυσμένων καὶ ἄλλως ὡς ... οὕτω καὶ παρὰ τὸ θαλῶ θάλεια ...; Georg. Choer., *Orth.*, 219.21-22: θαλία: ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνέσεως ἢ εὐωχίας τ' ἐπιθετικῶς δὲ εἰ δίφθογος || **8.** ναυσικλειτοὶ ἄνδρες] Hom. *Od.*, 8.191, 369 et al.: Φαίηκες δολιχῆρετμοι, ναυσικλυτοὶ ἄνδρες

5. αἴρεσις L || δὴ C || μὴ δὲν L

[26] 1. Ὁ in rubr. L: deest C || **2.** αἰνειᾶνες L || Βιτακήριοι] verbum non inveni || ἔλαφοι LC || **3.** πεδικῶ LC || **5.** ἑμεσηνοῖς C || post ἑμεσ(σ)ηνοῖς spatium vacuum ca. 10 litt. LC || μῆδεῖα C || **7.** ὄνομα κλυτὸς LC || **8.** ἀλείαν C || κουλείαν] verbum non inveni || **9.** κολυψείαν] verbum non inveni || τὲ ... τὲ LC || **10.** ἐρίθειαν LC || ἐνευφηβεία L: ἐν εὐφηβεία C || **12.** ἀλλ' οὐδὲν L || ταμίαια C

- 15 δὲ αὐτῶν, ὀχετεία κατήγεν ὕδωρ καὶ συνήρχοντο ἐς μισγάγκειαν· καὶ προβιοτεία κεχηρημένοι οἱ ὑπηρετοῦντες, τὴν βιοτείαν οὐκ ἀπωθήσονται· ἀλλ' ἵκετείας τάξει, εἶλον μὲν τὴν δυσκοιτίαν καὶ φιλοχρηματίαν· ἀπωθοῦντο δὲ τὴν φιλοπλουτίαν· ἀπαρκτία δὲ ἦν τῆς φιλοικτίας αὐτῶν· ἄλειαρ δὲ μὴ ἔχοντες, ἀλείφατα ἐπεσώρευον· φασὶ γοῦν τὸ αἰδῶ, ἀντιπαρακεῖσθαι τῷ αἰδῶ, ὥσπερ καὶ Νήϊον ἔφη τις καὶ πολυΐ-
- 20 δωρ καὶ Πολυΐδος· φθησάντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν Βιθυνία εὐρον, πλησίον ταύτης, Ἥλιν· ὅτε καὶ ἶρις ἀέριος ἐξηπλώθη, Ἰοῖς ὕμνητο· καὶ Ἰφίς, καὶ κίκυς καὶ Τίφυς συνῆν τῇ ἑορτῇ· ἐν δὲ τῇ κλιτύϊ τῶν ὀρων, ῥιπτίς κατεσκευάσται πρὸς ἀπώθησιν τῶν ἀμνῶν, καὶ ἀνάδειξιν ἀνέμων· εἴλυμα δὲ περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἔχοντες, ὃ τε Μειδύλος καὶ Φειδύλος εὐρον παρόδιον εἰλίποδα βοῦν· Λακωνικὸς δὲ ἦν οὗτος· ἡ δὲ βιοτὴ τούτων,
- 25 βιωτὸν τὸν βίοτον εἶναι ἐνόμιζε· ψιττακίοις δὲ ἐτρέφοντο, οἱ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις Βεῖδυλοι· ἐν δὲ Βηρυτῶ καὶ Βηθανία καὶ Βηθλεὲμ βηρύλλιον ἐστὶ κάλλιστον λίθων· ἀπὸ δὲ Βριλησοῦ τοῦτο ἀναδέδεικται· ἡ δὲ Βρισηῖς, βριθοσύνη ἤχθετο, διὰ τὸν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ἀπεχθισμένον, κούβαριν δὲ κατέχουσα ἀντὶ πεδίων ἰφικρατίδι κεχηρημένη, ἐν τῇ Ἀργολικῇ ἀφίκετο· ὅτε καὶ τῶν αὐτῆς τρόπων κατεψηφίσαντο, τὸ βλιμάζεσθαι
- 30 κατηγοροῦντες αὐτῆς· βλίτυρι δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ὡς φασί, βλικὰς δὲ μόνοι καὶ βλίκανοι ἐν ταῖς βλίσσαις· καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον βλίτον, λαχανηρὸν ὄν, καὶ βλίμη δὲ πολλή, καὶ προπηλακισμὸς ἐν αὐτοῖς· κἀγὼ δὲ βλείμην καὶ σὺ βλεῖο· εἰ μὴ κἀγὼ μὲν, εἴποιμι ἀκριβῶς, σὺ δὲ ἀκριβέστερον ἀκούσεις· ἡ Βούσιρις δὲ, δῆρις ἐστὶ φονικώτατος· φέρει γὰρ τὰ περιτυχόντα αἰεῖ· ἡ δὲ Σίρις, ἔσχηκε κισήριδας πολλὰς, ἐν οἷς οἰκεῖ καὶ Τίρις·
- 35 καὶ Ὅσιριν δὲ τιμῶσιν, ἡμπισχημένοι εἰς καλάσιν· φυτὸν δὲ ξίρις ἀναβλαστάνει· καὶ χειρίδα δὲ κατασκευάζουσιν ἐν τῷ βραχίονι· καὶ τὸ βίνειον δὲ συνουσιάζειν οὐ

20 et 21. Ael. Her., *Orth.*, 3,2, 430.14-16: τὰ ἀμφιβαλλόμενα κατὰ τὴν πρώτην συλλαβὴν, ἔχοντα δὲ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ συλλαβῇ τὸ ἰ ἢ τὸ ὤ διὰ τοῦ ἰ γράφεται, δριμύς, ἰλύς, Τίφυς, Τίρυς, κίκυς, βριθύς, πίτυς, Ἰρις, ἶβις, Ἰοῖς, ῥιπτίς, Βιθυνία, Λακινία || **24.** εἰλίποδα βοῦν] cf. Hom., *Il.*, 9.466, 15.547 et al.: πολλὰ δὲ ἴφια μῆλα καὶ εἰλίποδας ἔλκας βοῦς || **26.** Βηθανία, Βηθλεέμ] Ael. Her., *Part.*, 5.13-15: πᾶσα λέξις ἀπὸ τῆς βῆ συλλαβῆς ἀρχομένη διὰ τοῦ ἦ γράφεται· οἶον· Βηθλεέμ, καὶ Βηθανία, ... ὀνόματα τόπων ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις:.... || **27.** Βρισηῖς ... βριθοσύνη] Ael. Her., *Part.*, 6.11-14: τὰ ἀπὸ βῆρ συλλαβῆς ἀρχόμενα διὰ τοῦ ἦ γράφεται· οἶον· ... βριθοσύνη· ... Βρισηῖς, κύριον· ... || **29, 30 et 31.** βλιμάζεσθαι ... βλίτυρι ... βλίτον] Ael. Her., *Part.*, 6.5-10: τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς βῆλ συλλαβῆς ἀρχόμενα διὰ τοῦ ἦ γράφεται· οἶον· βλίτον, εἶδος λαχάνου· βλίτυρι, ζῶον· βλιμάζω, τὸ ἀποστάζω μέλιτος· καὶ τὰ λοιπά. Πλὴν τοῦ βληχί, ὁ τῶν προβάτων παρμὸς βληχώμαι, ῥήμα· βλήχημα· καὶ βλήδην, ἀντὶ τοῦ καταπληκτικῶς || **32.** βλείμην ... βλεῖο] Georg. Choer., *Orth.*, 184.12-14: Βλείμην καὶ Βλεῖς· Εὐκτικῶς, παρὰ τὸ βλήμι, βλήσω· ὁ β' ἀόριστος ἔβλην, εἴτα ὁ μέσος β' ἀόριστος παθητικὸς ἐβλέμην, καὶ τὸ εὐκτικὸν βλείμην, καὶ βλεῖο || **33, 34, 35 et 36.** Βούσιρις ... Σίρις ... Τίρις ... Ὅσιριν ... ξίρις ... χειρίδα] Ps. Zonar., *Lex.*, 399.10-18: Βούσιρις: ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ἡ πόλις καλεῖται, ἣν ἡ ὁ ἰσχυρὸς, ὁ δυνάμενος βοῦς ἄγειν σειραῖς, ὥστε δύνασθαι μόνον. Τὰ δὲ εἰς ρῖς βαρύντονα διὰ τοῦ ἰ, οἶον· ... δῆρις, Σίρις, ὄνομα πόλεως Φοινίκων, ..., Τίρις, ὄνομα κύριον, Ὅσιριν, ὁ Διό- νυσος παρ' Αἰγυπτίους, καλάσιρις, ξίρις, εἶδος φυτοῦ. Πρόσκειται βαρύντονα, διὰ τὸ χειρὶς, τὸ χειρομάνικον

15. μισγάγγειαν LC || προβιοτεία] verbum non inveni || **18.** φιλοικτίας] verbum non inveni || **19.** γοῦν τοῦτο C || **19-20.** πολυΐδωρ] verbum non inveni || **20.** πολυΐδος LC || **21.** Ἰρις LC || Ἰοῖς LC || ὕμνειτο] γρ(άφε) ὕμνητο in marg. C || **22.** ῥιπτίς] verbum non inveni || **23.** μειδύλος LC || **24.** φαῖδυλος LC, *leg.* Φειδύλος? || εἰλίποδα LC || **25.** ψιττακίοις LC || **28.** ἀντιπεδίων L || **29.** ἀργολικῇ post corr. (ex ἀργολικῷ) C || **30.** οὐκέστιν L || βλίκανοι L: βλικάνοι C || **31.** βλίσσαις L || **34.** κισήριδας πολλοὺς] *leg.* κισήριδας πολλὰς? || τήρις LC || **36.** βίνειον] verbum non inveni

παραιτούνται· ὁ δὲ βωνίτης, καὶ Δοτάδης, καὶ Κορυνητίδης, καὶ Τριοπίδης ἐορτάζουσι
 τὰ Ποσειδώνια· ὁ δὲ Ἀσκληπιὸς καὶ ὁ Ἰλιάδης καὶ Ἰλεὺς καὶ Οἰλείδης σὺν τῷ Ἐριχθο-
 νίδῃ καὶ Τελαμωνίδῃ καὶ Δημεάδῃ τελετὰς ποιοῦσι· καὶ Κεάδης σὺν αὐτοῖς ἐστί καὶ
 Αἰνεάδης καὶ Διομήδης· πολεμῶντες δέ, οὔποτε ἀρείσι· διψεῖοντες δὲ ἔρχονται
 40 πρὸς τὸ πιεῖν· καὶ Σύλλειος καὶ Αἰόλειος, καὶ Ἀχίλλειος τρόπος τῷ Δίῳ τεθύκασι,
 καὶ Βακχεῖοι γάρ, οὔποτε γίνονται· βοεικὰ δὲ ζεύγη συναρμόττοντες, ἐργάζονται·
 παρ' αὐτοῖς δὲ καὶ βυρσοδεψεῖα τυγχάνουσιν, ἐναντία τῶν ναῶν· καὶ αἰπόλια δέ,
 ἐν τοῖς λαφυροπωλίοις τρέφονται καὶ βρένθεια· καὶ πρὸς τῷ Γρηνίκῳ καθήμενοι,
 σὺν τῶν Γραικῶν, τὰ περὶ τοῦ Κρηνίκου καὶ Ξενίκου διαλέγονται ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ δέ, ἢ
 45 ἐν παραβύστῳ· ἢ οὖν Πολυδεύκεια χεῖρ, ὅτε πρὸς δουλείαν εὐτρεπισθῇ, τότε ἐν τῇ
 θυείᾳ, ἤγουν τῇ Ἰγδῇ, ἐμβαλόντες λαχανηρά τινα, συντρίβουσιν αὐτά· νωθεῖα δὲ
 αὐτοῖς πολλῇ πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν, διὰ γλίας ἢ χλίδων τὰ μονώτατα ἐνοῖ· ὁ δὲ κέφρος
 L 360^r || ὑπερπετόμενος, ψόφον τινὰ ἀποτελεῖ· γλύκιον τὸ τοιοῦτον θεωρήμα· διὸ καὶ οἱ
 γειτνιῶντες καὶ ὁμορῶντες, θεωρησεῖοντες ἤκουσιν. 50

[27] Ἐν τῷ δαφνῶνι γήτειον ἀνεφύη, ὥσπερ καὶ γέγειος ὁ φυτηκόμος προσηγόρευσε·
 πρὸς δὲ τὰ γεῖσσα τῆς οἰκοδομῆς, καὶ γραφεῖόν τις εὔρετο ἐν ἀγγειδίῳ καὶ πυξίῳ
 πλήρες γεγραμμένον, ἐν οἷς καὶ γραμματείδιον γλυκείδιον ἦν τὸ εὔρημα· ἢ δὲ δίνη
 τοῦ κυκλόθεν περιδινούοντος ποταμοῦ, δριμεῖα τις ἦν, πρὸς τὸ καταστρέφεσθαι τὸν
 πλησίον χώρον· διφᾶν δὲ χερσὶν ἢ ψηλαφᾶν τὸ Στύγιον ὕδωρ οὐ δυνατόν· μὴ τι δὲ 5

37, 38 et 39. Δοτάδης ... Τριοπίδης ... Οἰλείδης ... Τελαμωνίδῃ] *Etym. Magn.*, 210.1-17: Βουτίδης· τὰ
 εἰς ΗΣ, εἰς ΟΥ ἔχοντα τὴν γενικὴν, ἢ διὰ τοῦ ΑΔΗΣ, ἢ διὰ τοῦ ΙΔΗΣ ποιεῖ τὸ πατρωνυμικόν ... δότης, δότου,
 Δοτάδης, κύριον. Εἰ δὲ διὰ τοῦ ΙΔΗΣ, διὰ τοῦ ἰ γράφεται· κορυνήτης, κορυνήτου, Κορυνητίδης· Τριόπης,
 Τριόπου, Τριοπίδης. Οὕτω Βούτης, Βούτου, Βουτίδης, τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος υἱός. Τὰ δὲ εἰς ΟΣ διὰ τοῦ ΑΔΗΣ
 ποιοῦσι τὰ πατρωνυμικά· οἶον, Ἀσκληπιός, Ἀσκληπιάδης· ἥλιος, ἡλιάδης· Οἰλιάδης οὐκ ἔστιν· Οἰλεὺς γάρ
 ἐπεὶ Οἰλείδης εἶχεν εἶναι. Οἱ δὲ ποιηταὶ πολλάκις ἀποβάλλουσι τὸ ᾠ· οἶον, Ἐριχθονιάδης, Ἐριχθονίδης·
 Τελαμωνιάδης, Τελαμωνίδης. Τὰ δὲ εἰς ΑΣ ἰσοσυλλάβως κλινόμενα διὰ τοῦ ΑΔΗΣ ποιοῦσι τὸ πατρωνυμι-
 κόν· Αἰνέας. Αἰνέου, Αἰνεάδης· Κέας, Κέου, Κεάδης· ... Δημέας, Δημέου, Δημεάδης, καὶ Δημάδης || 42 et
 44. βοεικὰ ... Γρηνίκῳ] *Ael. Her.*, *Pros.*, 151.14-19: τὰ εἰς κῶς ὑπερδισύλλαβα εἰ παραλήγοιτο ἰ μακρῶ
 βαρύνεται, ..., Γρηνίκος ποταμός ... εἰ δὲ τῇ εἰ διφθόγγῳ, ὀξύνεται, ... βοεικὸς «βοεικὰ ζεύγη» ἢ ἡ παράδο-
 σις, ἀλλὰ διὰ διφθόγγου δεῖ γράφεσθαι, ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ βοειακὸς κατὰ συγκοπὴν ... || 44 et 45. Γρηνίκῳ ...
 Γραικῶν ... Κρηνίκῳ] *Etym. Gud.*, 322.15-323.3: Γρηνίκος ἔστιν ὄνομα ποταμοῦ· γέγονε δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ
 κρήνη Κρήνικος καὶ Γρήνικος, ὁ ἐκ τῆς κρήνης ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ γῆ καὶ τοῦ νικῶ γέγονε Γήνικος καὶ Γρήνικος, ὁ
 τὴν γῆν νικῶν· ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ νικῶ καὶ τοῦ Γραικός, ἐκεῖ γὰρ οἱ Γραικοὶ ἐνίκησαν τοὺς βαρβάρους || 47. θυεῖα
 ... Ἰγδῇ ... νωθεῖα] *Etym. Magn.*, 462.5-10: τοιοῦτον καὶ τὸ θύεα, ὃ σημαίνει τὴν Ἰγδην. Ἀττικοὶ
 ἐκτείνουσι τὸ α, καὶ καταβιβάζουσι τὸν τόνον, καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν γραφὴν φυλάττουσι. Τὸ δὲ νωθεῖα, ἢ ἀργεῖα,
 ἀπὸ τοῦ νωθρός ἐστί νωθρεῦω, νωθρεῖα, κατὰ ἀποβολὴν τοῦ ρ || 48. γλίας] *Ael. Her.*, *Orth.* 3.2, 429.1-2:
 πᾶσα λέξις ἀπὸ τῆς γλῆ συλλαβῆς ἀρχομένη ἀποστρέφεται τὴν εἰ δίφθογγον ... γλία ἢ κόλλα ...

[27] 5. διφᾶν] *Ael. Her.*, *Orth.*, 3.2, 493.8-10: διφᾶν· ὅ ἐστι ψηλαφᾶν διὰ τοῦ ἰ γράφεται· παρὰ γὰρ τὸ
 ἄπτω ἀφῆ ἀφῶ καὶ μετὰ τῆς διὰ προθέσεως διαφῶ καὶ κράσει διφῶ τὸ τῇ ἀφῇ ὑποβάλλειν

37. βονίτης LC || τριοπίδης LC || 38. ὀλειδης LC || 38-39. ἐρεχθονίδῃ LC || 41. σύλλειος LC || 44. πρὸς τὸ
 γρηνίκον LC || 45. συν C || 47. ἤγουν ἐν τῇ C || τινὰ LC || 48. πολλή C || διαγλίας LC || χλιδῶν LC || ἐνοῖ
 C || 49. ὑποτελεῖ LC || γλύκιον post corr. (ε γλύκειον et sscr. ι) LC || 50. ἤκουσι C

[27] 1. Ἐ in rubr. L: deest C || 2. τίς LC || ἐναγγειδίῳ LC || 4. τίς LC || 5. ψηλαφᾶν L

- τοὺς Χίους εἶπον εἶναι ἀρείονας· καὶ Διώρης δὲ εὗρηται τοῦτο εἰρηκῶς, καὶ Θείας ὁ καὶ θεῖος· διθύραμβον δὲ τὸν Διόνυσον λέγουσιν, ὅτι τῶν μηνῶν τοῦ Διὸς ἐκπεπῆδηκεν· οὐτινος ἑορτή, ἡ Διιπόλεια κεκλημένη, ἐπιτελεῖται· ὅτε γοῦν ἀνατείλῃ, τότε Δείνων καὶ Δεινίας, οἱ ἱερεῖς, τοὺς μαστιγίας πρὸς πληγὰς εὐτρεπίζουσιν· ἐντεῦθεν || Δήμος
- 10 τε φόβος τε εὐτρεπίζουσι τοὺς μαχομένους· καὶ οὕτω τῷ δεικίλῳ τὰς θυσίας, εἰ καὶ δειμαλέῳ, ἀλλ' ὅμως προσανατίθησι· κονισάλεος δὲ καὶ αἰθαλέος καὶ δαιδάλεος, ἕκαστος τῶν ἱερωμένων οὐ ποτέ τις νηφάλιος· δυνάδεκα ἡμερῶν πληρωθεισῶν, τότε νηφάλιοι πλήρεις εὐρίσκονται· δειλὴ δὲ ἡμέρα, δεῖσα τῆς γῆς ἀναδίδεται, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ ἡ Δηϊάνειρα ὑδροποτεῖ· καὶ δότεира γίνεται τοῖς πολλοῖς, καθὼς ἐν τῷ Δορυλαίῳ τῆς
- 15 Καεῖρας γέγραπται· ἀπὸ Καρίας δὲ εἰναί φασιν αὐτὴν γυναικα· τὸν δὲ κλινίδιον ἐρμῖν, ἐξ ἐλαῖνων ξύλων ἐσκεύασθαι φασίν· ὁ ἐχῖνος εἰς τὰς Ἐχινάδας νήσους ἐμφιλοχωρεῖ, ὅπου καὶ Ἐριννύες, ἐνιπῇ ἐπιπλήττουσι, καὶ οἱ ἔριθοι τὴν ἔραν ἐργάζονται, καὶ τὸ ἐρεοῦν ἔριον νήθουσιν, ὅπου καὶ τὸν Ἐνιπέα φασὶ ρεῖθροι κατακλύζειν τὸν χώρον· ἄλλης δὲ φύσεως ἡ τῶν ἐκεῖσε ὦν λέκιθος· καὶ ἐρινεοὶ δέ, οὐκ ὀλίγοι ἀναφύουσιν·
- 20 ἡ δὲ Εὐηνίνη καὶ Ὀκεανίνη, ἐν τῷ ἐπισίῳ ἠκολάσταινον· ὥστε καὶ τῇ χειρὶ ἐπώθει ἀσελγῶς τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ ἐλινύειν οὐκ ἤθελε πώποτε· ἀλλ' ἐρείπουσα ἦν ἀναιδῶς πῶς ἀπὸ ἐρίπνης ἐπαλξίτας λίθους; ἐν δὲ τῷ Εὐρίπῳ φασὶ, πέλαγος εἶναι, ὅπερ ἐπτάκις καθ' ἡμέραν τὴν ἰδίαν κίνησιν ἐναλλάττει, ὅπου καὶ ἐθεύρουσαι γυναικες ἐρείκουσι λίθους, καὶ ἀπὸ ἐρείκης φύλλα λαμβάνουσαι, ἐν ἐρείξει γῆς ἀφιᾶσιν· ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἰονίῳ
- 25 φασὶ γυναικα παρὰ νόμον οἰκῆσαι, συγγενομένην τοῖς ἐπιζενουμένοις αὐτῇ, καὶ μετὰ τὸν συνουσιασμόν ἀναιρεῖν, ὡς μὴ φωραθῇ ἀσελγαίνουσα· τὸν δὲ τῆς Δανάης Περσεά, ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον ἀφιγμένον δεῖξαι τὸ Γοργοῦς πρόσωπον, ᾧ καὶ ἀπελίθωσεν·

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6. Διώρης] Ael. Her., *Orth.*, 3,2, 493.17-20: Διώρης· ὄνομα κύριον διὰ τοῦ ἱ γραφόμενον. "Ἡ παρὰ τὴν διὰ πρόθεσιν καὶ ὀρῶ διαόρης καὶ ἐκτάσει τοῦ ὄ εἰς ὦ καὶ κράσει τοῦ ἱ καὶ αἷς ἱ μακρόν. Οὕτω καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Διὸς γενικῆς Διώρης ... || 8 et 9. Δείνων ... Δεινίας] *Etym. Magn.*, 262.31-33: Δείνων καὶ Δεινίας· Ὄνομα κύριον· παρὰ τὸ δεινός. Τὰ δὲ παρ' αὐτοῦ συγκείμενα ἅπαντα διὰ διφθόγγου γράφεται, ... || 11 et 12. δειμαλέω ... κονισάλεος ... αἰθαλέος ... νηφάλιος] Georg. Choer., *Orth.*, 195.18-25: δειμαλέος· τὸ δὲ δῖφθογγος ... οὕτως καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ δῖμα, τοῦ σημαίνοντος τὸν φόβον, δειμαλέος γραφόμενον διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου· Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι τὰ διὰ τοῦ αλῆος ὑπὲρ τρεῖς συλλαβὰς πρὸ μιᾶς τὸν τόνον ἔχουσιν· οἶον, ... δειμαλέος ... πλήν τεσσάρων· δαιδάλεος ... αἰθάλειος· τὸ δὲ αἰθάλειος διαφορεῖται ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰθῶ γὰρ ὑπάρχει ...; *Sch. Lond.*, 542.8-12: ὁ διὰ τοῦ αλῆος, παροξύνεται καὶ δύο συλλαβαῖς τοῦ πρωτοτύπου πλεονάζει, ῥωμαλέος δειμαλέος τὸ δαιδάλεος κονισάλεος αἰθάλειος ἔνδειαν ἔχει τοῦ ἱ κτητικὰ ὄντα· τὸ νηφάλιος ... Αἰολικὴν ἔχει τὴν τροπὴν τοῦ εἰ καὶ τόνου || 14. Δηϊάνειρα ... δότεира] Ael. Her., *Orth.*, 3,2, 411.14-16: πάντα γὰρ τὰ διὰ τοῦ εἰρα προπαροξυνόμενα διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου γράφονται, ἔθειρα, δότεира, ..., Δηϊάνειρα ... || 17 et 18. ἔριθοι ... ἔραν ... ἔριον] *Etym. Gud.*, 522.16-17: ἐρίξιν· κυρίως τὸ περὶ τῆς γῆς διαφέρεσθαι· ἀπὸ τῆς ἔρας, ὅθεν καὶ ἔριθοι, οἱ θερισταί. Αἱ δὲ ἔριθοι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρίων. "Ἡ φιλόνηκοι, ἀπὸ τῆς ἔριδος || 20. Εὐηνίνη ... Ὀκεανίνη] Eust., *Il.*, 809.7-9: τὸ δὲ «Εὐηνίνη» τύπου ἐστὶ πατρωνυμικοῦ θηλυκοῦ καὶ δηλοῖ θυγατέρα Εὐήνου. ... καὶ Ὀκεανίνη ἡ τοῦ Ὀκεανοῦ; cf. *supra*, § 23.42 || 23 et 24. ἐρείκουσι ... ἐρείξει] Ael. Her., *Orth.*, 3,2, 510.5-8: ἐρείκω τὸ σχίζω. Διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου. Ἀνεφάνη γὰρ τὸ εἰ ἐν τῷ ἐρέχθῳ καὶ αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ σχίζω σημαίνει. Ἐρείξις ἡ κατεσχισμένη γῆ διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου γράφεται, ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ ἐρείκω ἐρείξω ἐρείξις

11. πρὸς ἀνατίθησι L || 12. δυνάδεκα post corr. (e διώδεκα) L || 14. δηϊάνειρα post corr. (e διϊάνειρα) LC || 15. φασίν LC || 16. φασὶ L || 18. τὸν ἐνιπέα ρεῖθροι φασὶ C || 19. ὁ LC || 20. εὐινίνη LC || ἐκολάσταινον LC || 21. πώποτε L || 22. ἐριπνῆς LC || ἐπαλξίτας LC || 23. καθημέ-
ραν C || ἐναλλάττει L

ἀπὸ δὲ Εὐρωπαϊας γῆς ἦν Εὐπάτειρα, ὥσπερ ἡ Πλειστοδόκεια Πηνελόπεια, καὶ ἐν
 Νεμέα δέ τις ἦν, ἥχι καὶ ὁ Θυέστης τὰ ἴδια τέκνα κατέφαγεν· οὗτος οὖν ἐγγχειρίδιον τῇ
 χειρὶ κατέχων· ὀρέιαιλος οὗτος· καὶ τὸν Ὠριγένην ἔλεγε τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν ἀσκήσαντα, 30
 ἐγγχειμαργὸν εἶναι, ἀλλ' οὐκ ὀρίγανον ἢ θερίγανον, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τὸν ὀριβρεμέτην
 ὀριδρόμον, καὶ τὸν ὑψίζυγον ὀρίτροφον· ὁ γοῦν Ζεὺς τὸ Ἰνδικὸν εἶδωλον, εἶδος ἔχειν
 τὸ φοβερῶν πεποίηκε, καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἰνδικῷ εἶθαρ ἐβουλήθη, ὅπου καὶ παντοδαπὰ εἶδη
 ἰδεῶν ἔστεφον οὖν καὶ ἐξ εἰρεσιώνης εἴριον· καὶ ἐν εἰλαπίνῃ τοῦτο ἐορτῶν χαριέντως
 περιεβάλλοντο· οἱ δὲ κωπηλατοῦντες, εἴλοισ ἔχοντες πρὸς τῇ εἰρεσίᾳ εἶχον· καὶ ἄωτον 35
 Ἐκτόρειον χιτῶνα· ἡ δὲ Εἰλείθυια, ἵκελος τῇ τοῦ Διὸς ἀστραπῇ, ἡ καὶ θεοσίκελος
 ὠνόμαστο· ἐρσήεις δὲ ὦν ὁ καιρὸς καὶ ἐρατεινὸς ὁ τοῦ Εἰραφιώτου, εἰκὸς πολλοὺς
 ἀποδύεσθαι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν· ὁ δὲ Εὐνείδης εἰνοσίφυλλον ἔφη τὸν τοιουτονὶ
 χρόνον, ὥστε καὶ ἐν εἰλεοῖσι, βροτῶν ἦν ἐσμός· καὶ ἐν εἰαμενῇ καρπῶν πλήρεις
 ὄρητες· ἡ δὲ εἰνάτηρ ἐξίτηλον ἱματισμὸν ἔχουσα, || ὥσπερ Ἐριεὺς ἢ Τειριεὺς, ἡ 40
 Κιτιεὺς, ἡ καὶ Καμειρεὺς, ἡ καὶ Ἰλιεὺς, ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἐρετριεῖς ἀφίκετο πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα·
 καὶ Νηλεὺς δὲ ὁ ἐκ Ῥοιτείου καὶ Σιγείου μετὰ ἐταιρείας, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἔδεσον ἀφίκετο·
 καὶ τὸν Ἐρέχθειον καὶ ἐπικήδειον ᾗδον· καὶ ἀνωμοτίαν ἐμελέτων καὶ ἀδινοὶ ἐπὶ τὸν
 εὖειλον τόπον ἀπήσαν· οἱ καὶ εἰς τὸ Ζευγῆδιον μετὰ τῶν θνητῶν κατέλυσαν.

[28] Οἱ τοίνυν λοιποὶ ἄνδρες ζειράς ἡμπισχημένοι, ἐν τῷ ζητρεῖω εἰσήσαν, ὃ ἐστι
 δούλων δεσμοπῆριον· οἱ Ἥλαιοι, καὶ οἱ Ἀδωνίδειοι, καὶ οἱ Ἥττειοι, καὶ οἱ ἡμετέρειοι

28. Πλειστοδόκεια ... Πηνελόπεια] Ael. Her., *Orth.*, 3,2, 451.15-17: τὰ διὰ τοῦ εἰα παρώνυμα ἐπὶ τοῦ
 αὐτοῦ σημαίνοντα παρηγομένη θηλυκὰ δίφθογον ἔχει οἷον Πηνελόπη Πηνελόπεια, ... Πλειστοδόκεια, ...
 || 29, 30, 31 et 32. ἐγγχειρίδιον ... ὀρέιαιλος ... ἐγγχειμαργον ... ὀριβρεμέτην ... ὀριδρόμον ... ὑψίζυγον ...
 ὀρίτροφον] Georg. Choer., *Orth.*, 206.30-207.8: ἐγγχειρίδιον: σημαίνει δὲ καὶ βίβλον μικράν, καὶ ξίφος
 γέγονεν δὲ παρὰ τὴν ἔγχει δοτικὴν· ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι αἱ ἀπὸ δοτικῶν τῶν εἰς ὅς οὐδετέρων συντιθέμεναι λέξεις
 κατὰ μέρος τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον γίνονται· ἐάν μὲν γὰρ ἐπιφέρηται φωνήεν, ἡ ἐν ἀπλοῦν σύμφωνον φυλάτ-
 τεταὶ ἡ αἱ δίφθογγοι οἷον, ὀρέιαιλος· ... κατ' ἔκτασιν τοῦ ὁ εἰς ὦ· ἐγγχειμαργος σημαίνει δὲ τὸ ὀρίγανον,
 ἀπέβαλεν γὰρ τοῦτο τὸ ὁ τῆς ὀρεῖ δοτικῆς, καὶ ἐξέτεινεν τὸ ἱ· ἐάν δὲ σύμφωνα δύο ἐπιφέρωνται, ἡ ἐν
 διπλοῦν, ἀποβάλλει τὸ ὦ οἷον, ὀρίτροφος· ὀρίδρος· ὀριβρεμέτης· ... ὑψίζυγος || 34. εἰρεσιώνης ... εἴριον]
 Ael. Her., *Part.*, 52.10-11: εἰρεσιώνη, ὁ στέφανος εἴριον, τὸ μαλὶον· εἰρηκὸς, ὁ εἰπών, ἐπὶ μετοχῆς ... ||
 40 et 41. Τειριεὺς ... Κιτιεὺς ... Ἰλιεὺς ... Ἐρετριεῖς] Ael. Her., *Orth.*, 3,2, 450.19-24: τὰ εἰς εὖς ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ
 πλεῖστον οὐ θέλει τῇ εἰ διφθόγγῳ παραλήγεσθαι, εἰ μὴ ἀπὸ πρωτοτύπου ἔχει τὴν εἰ διφθόγγον οἷον ...
 Ἰλιεὺς ὄνομα κύριον, ... Ἐρετριεὺς, ..., Ἰλιεὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰλίου. Τὸ δὲ Ἰλιον πόλις ἐστίν. Κιτιεὺς, ... Τειριεὺς,
 ... Πρόσκειται ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον διὰ τὸ Νηλεὺς || 42. Ῥοιτείου ... Σιγείου] Ael. Her., *Orth.*, 3,2, 578.9-
 11: Ῥοίτειον· εἰ. Ἐπειδὴ τὰ διὰ τοῦ εἰδὸς τρισύλλαβα μακρὰν ἔχοντα τὴν παραλήγουσαν οὐδέποτε διὰ τοῦ
 ἱ γράφεται οἷον Σίγειον, Λύκειον, ἐστὶ δὲ τόπος, ..., βρένθειον

[28] 2. Ἥλαιοι ... Ἥττειοι] Ael. Her., *Pros.*, 134.7-15: τὰ εἰς εἰδὸς καθαρὸν τρισύλλαβα ἔχοντα ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ
 ἡ προπαροξύνηται, ... τὸ μέντοι Ἥττειος – ἦν δὲ Ἥττειος εἰς τῶν ἐπτά σοφῶν, ὡς Δίδυμος συμποσιακῶν
 δεκάτῳ, Πλάτων δὲ ἐν Πρωταγόρᾳ Χηνέα τοῦτον εἶπεν – Ἥλεις, ἡθεις προπερισπᾶται οὐκ ἀπὸ συμφῶ-
 νου ἀρχόμενα. Καὶ τὸ μὲν Ἥλεις οὕτω γίνεται ἀπὸ τῆς Ἥλιδος γενικῆς ἀναλόγως Ἥλιδος ὡς Ἀδωνίδειος
 ... κτητικῷ τύπῳ καὶ καθ' ὕψους τοῦ δ' Ἥλεις καὶ Ἥλεις, ἀφ' οὗ «Ἀλεις Ζεὺς» (Callim., fr. 99)

29. ἥχι LC || 32. ὀρίδρος LC || 34. ἐξερεσιώνης L: ἐξ εἰρεσιώνης C || εἴριον LC || 35. εἴλοισ LC ||
 36. ἐκτώρειον L: ἐκτόρειον C || 37. ἐρσήεις LC || 38. εὐνίδης C || 39. ἐσμός LC || ἐνειαμενῇ LC ||
 40. Ἐριεὺς] verbum non inveni || 41. κιτιεὺς LC || καμειρεὺς LC || 42. ἐκροιτείου LC || Ἔδεσον] ver-
 bum non inveni || 43. ἐρέχθειον C || ἀνωμοτίαν] verbum non inveni || ἀδινοὶ LC || 44. Ζευγῆδιον]
 verbum non inveni

[28] 1. O in rubr. L: deest C

- γεγόνεισαν καὶ ὀνειδίειον λόγον ἔφασαν· καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐλείψ τῷ καθήμενοι, τέγειον ἀπεκαλοῦντο τὸν Ἡρακλέα· οὗτοι γὰρ τὰ Ἡράκλεια ἐορτάσαντες, ἐπὶ τὸν λοχίτην
- 5 ἦσαν χώρον· τὰς δὲ θριάς ἔρριψεν εἰς τὸ θαλάσσιον πεδὶον ἢ Ἀθηνᾶ· θρίναξ δὲ τις κατέχων ἐν Θρινακίᾳ ἀφίκετο, ὅπου καὶ λειμᾶξ ἐστὶ καὶ Λιλύβαιον καὶ Πάχυνον· εὗρε γοῦν ἐν τῷ θειλοπέδῳ ῥάγας ἀναινομένας· ἐν δὲ ταῖς πρασιαῖς, συκέας καὶ ἐλαίας καὶ ἰτέας καὶ σησαμέας καὶ μηλέας καὶ καρέας καὶ πετέας ἀλλὰ καὶ συκομοραίας· ὁ δὲ κεκλημένος φλοῖος Διόνυσος, ἐν τῷ Θησεῖῳ εἰσῆει· οἱ δὲ ὀρεωκόμοι, θερειβότους
- 10 ἐποίουν τοὺς ὀρεῖς· καὶ θυρίδιον κατέχοντες καὶ μορμολυκεῖς κεχηρημένοι, προσῆλθον τῷ μεираκίῳ· τὸ δὲ ἰνίον τοῦ, ὥσπερ ἡνίον ἐστερροποιεῖτο· ἢ δὲ ἴλη τῶν σφηκιῶν, ἰλεοῖς ἐδεδοκίεισαν· τότε καὶ ὁ Ἴλος πρὸς τὸ Ἴλιον ἠπειγέτο· ἢ δὲ ἴβις, πρὸς τὰ δεξιὰ ἐπεπότῃ· καὶ ὁ Ἴβυκος, θαῦμα τοῦτο ἐνόμιζεν· ὁ δὲ Ἰλίτων τοῦ Ἰξίονος Ἰδῆ ἐν αἰνοτάτῃ ἰδίῳ ἦν τότε· καὶ Φεΐδας, καὶ Μείδας, καὶ Ἰδας, σὺν Μείδαντι καὶ
- 15 Φεΐδαντι ἐν Σίδῃ ὄντες, κνίδην ἐπήγοντο, σὺν κράδαις· εἰς δὲ τὸν Ἰναχον εὗρον καὶ Ἰαπετὸν καὶ Ἰκαρον· τούτων καὶ τὸ κλέος, κατὰ τὸν ποιητικὸν λόγον, εἰς οὐρανὸν ἵκει· οἱ γὰρ ἰσχανόωντες φιλότητος, Κοῖνος, Χαρίνος σὺν Ἀκραγαντίνῳ.

[29] Ἐν πολλῇ θαλίῃ τηλύγετος, κατὰ τὸν ποιητὴν, ἐτρέφετο Νεοπτόλεμος· μοῦσα δὲ θάλεια περιεῖπε τοῦτον· καὶ θαλίᾳ πολλὰς καὶ ποικίλας εἰργάζετο· ὁ δὲ Ἰνωπὸς πλημμυρεῖ, οὐ μικρῶς· ἀλλ' ἰληθὶ ὤναξ, κατεδηδόκεισαν γὰρ οἱ θρίπες τὰ κέρατα καὶ ἵκες τὰς ἀμπέλους· τὸ δὲ Κυκλώπειον, Φοινίκειον ῥησεῖδιον, ἅμα Ἑρμοῦ κηρυκεῖω

6. Λιλύβαιον ... Πάχυνον] Ael. Her., *Orth.*, 3,2, 522.8-10: καὶ γὰρ τρία ἀκρωτήρια ἔχει ἡ Σικελία. Ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα Λιλύβαιον, Πάχυνον, Πέλωρον || 11, 12 et 13.] ἰνίον ... Ἴλιον ... ἴβις ... Ἴβυκος] Ael. Her., *Pros.*, 522.24-26: τὸ ἰ ἐπιφερομένου ἐνὸς συμφώνου ἀπλοῦ, ὅπερ ἔχει ὑποτασσόμενον ἰ ἢ ὤ, φιλεῖ ἐκτείνεσθαι ὑπεσταλμένων τῶν κατὰ κλίσιν, ἴβις, Ἴβυκος, ἰδίω, ... Ἰρις, Ἴλιον, ἰνίον, ... || 14 et 15. Μείδαντι ... Φεΐδαντι] Ael. Her., *Onom.*, 651.24-30: τὰ εἰς δας λήγοντα δισύλλαβα ἰσοσυλλάβως κλίνεται, ... ἐὰν γὰρ διφθόγγῳ παραλήγοιτο, περιττοσυλλάβως κλίνεται, ἦγουν διὰ τοῦ ντ, οἷον Φεΐδας Φεΐδαντος, Οἶδας Οἶδαντος, τοῦ δὲ Μείδας τὴν γενικὴν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος εἴρηκε Μείδαντος, ἐπεὶ διφθόγγῳ παραλήγεται ἔστι γὰρ Μίδας ἄλλο ὅπερ ἰσοσυλλάβως κλίνεται οἷον ὁ Μίδας τοῦ Μίδα || 16. τὸ κλέος εἰς οὐρανὸν ἵκει] Hom., *Il.*, 8.192: τῆς νῦν κλέος οὐρανὸν ἵκει || 17. Χαρίνος ... Ἀκραγαντίνῳ] Ael. Her., *Orth.*, 3,2, 447.27-448.2: τὰ διὰ τοῦ ἰνός ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς πρὸ τέλους τὸν τόνον ἔχοντα (μὴ ἔχοντα ἀπὸ πλεονασμοῦ τὸ ἰ) ἀποστρέφεται τὴν εἰ διφθογγὸν καὶ πάντα ἐκτείνει τὸ ἰ καὶ προπερισπᾶται οἷον Ἀγαθίνος, Κωνσταντίνος, Σαβίνος, Ἐχίνος, Ἀκραγαντίνος, ..., Χαρίνος

[29] 1. ἐν – ἐτρέφετο] cf. Hom., *Il.*, 9.143 et al.: ὅς μοι τηλύγετος τρέφεται θαλίῃ ἐνὶ πολλῇ || 1 et 2. θαλίῃ ... θάλεια ... θαλίᾳ] cf. supra, § 26. 6 || 3. ἰληθὶ ὤναξ] Appoll. Rhod., *Arg.*, 2,693: κέκλωμαι· ἀλλ' ἰληθὶ ἄναξ, ἰληθὶ φανθεῖς || 4. ἵκες] Georg. Choer., *Orth.*, 224.27-32: ἴψ: διὰ τοῦ ἰ σημαίνει δὲ εἶδος σκώληκος· τὰ γὰρ εἰς ψ λήγοντα ἅπασαν δίφθογγον ἀποστρέφονται· γέγονεν δὲ παρὰ τὸ ἴπτω, σημαίνει δὲ τὸ βλάπτω· οἷον, ἴψ, ἱπός· ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι τὸ θρίψ, θριπός, κληθέν· θρίπες δὲ εἰσιν οἱ σκώληκες οἱ ἐσθίοντες τὰ ξύλα· ... ἵκες δὲ οἱ ἐσθίοντες τὰς ἀμπέλους || Κυκλώπειον ... Φοινίκειον ... κηρυκεῖω] Ps.-Theod., *Gram.*, 71.3-5: τὰ εἰς εἶον διὰ τῆς διφθόγγου γράφονται, οἷον κυκλώπειον, φοινίκειον, κηρύκειον, ὁ μισθὸς τοῦ κηρυκος, κηρύκιον δέ, ἢ ῥάβδος τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ ἰόν

3. ὀνειδίειον LC || τρώω LC || 5. θριάς LC || θρίναξ LC || 6. θρινακίω LC || ἐστὶ LC || 7. ῥάγας LC || 8. καρέας C || συκομοραίας LC || 9. θερειβότας LC || 10. ἐποιοῦντο C || θυρεῖδιον LC || μορμολυκεῖς post corr. (ε μορμολυεῖς) L || 11. ἐστερροποιεῖτο LC || 12. ἐδεδύκεισαν LC || Ἴλος LC || ὑπείγέτο LC: ὑπῆγέτο C || ἡδε L || ἴβις LC || 13. ἡλίτων LC || ἰλίτων] verbum non inveni || 15. κράδες LC || 17. φιλοτητος L || κίνις LC

[29] 1. Ἐ in rubr. L: deest C || ἐτρέφοντο L || νέοπτόλεμος C || 3. ὤναξ LC || θρίπες LC || 4. φοινίκιον LC || ἐρμη LC

ρήμα πᾶσι δίδοται καὶ θαυμασμῶν πληροὶ οἱ δὲ κηρύσσοντες, κηρύκιον ἔχοντες 5
 ταῖς χερσίν, ἔπαιον τοὺς ἀτάκτους· καὶ ἐν τῷ λόφῳ τῷ καλουμένῳ κηρυκείῳ,
 ὅνπερ καὶ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἀνήλθε, γράμμα κηρύκειον ἔχοντες, ἀνήρχοντο· καὶ κηρύκεια
 οἱ ἀγωνιζόμενοι ἐώρταζον· καὶ κηρυκείας δὲ γυναικός ἦν τὸ κώνειον δέρμα· ὁ
 δὲ Κλεινίας καὶ Κλειτοφῶν, καὶ Κλειταίρας ἔφησαν ὡς ποθὲν ἔλαφος κερόεις
 ἐκπεπηδηκώς, ἐν τῷ κλισίῳ εἰσήλατο· τότε δὴ καὶ ἐν τῷ Λαγείῳ καὶ Χλουνείῳ 10
 τῆς Αἰτωλίας, καὶ Λαυρείῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς κούρεια τὰ κεκλημένα διὰ τῶν φρατόρων
 εἰσαγαγόντες θύουσι· τοῦτο δὴ καὶ μείον ἐλέγετο· ὅτε τὸ ἱερεῖον ἐν Κροκυλείῳ
 ἐκράζοντο τὸ μείον μείον ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ ἡμέρα κουρεῶτις· ἐν δὲ τῷ Δασκυλείῳ καὶ τῷ
 Κοτυαείῳ καὶ Ἀτραμυτείῳ καὶ Δορυλαείῳ καὶ τῷ ἐν τῇ Κικονίᾳ καὶ Παντευχεῖῳ
 ὄρει τῆς Ἀρκαδίας, οὐποτε τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν· ἀλλ' εἰς κρεῖον, ὃ κρεοδόχον ἐστί, κρέας 15
 ἐμβαλόντες ἐν τῷ Ὑπατείῳ ὄρει καὶ Τανταλείῳ καὶ Φορβαντείῳ τὰς θυσίας ποιοῦσιν,
 ἀφ' ὧν ὠνόμασται τὸ Κροκύλειον.

[30] Ὁ τῆς Κυθερείας νεώς, ἐκ κρανείας ἔχει τὴν κατασκευήν· ἐκέισε γοῦν ζωφία
 μικρά, ἐν οἷς καὶ κροκόδειλος ὁ χερσαῖος· ὅθεν οἱ μελιττουργοὶ ἐπιτιθέασιν κρόκον
 ἐπὶ τῶν σίμβλων· καὶ εὐθὺς ἀποφεύγει· κτεῖς δὲ ἄριστος ὁ ἐλεφάντειος, καθ' ὧν καὶ
 κρείουσα ἔσχε γυνή· τὰς δὲ κλείς κατέχοντες, οὔτε ὦγον τὰς θύρας· δικλὶς γὰρ παρ'

9. Κλεινίας] Ael. Her., *Orth.*, 3,2, 535.9-10: Κλεινίας· εἰ δίφθογγος τὸ κλει. Παρὰ γὰρ τὸ κλέος καὶ τὸ κλεινὸς γίνεται Κλεινίας || Κλειτοφῶν] Ael. Her., *Orth.*, 3,2, 535.18-19: Κλειτοφῶν· εἰ δίφθογγος. Παρὰ τὸ κλείω τὸ δοξάζω γέγονε κλειτὸς καὶ ἐκεῖθεν Κλειτοφῶν || 10 et 11. Λαγείῳ ... Χλουνείῳ ... Λαυρείῳ] Ael. Her., *Orth.*, 3,2, 458.37-459.4: τὰ διὰ τοῦ εἶδον τρισύλλαβα κύρια ἢ καὶ ἰδιάζοντα κατὰ πόλεων προπαροξύτονα διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου γράφεται· εἶπον δὲ «ἰδιάζοντα» διὰ τὸ Λάγειον παρὰ Ἀλεξανδρεῶσιν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει μόνον λεγόμενον καὶ τὸ Λύκειον Ἀθήνῃσι, Χλούνειον τόπος ἐν Αἰτωλίᾳ, ὅπου ἦν ὁ χλούνης, Λαύρειον τόπος ἐν Ἀττικῇ ἔχων μέταλλα; *Etym. Magn.*, 533.29-42: Κούρειον· τὰ διὰ τοῦ Εἰον τρισύλλαβα ἰδιάζοντα, τοιούστιν ἐνὶ τόπῳ μόνον λεγόμενα, διὰ τῆς Εἰ διφθόγγου γράφεται καὶ προπαροξύνεται· οἶον, Λάγειον, τὸ ἱπποδρόμιον Ἀλεξανδρείας, ἀπὸ Λαγοῦ τινός· Χλούνειον, τόπος ἐν Αἰτωλίᾳ, ὅπου ἦν ὁ χλούνης· Λαύρειον, τόπος ἐν Ἀττικῇ ἔχων μέταλλα. Οὕτω καὶ κούρειον· οὕτω δὲ καλεῖται ἐν Ἀττικῇ τὸ ἱερεῖον τὸ θυόμενον, ἡνίκα ἐγράφοντο οἱ κοῦροι εἰς τοὺς φράτορας. Τοῦτο δὲ καὶ μείον ἐλέγετο· καὶ μειαγωγός, ὁ τοῦτο εἰσάγων. Ἐκλήθη δέ, ὅτι τὸ ἱερεῖον εἰς τὸν ζυγὸν ἐντιθέντες ἔκραζον μείον μείον, τοιούστιν ὀλίγον. Ἡ δὲ ἡμέρα, ἐν ἣ ἐποιοῦντο, ἐλέγετο κουρεῶτις. Κουρεῶτις· ἑορτὴ ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας τελομένη || 12, 13, 14, 16 et 17.] Ael. Her., *Orth.*, 3,2, 460.1-6: τὰ διὰ τοῦ εἶδον ὑπὲρ τρεῖς συλλαβὰς κύρια μονογενῆ προπαροξύτονα διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου γράφεται, Ἀδραμύτειον, Κροκύλειον, Ὑπάτειον, ..., Κηρύκειον, Ταντάλειον, Δασκύλειον, Φορβάντειον, ..., Δορυλαῖον, Κοτιάειον, ...; Theogn., *Orth.*, 780.1-8: τὰ διὰ τοῦ εἶδον ὑπὲρ τρεῖς συλλαβὰς κύρια μονογενῆ προπαροξύτονα διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου γράφονται· οἶον, Ἀτραμύττειον, ὄνομα τόπου ... Κηρύκειον, ὄνομα λόφου οὗ φασὶν τὸν Ἑρμῆν ἀναβάνα, τὴν γένεσιν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τοῖς θεοῖς ἀνακηρύξαι, τοῦ Διὸς τοῦτο προστάξαντος· Ταντάλειον, ὄνομα ὄρους ... Φορβάντειον, ὄνομα ὄρους

[30] 3 et 4. κτεῖς ... κλείς] Ael. Her., *Pros.*, 400.4-7: τὰ εἰς εἰς μονογενῆ ὀξύνονται, δεῖς ἄρρητον, ὅπερ αἰετὶ μετὰ τῆς οὐ ἀποφάσεως ἢ τῆς μὴ ἀπαγορεύσεως σύνεστιν, οὐδεὶς μηδεὶς. Μεῖς Αἰολικῶς ὁ μῆν, κτεῖς καὶ κλείς θηλυκόν. Τὸ μέντοι εἰς περισπᾶται ὡς τριγενές

7. ὅπερ LC || 8. ἐόρταζον L || 9. Κλειταίρας] verbum non inveni || 10. λεγείῳ LC || 14. Παντευχεῖῳ] verbum non inveni || 15. κρεωδόχον LC || ἐστί LC

[30] 1. Ὁ in rubr. L: deest C ||

- 5 αὐτοῖς, οὐ χρήσιμον· ὥσπερ οὐδὲ κιγκλῖς, ἀλλὰ μόνη κληῖς· κύπειρον δὲ ἀναφύει
πολύ, ὃ καὶ κύπαιρον Δωριεῖς ὀνομάζουσιν· ἡ δὲ κλιτὺς τῶν ὀρῶν παντοίων, παν-
τοῖον δένδρων ἑσμὸν περιέχει, ἐν οἷς καὶ κώνειον || πλεῖστον δὲ ἐν τῷ Κιτίῳ καὶ κρα- L 361^r
νεῖω τόπῳ ἀναβλυστάνει· ἐν δὲ τοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων κρανίοις, ἄλλη τις ἰδία βοτάνη
ἀνίπτεται· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐστιατορίῳ αὐτῶν, ἡδέα παντοῖα βρώματα· ἐν δὲ τοῖς λειρίοις
10 ἀνακείμενοι, οὕτως ἐστιῶντο.

[31] Οἱ οὖν πραότεροι τῶν ἀνακεκλιμένων, προσηνεῖς τέ εἰσι καὶ λειρόφθαλμοι τὴν
ὄψιν· οἱ ἄλλως δ' ἔχοντες, λειρόφθαλμοι μὲν εἰσιν· ἀλλ' ἐναντίως, καταλιμπάνοντες
γοῦν κήνσους, οἱ κατὰ τῶν σταθμῶν ἰσοδυναμοῦσι τοῖς Αἰγινάοις καὶ Σικελιώταις,
τῇ Λαρίσῃ ἐνεδήουν· σαρίσας ἐκ τῆς Ἥλιδος λαβόντες καὶ χερσὶ κατέχοντες.

- [32] Ἡ Νηλέως γῆ νειὸς μὲν εὐγείος· ξηρὰ δὲ τῶν ἐναντίων ἐν τῇ νειαίρᾳ γαστρὶ τὸ
ἄροτρον δεχομένη, ἐν ἣ πολλὰ τῶν ὀρνέων παιδεύονται· καὶ ξίρις δέ, ἀρωματικὸν
φυτόν, ἄνισι· καὶ ξίφασμα δέ, οἱ ὀρχησταὶ ὀρχούμενοι, τὸ ἄττις καὶ υἷς ἐπιφωνεῖται,
ξηληφίω παίοντες τὸν πλησίον, κατὰ δὲ τὸν Ἐανθικὸν τῶν μηνῶν, τοῦτο τιθεῖσιν ἐν
5 ταύτῃ· καὶ ὀρίανον ἀνίσιν ἡ γῆ τῷ ὀπιπεύοντι ὀδίτῃ· καὶ πολὺ τὸ ἔρμαιον.

- [33] Ὁ δὲ Ἰλεὺς καὶ Βριάρεως, ἔμιξαν αἶμα, καθὼς Ἰππῶναξ συνεγράψατο· ὀπτανεῖον
δὲ ἐστὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς, ὃ οἱ οἰνίδαι εἰργάσαντο· καὶ τὸ ὀθνεῖον τοῦτο ἐπιφημίζουσιν,
ὡς Ἀρχιλόχῳ ἰστόρηται ἐν Ὀρθοεπείᾳ· πυτίνῃ δὲ ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ οἱ Παλαιστηνοί,
ὑδωρ ἀνιμῶνται· ὃ δὲ παλλακῖνος παρ' αὐτοῖς, πρηνῶν ἐκτραχηλίζεται· πίσσα δὲ
5 πολλὰ καὶ οἷς πιμελὴν πολλὴν ἐκτρέφουσι· καὶ γὰρ ἐν Πίσῃ πολὺ πίδακες πολλὰ
ἀναβλύζουσι· πλευρίτις δὲ νόσος παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἐν τῷ πυρῇνι φύματι ἐξώδηται, ὡς καὶ
Πιδύτης ἔφη· καὶ γὰρ πολλάκις ἀναπιδύει, καὶ τούτῳ τεθεράπεται· καὶ ἐπίφριξ δὲ

5 et 6. κύπειρον ... κύπαιρον] Ael. Her., *Orth.*, 3,2, 540.14-15: κύπειρον· ἔστι δὲ εἶδος βοτάνης. εἰ, ἐπειδὴ
κύπαιρον λέγουσιν οἱ Δωριεῖς διὰ τῆς αἰ διφθόγγου ...

[31] 1. λειρόφθαλμοι] Ael. Her., *Orth.*, 3,2, 543.22-544.2: λειρόφθαλμος· εἰ σημαίνει τὸν προσηνῆ, διὰ
τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου γράφεται καὶ γίνεται παρὰ τὰ λείρια τὰ ἄνθη. Εἰ δὲ σημαίνει τὸν ἀναιδῆ, παρὰ τὸ λίαν
ὀρᾶν (? ὀρμᾶν) || 4. Λαρίση ... σαρίσας] Ael. Her., *Orth.*, 3,2, 455.13-14: τὰ διὰ τοῦ ἰσᾶ μὴ ὄντα ἀπὸ
ῥημάτων ἐχόντων τὴν εἰ διφθογγὸν διὰ τοῦ ἰ γράφεται οἷον σάρισα, ..., Λάρισα ...

[32] 1. ἐν – γαστρὶ] Hom., *Il.*, 5.539, 616 et al.: νειαίρη δ' ἐν γαστρὶ διὰ ζωστήρος ἔλασσε

[33] 1. καθὼς Ἰππῶναξ συνεγράψατο] locum non inveni || 3. ὡς Ἀρχιλόχῳ ... Ὀρθοεπείᾳ] locum non
inveni || Παλαιστίνῃ] Ael. Her., *Part.*, 226.3-8: τὰ διὰ τοῦ νη ἐκφερόμενα θηλυκὰ διὰ τοῦ ἰῶτα γράφο-
νται· οἷον· ...· εἰλαπίνη, ἡ εὐωχία· Παλαιστίνῃ· Παλαιστηνὸς δέ, ἡ ...· πυρῖνη· καὶ τὰ ὅμοια

6. κύπερον LC || πάντοίων C || 7. ἑσμὸν LC || 8. ἄλλη τίς LC || 9. ἐστιατορί C || 10. εἰσιῶντο post corr.
(ex ἐστιῶντο) C

[31] 1. Ὁ in rubr. L: deest C || προσηνοῖς L || τὲ εἰσὶ L || 3. οἱ L || σικελιώτες C || 4. λαρίση LC

[32] 1. Ἡ in rubr. L: deest C || 3. ξίφασμα] verbum non inveni || 5. ὀδίτῃ LC

[33] 1. Ὁ in rubr. L: deest C || αἶμα C || 2. οἰνίδαι] verbum non inveni || 3. ἀρχελόχῳ LC || πυτίνῃ
post corr. (e πιτίνῃ) L || 5. πίσση LC || 6. πλευρίτις LC || πρηῖνι L: πρηῖνι C || 7. ἀναπιδύει post corr.
(ex ἀναπηδύει) L || ἐπίφριξ] verbum non inveni

C 89^v ὄρνεον· πίοτατον παρ' αὐτοῖς, οὐδὲ πιννοτῆραι πίονες τυγχάνουσι, καὶ παρθενοπί-
 αι τὸ μάλιστα, ὡς καὶ Πολύδηλος ἔφησεν· οἱ καὶ πίνην φυλάττουσι διὰ τεσσάρων 10
 τετραδίων || ἀνδρῶν συνελήφθη πᾶς τις τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἐν τῇ Κέῳ· ἡ δὲ μάκαιρα καὶ
 ταλαπεῖριος τὴν θέαν, τοῖς εἰλημμένοις συνελήφθη· τρισκαίδεκάτῃ δὲ ἐν συλλήψει
 ἦν· καὶ Ἡρακλεῖσκος, σὺν Ἡρακλίσκῳ· μετὰ δὲ τὸ ὑποστρέψαι ἐν ὑπηρεσίᾳ πολλῇ
 ὑποδεῖται τοὺς δεσμώτας ὁ Ὑπερίδης· ὁ δὲ Ὑλλίδης ὑπὸ δεξιᾷ φιλοφρονεῖται τοὺς
 στρατιώτας ἐν τῷ Ὑλλείῳ· οἱ δὲ Φασκλῖται, ἐν τῷ φιλητῷ Φλειῷ ποταμῷ ῥεῖοι ἦσαν·
 οἱ δὲ Φθιώται ἐν τῷ Φωκίῳ, φιλήτας λάθρα κατέβαλον, ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ Φινεὺς ὁ 15
 φθισήνωρ καὶ Ἀβδειρῶν· ἐνέθηκαν δὲ ἐν Φειᾷ, ἐν ἣ καὶ Φοινικίοις χρῶνται γράμ-
 μασι καὶ Χίοις· ὅτε καὶ Χόμιτλον ἦν· διετρέφοντο δὲ χυτρίοις ἔψοντες· ἡ δὲ Ψωφίς
 πόλις ἐστὶ μεγάλη, ἐν ἣ ψύλλειον ἐκφύεται καὶ ψόφειον· οἱ δὲ ταύτης ναυτίλοι,
 ψαιστοῖς ἐκτρέφονται· ὅτε ψαίρειν ἴδωσι τὰ ἰστία· σέβονται δὲ καὶ τὴν Ὠρεΐθυιαν·
 καὶ ὠνηματισίοις ὥοις θυσιάζουσιν ἐν ἡμερολογίοις, ἃ καὶ ὠτοκεία ἐπονομάζουσιν· 20
 ἐπιφθέγγονται δὲ ἐν τῇ παστείλῃ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τὰ ὥα.

13. Ὑπερίδης] Ael. Her., *Orth.*, 3,2, 596.18-20: Ὑπερίδης διὰ τοῦ ἰ γράφεται ... οὕτω καὶ παρὰ τὴν ὑπὲρ
 Ὑπερος καὶ ἐκεῖθεν Ὑπερίδης ὡς Ὑλλος Ὑλλίδης

8. πίορατον LC || πείρες LC || 9. Πολύδηλος] verbum non inveni || πίνην LC || 10. κείω LC || 13.
 δεσμώτας LC || ὕλιδης post corr. (ex ἰλίδης) L || ὕλιδης LC || 14. Φασκλῖται ... Φλειῷ] verba non in-
 veni || 16. φειᾷ post corr. (e φθειᾷ et θ in ras.) L || φοινικίοις LC || 17. Χόμιτλον] verbum non inveni
 || ἔψοντες LC || 18. ναυτίλοι LC || 19. ἰστία LC || ὠρεΐθυιαν post corr. (et -υι- in ras.) LC || 20.
 ὠνηματισίοις] verbum non inveni || ἐπονομάζουσιν LC

INDICES

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(an asterisk * is placed against words not found in LSJ and Lampe *Lexica* or in TLG database)

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APPENDIX II

TRANSCRIPTION OF TWO COMPLETE UNPUBLISHED SCHEDE CONTAINED IN VAT. GR. 1527

Vat. gr. 1527, f. 75^v-81^v

ε' τοῦ τί ποιεῖν (καὶ) σχεδὴ γράφ(ειν) Τοῦ σχεδογραφεῖν	δ' τί ποιοῦμενοι (καὶ) ἀρχ(ήν) ποιοῦντες ἀρχόμενοι	στ' (καὶ) ὥσανεῖ (καὶ) καθά; οἶονεῖ τι
ζ' τί (καὶ) βάσ(ις) βάθρον	η' (καὶ) ἄλλον τί καὶ θεμέλιον	θ' ποδαπ(όν) (καὶ) καλόν) κάλλιστόν τε
ι' (καὶ) ἄλλο ποδαπόν (καὶ) στερεόν καὶ ἰσχυρότατον,	ιβ' ποίαν τὴν ὑμετέραν	
ια' τίνα (καὶ) συνερ- γίαν βοήθειαν	γ' τίνος ἡ(γουν) τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ τοῦ Σ(ωτῆ)ρ(ο)ς	β' ποδαποὶ (καὶ) ἄγαν θαυμαστοὶ στολοὶ θειότατοι κήρυκες
ιδ' τί ποιοῦμεθα (καὶ) ὑπο- τιθέμεν προβαλλόμεθα·	ιδ' τί ποιοῦμενοι (καὶ) ἐπι- καλούμενοι ἐπικεκλημένοι	
ισ' τίνων τὴν ὑμῶν τῶν κορυφαίων τοῦ	ιζ' ποίων (καὶ) τῶν προ- κρίτων Χ(ριστο)ῦ	ιη' τίνος
ιθ' (καὶ) ἄλλων τίνων (καὶ) διδασκάλων μαθητῶν· (καὶ)	κ' τίνος (καὶ) τ(ῆς) εὐσε- βείας ἀρχηγῶν τῆς πίστεως	
ιε' τίνα (καὶ) τὴν βοήθει(αν) ἀρωγὴν· οἱ (καὶ)	κα' (καὶ) οἵτιν(ες) ἡ(γουν) οἱ ἅγιοι Ἀπόστολοι ἡμῖν	κγ' τίς(ιν) ποιεῖτε (καὶ) βοηθεῖτε ἀρήγοιτε· φ(ῶς)
		κε' τί

κδ' τί ποιοῦντες (καὶ) διδόντες **κστ'** τίνος (καὶ) νοήσε(ως) **κθ'** (καὶ) ὅλην **κη'** τίνα (καὶ) πλοκ(ήν)
παρέχοντες **γνώσε(ως)·** **(καὶ) πᾶσαν** **στροφήν**

λ' ποδαπ(ήν) (καὶ) δύσκολ(ήν) **λα'** τίνος (καὶ) τ(ής)
ἐλιγματώδη **τοῦ** **σχέδους,** **κζ'** (καὶ) τί ποιήσετε
θεΐητε (καὶ) ἐτοιμάσετε

λβ' ποδαπ(ήν) (καὶ) **λε'** τίς(ιν) ἡ(γουν) τοῖς
εὐμαρῇ: **ὕμιν** **γάρ** **ἀναθέμενοι**
εὐκολον **τοῖς ἀγίοις Ἀποστόλ(οις)** **ἀναθέντες**
ἀναθέμενοι **λγ'** τί ποιησάμενοι (καὶ)

λδ' τίνα **λστ'** τί ποιοῦμ(εν) (καὶ) ἐπι- **λη'** ποίω ἡ(γουν) τῷ
τὴν ἐλπίδα, **ἐγχειροῦμεν,** **τῷ τοιούτῳ**
βάλλομεν **τῆς σχεδογραφί(ας)**

λζ' τίνι (καὶ) τῷ ἔργῳ
ἐγχειρήματι: +

Ἀρχόμ(εν)οι συζυγί(ας) δευτέρ(ας) τῶν βαρυτόνων **σημείωσαι** δὲ ὅτι τὸ
 ἄρχω κρατῶ· ἐξουσιάζω, γενικῇ συντάσσεται· πλὴν τοῦ ἄρχω ὄγκον ἀρχ(ῆς)
 (καὶ) κρατῶ ἀγωνισμόν (καὶ) μαχισμόν·

οἶονεῖ, **ποίου μέρους λόγου ἐστίν**· ἐπιρρήματος· **ποίου τῶν ἐπιρρημάτων**
 παραβολῆς ἢ ὁμοιώσεως· **διόρισον**· τὰ δὲ παραβολῆς ἢ ὁμοιώσ(ως), **οἶον**,
 ὡς ὥπερ· καθὰ καθάπερ· οὕτως οὖν (καὶ) τὸ οἶον κατ' ἐπίτασιν, οἶονεῖ· τὸ
 νῆι, δίφθογγον· **διατί**· αἱ εἰς ι λήγουσαι ἐπεκτάσεις, δίφθογγον οὐκ ἔχουσιν
 ἀλλὰ τ· **καὶ ἑμαθες** εἰς τὸ οἶ, δασεῖαν· **διατί**· τὰ κατὰ ἀποβολὴν τοῦ τ καὶ
 τὰ ἀναφορικὰ δασύνονται· **οἶον**, ὅσος· καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ οἶπ ἀρχόμ(εν)α· **οἶον**,
 ὁπόσος· ὁποῖος· ὁπηλίκος· ὁπηνίκα, **(καὶ) τὰ ὅμοια** οἶον, **πῶς κλίνεται**
 οἶος· οἶου· (οἶου post corr. ex -η-), (καὶ) ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐπίρρημα οἶον· Τὸ οἶον
 μικρόν· **διατί**· τὰ εἰς οἶν ἐπιρρήματα, διὰ τοῦ οἶ μικροῦ γράφεται· **οἶον**, ποτα-
 μηδόν· ἀγεληδ(όν)· κρουνηδόν, βοτρηδόν, ἑκατόν· πλησίον· ἔνδον· μᾶλλον·
 οἶον, **(καὶ) τὰ ὅμοια· πλὴν τοῦ** χρεῶν· ἐμποδῶν· ἐκδεξιῶν· ἐξ ἀριστερῶν, ἐξ
 εὐωνύμων· (καὶ) τελευτῶν· τελευταῖον δὲ, μικρόν·

τί ποίου μέρους λόγου ἐστίν· ὀνόματος· **ποίου γένους**· οὐδετέρου· **τί ὁ**
κανὼν· οὐκ ἔχει· **διατί· παρατηρητέον ὅτι** πᾶν οὐδέτερον ἀρσενικῶ (*leg.*
 ἀρσενικῶ) παρεσχηματισμένον εἰ μ(έν) ἰσοσυλλάβως **κλίνοιτο** τῇ αἰτιατικῇ
 (*leg.* τῇ αἰτιατικῇ) τοῦ ἀρσενικοῦ, ὁμοφωνεῖ· τὸ σοφόν (καὶ) τὸν σοφ(όν)
 τὸ εὐγερῶν (καὶ) τὸν εὐγερῶν· εἰ δὲ περιττοσυλλάβως, τῇ κλητικῇ (*leg.*
 τῇ κλητικῇ)· τὸ ἄρσεν, ὦ ἄρσ(εν)· τὸ σῶφρον, ὦ σῶφρον· τοῦ μέντοι τίς ἢ
 κλητικῇ εἰ καὶ ἀπέλειψε διὰ σημασίαν, ἀλλ' οὖν τὸ οὐδέτερον(ον) ἀπὸ τῆς
 κλητικῆς **κανονίζεται**· καὶ **διατί**· ἀπέλειψεν ἢ κλητικῇ **διότι** τὰ πειστικά

κλητικὰς οὐκ ἔχουσι· **π(ὧς) γὰρ δυνατόν τὸν πυνθανόμενον** (πυ- post corr.) **καλέσαι, τὸ μὴ δὲ ἀναζητούμενον**· τίς **ποίου εἵδους** τῶν ὑποπεπτωκότ(ων) τῶ (*leg.* τῷ) ὀνόματι ἐρωτηματικοῦ· **διόρισον**· ἐρωτηματικὸν δέ ἐστ(ιν), ὃ (καὶ) πευστικὸν καλεῖται τὸ κατ' ἐρώτησ(ιν) λεγόμενον· **οἶον**, τίς ποῖος πόσος· ὀπηλίκος· τίς ἐρωτηματικὸν·δ **πῶς κλίνεται**· τίνος ὁ τόνος· ἢ τινὸς πρὸς διάφορον σημασίαν, (καὶ) ὀξύνεται (καὶ) βαρύνεται· **τίνος ὁ κανὼν**· τὰ εἰς τς ὀξύτονα μονοσύλλαβα μακροκατάληκτα, διὰ τοῦ ὅς κλίνεται· **οἶον**, κίς κιὸς, ὁ σκώληξ· λὶς λιὸς ὁ λέων· τὸ δὲ τίς ἐναλλάξαν κατὰ τὸν τόνον, ἐνήλλαξε καὶ περὶ τὴν κλήσιν· τὸ τῖς, ἱ· **διατί**· πᾶν ὄνομα μονοσύλλαβον, μακροκαταληκτεῖ κᾶν τε φύσει κᾶν τε θέσει· πλήν τοῦ, τίς **καὶ διατί πλήν αὐτοῦ· ἐπειδὴ** τὰ εἰς τς λήγοντα μετὰ διχρόνου ἀποβολ(ῆ) (ἀπ' ὁ βολ(ῆ) cod.) (*leg.* ἀποβολῆ) τοῦ τς τὸ οὐδέτερον ποιοῦντα, συνεσταλμένον ἔχει τὸ δίχρονον· εἰς τὸ τι, **τίνα τόνον**· ὀξεῖαν **διατί**· πᾶσα λέξις ὀξύτονος (ὀξύτονος post corr. ex -ῖ-) πολλάκις ἐν τῇ συνεπείᾳ (*leg.* τῇ συνεπείᾳ) (καὶ) μίξει, τὴν ὀξεῖαν εἰς βαρεῖαν τρέπει·

βάθρ(ον) **λέγεται**, τὸ θεμέλιον· **ἐτυμολογεῖται δέ**, παρὰ τὸ βῶ τὸ βαίνω·

θεμέλιον δέ, **ἐτυμολογεῖται**, παρὰ τὸ δέμω τὸ οἰκοδομῶ (καὶ) κτίζω· δεμέλιον (καὶ) θεμέλιον· τὸ (τ' ὁ cod.)· με, ψιλ(ὸν)· **διατί**· τὰ διὰ τοῦ ἑλῶς ὀνόματα, διὰ τοῦ ἑ φιλοῦ γράφεται· **οἶον**, αἰκέλιος· θεμέλιος, (καὶ) τὰ ὅμοια· Ἑλεῖτος δὲ κύριον, δίφθογγον·

κάλλιστον **γένους** οὐδετέρου· **πόθ(εν) γίνεται** παρὰ τὸ κάλλιστος· **γένους** ἀρσενικοῦ· **εἵδους παραγώγου· ποίου εἵδους τῶν παραγωγ(ων)**· ὑπερθετικοῦ· **καὶ πόσοι τύποι τῶν ὑπερθετικῶν**· δύο· ὁ εἰς ταῶς, **οἶον**, ὀξύτατος· βραδύτατος (καὶ) ὁ εἰς σῶς· **οἶον** ἄριστος· βέλτιστος· κάκιστος· χείριστος· κάλλιστος· ὕψιστος· τὸ λλῖ· ἱ· **διατί**· ἐκ τοῦ καλλίων συγκριτικοῦ· τὰ γὰρ εἰς ὦν συγκριτικὰ μεταβάντα εἰς ὑπερθετικά εἰ μ(ὲν) εἴη δισύλλαβα, **τηρεῖ** τὴν παραλήγουσαν· **οἶον**, πλείων· πλείστος· ῥάων (*leg.* ῥάων)· ῥάστος (*leg.* ῥᾱστος)· λῶων (*leg.* λῶων)· λῶστος (*leg.* λῶστος)· εἰ δὲ ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς συστέλλει· **οἶον**, χερείων· χείριστος· ἀρείων· ἄριστος· **πλήν** τοῦ καλλίων· κάλλιστος· (καὶ) βελτίων· βέλτιστος·

ἰσχυρότατος, πόθ(εν) γίνεται ἐκ τοῦ ἰσχυρός· **τοῦτο δέ**, ἐκ τοῦ ἰσχύς· τὸ δὲ ἰσχύς, παρὰ τὸ ἔχω τὸ κρατῶ καὶ πλεονασμῶ (*leg.* πλεονασμῶ) τοῦ σ ἔσχω· τὸ δὲ ἑ ἡνίκα πλεονάσει σύμφωνον, τρέπεται εἰς ἰῶτα· **οἶον**, ἔχω· ἴσχω (ἴσχω post corr.)· μένω, μίμνω· ῥέπω· ῥίπτω· ἔχω· ἴσχω (καὶ) κατὰ παραγωγὴν, ἰσχύω· ὁ μέλλων, ἰσχύσω· (καὶ) ἀποβολῇ (*leg.* ἀποβολῇ) τοῦ ῶ, ἰσχύς· **Εἰς** τὸ ἱ, ψιλῆν· **διατί**· τὸ ἱ πρὸ τοῦ σ ῶ (*leg.* ῶ) μὴ ὑποτέτακται τὸ τ, ψιλοῦται· **οἶον**, ἰσχύς· ἴσχω· ἰσχάνω μὴ ὑποτέτακται τὸ τ εἴπε, **διότι** τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα τὸ τ, δασύνονται· **οἶον**, ἱστορία· ἰστίον· ἴστημι· τὸ δὲ ἰστέον, ψιλοῦται· **διότι** ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσημι γέγονε· τὸ σῶν ψιλόν· **διατί**· τὰ εἰς ρὸς λήγοντα ὀξύτονα, διὰ τοῦ ὅ

υτατος
ιστος

ισχ

μυρος

ψιλοῦ γράφεται: **οἶον**, ἀλμυρός· βδελυρός· ἐκυρός ὁ πενθερός· κρυερός· τυρός· πυρός ὁ σίτος· ἰσχυρός (καί) ὀχυρός· τὸ ῥο, μικρόν· **διατί**: τὰ διὰ τοῦ ὠτέρως (καί) ὠτάτος· **(καί) ἄλλ(ως)**: ἰσχυρότερος μικρόν· ὀχυρώτατος δέ, μέγα·

υμ ὑμέτερα πόθ(εν) γίνεται: ἐκ τοῦ ὑμέτερος· **τοῦτο δέ**, ἐκ τοῦ ὑμεῖς ἀντωνυμί(ας) δευτέρου προσώπου τῶν πληθυντικῶν, τὸ ὕ, ψιλόν· **διατί: κατὰ ἰστορί(αν)**· (καί) **ἄλλως** τὸ μ̄ πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ· τὸ ὕ ψιλὸν ἀσπάζεται· **οἶον**, ὑμέναιος ὁ ἐπὶ γάμου ἀδόμενος ὕμνος τοῖς νυμφίοις· ὑμᾶν τὸ λεπτότατον δέρμα **καὶ κλίνεται** ὑμένος· Ὑμηττός ὄρος ἐν Ἀθήναις· ἐξ οὗ καὶ ὑμήτιον μέλι· ὕμμες ἀντὶ τοῦ ὑμεῖς **αἰολικ(ῶς)**· (καί) ὕμμε ἐπὶ δυϊκοῦ τὸ αὐτὸ· ὑμέτερος ἐπὶ δευτέρου προσώπου, **(καί) εἴ τι ὅμοιον· πλ(ήν)** τοῦ οἴμος ἡ ὁδός· οἰμῶ τὸ ὀρμῶ· οἴμη ἡ τραγωδία (*leg.* τραγωδία) ἐξ (ἐξ post corr.) οὐ καὶ οἰμωγὴ ὁ θρήνος (καί) οἰμάζω τὸ θρηνῶ (καί) προοίμιον· (καί) παροιμία· οἴμοι ἀντὶ τοῦ φεῦμοι· οἴμαι ἀντὶ τοῦ ὑπολαμβάνω, **(καί) τὰ λοιπὰ** τὸ μ̄ε, ψιλόν· **διατί**: τὰ διὰ τοῦ αἰτέρος ὀνόματα τὴν ἀπὸ τέλους τρίτην συλλαβὴν, διὰ τῆς αἰ διφθόγγου γράφεται· **οἶον**, παλαίτερος· ἰσαίτερος· πρωϊαίτερος· μυχαίτερος, **καὶ τὰ ὅμοια· χωρὶς τῶν** παρὰ τῶν ἀντωνυμιῶν τῶν πρωτοτύπων παρηγμένων· ἐκ τοῦ ὑμεῖς, ὑμέτερος· ἡ ὑμετέρα τὸ ὑμέτερον· ἐκ τοῦ σφεῖς σφέτερος· ἡ σφετέρα τὸ σφέτερον· (καί) τοῦ ἕτερος ὁ ἄλλος· τὴν δέ δευτέραν ἦτοι τὴν παραλήγουσαν, διὰ τοῦ ε̄ ψιλοῦ γράφεται· **χωρὶς τοῦ** ἑταίρος ὁ φίλος·

βοήθεια πόθ(εν) γίνεται: ἐκ τοῦ βοηθός· **τοῦτο δέ**, παρὰ τὸ βοή (καί) τὸ θέω τὸ τρέχω· ὁ ἐν τῇ βοῇ (*leg.* τῇ βοῇ) θέων· ἤγουν ὁ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ (*leg.* τῇ μάχῃ) τρέχων· κυρίως γὰρ τὸ βοηθεῖν, ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου λέγεται· **καὶ ὁ Ὅμηρος**· *βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Μενέλαος (Hom. II. B 408 et al.)*· τὸ δέ βοή, ἐκ τοῦ βῶ τὸ λέγω· βοῶ (καί) βοή·

ειος θειότατος πόθ(εν) γίνεται: ἐκ τοῦ θεῖος· **τοῦτο δέ**, ἐκ τοῦ θεῖος (καί) κράσει τοῦ ε̄ (καί) ἰῶτα εἰς τὴν εἰ δίφθογγον, γίνεται, θεῖος· τὸ θεῖ, δίφθογγον· **διατί**: ἐκ τοῦ θεῖος· τὰ διὰ τοῦ εἰδος προπερισπώμενα, διὰ τῆς εἰ δίφθογγου γράφεται· **οἶον**, κάδμειος· βακχεῖος· ἀνδρείως (*leg.* ἀνδρείος)· θεῖος· οἰκεῖος· ἀστεῖος· Ἀργεῖος· Δαρεῖος· Ἡλεῖος (*leg.* Ἡλεῖος)· ὀθνεῖος ὁ ξένος· θεῖος ὁ θαυμαστός· ἑταιρεῖος· Ζεὺς· ἱαμβεῖος· σπονδεῖος· ἀχρεῖος (καί) Κεῖος ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς Κέω· Κίος δέ νῆσος, ἰῶτα· βίος (καί) δῖος ὁ ἔνδοξος· ἐναντίος (καί) Τίος πόλις, ἰῶτα· **καὶ ἄλλως** τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς θῖ συλλαβ(ῆς) ἀρχόμενα, διὰ τοῦ ἰῶτα γράφεται· **οἶον**, θιν, ὁ αἰγιαλός· ὃ καὶ θῖς γράφεται· θῖς ὁ σωρός (καί) θιν ὁμοίως· θίασος ὁ χορός, (καί) θιασώτης ὁ συγχωρευτής· θίβη τὸ κιβώτιον· θίγω τὸ ψαύω (καί) προσεγγίζω· (καί) θιγγάνω τὸ αὐτό, **(καί) τὰ ὅμοια**· τὰ δέ διὰ τοῦ η̄, εἰσὶ ταῦτα· θήγω τὸ ἀκονῶ· καὶ θηγγάνη ἡ ἀκόνη· Θησεὺς κύριον· Θῆβα χώρα ἐξ ἧς (καί) Θηβαῖος ἀνὴρ· θῆλυ θήλεια· θηλύμητρις ὁ πόρνος· θῆς ὁ μισθωτός, **καὶ κλίνεται** θη-τός· θητεύω θητεία ἡ μισθαρνία· θηλή ὁ μαστός (καί) θηλάζω θησαυρός· θήκη ἐξ ἧς (καί) συνθήκη (καί) ἀποθήκη (καί) διαθήκη· θηρίον· θῆρ θηρὸς· θῆσα ἡ μισθάρνισσα· θηητός ὁ θαυμαστός· θηρίκλειον εἶδος ποτηρίου· θημῶν ὁ σωρός (καί) θημωνιά· θῆσαι ἀντὶ τοῦ θηλάσαι, **(καί) τὰ ὅμοια**· δίφθογγα δέ ταῦτα· θεῖος ὁ θαυμαστός· θει-άζω ῥῆμα τὸ θαυμάζω (καί) θείασμα ὁ θαυμασμός· θείην εὐκτικόν· θεῖναι ἀντὶ τοῦ ποιῆσαι, **(καί) εἴ τι ὅμοιον**·

κήρυκες ἡ εὐθεΐα, ὁ κήρυξ **πόθ(εν) γίνεται παρὰ** τὸ γαρύω τὸ φωνῶ γάρυ-
 σω γάρυξ· (καὶ) τροπή (*leg.* τροπή) τοῦ γ̄ εἰς κ̄ (καὶ) τοῦ ᾱ εἰς ἥ, κήρυξ· τὸ κ̄η,
 ἦτα· **διατί**· κατὰ τροπὴν τοῦ ᾱ εἰς ἥ

κλη κελημ(ένο)ς ὁ καλούμενος, ἦτα· **(καὶ) ἔστι τὸ θέμα**, κλῶ τὸ καλῶ ὁ μέλ-
 λων, κλήσω· **(ὥς) τὸ ποιῶ**, ποιήσω· κελκλιμένος δὲ ὁ κείμενος, ἰῶτα· **(καὶ)**
 κλει **ἔστι τὸ θέμα**, κλίνω· κελκλεισμένος δὲ ὁ ἡσφαλισμένος, δίφθογγον· **(καὶ) ἔστι**
 τὸ θέμα κλείω τὸ ἀσφαλίζω·

αἰος κορυφαῖος **γίνεται, ἐκ τοῦ** κορυφή· **τοῦτο δέ, ἐκ τοῦ** κορύπτω, κορύψω·
 κεκόρυφα· (καὶ) ἐξ αὐτοῦ, κορυφή· ἢ παρὰ τὸ ὀροφή εἶναι σώματος· καὶ
 πλεονασμῶ (*leg.* πλεονασμῶ) τοῦ κ̄ (καὶ) τροπή τοῦ ὀ εἰς ὕ, κορυφή, τὸ δὲ
 ὀροφή, ἐκ τοῦ ὀρέφω τὸ στεγάζω· κορυφαῖος τὸ φᾶι, δίφθογγον, **διατί**· τὰ
 ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς ᾱ (καὶ) ἥ θηλυκῶν διὰ τοῦ αἰδὸς γινομένων ὀνόματα, διὰ τῆς
 αἰ διφθόγγου γράφονται· τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς ᾱ, **οἶον**, ἄρουρα ἀρουραῖος· Μέ-
 θυμνα, Μεθυμναῖος· Κέρκυρα Κερκυραῖος· Ἀθήνα Ἀθηναῖος· Γάζα, Γαζαῖος·
 Θήβα, Θηβαῖος· γέννα, γενναῖος· μοῖρα, μοιραῖος· ὥρα, ὥραῖος, **(καὶ) τὰ**
ῥμοια· τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς ἥ, **οἶον**, Μιτυλήνη (*leg.* Μυτιλήνη), Μιτυληναῖος
 (*leg.* Μυτιληναῖος)· Ἰδη Ἰδαῖος (*leg.* Ἰδαῖος)· εἰρήνη εἰρηναῖος· Καλή-
 νη Καληναῖος· σελήνη, σεληναῖος· ὕλη, ὕλαῖος· τρύχη τρυχαῖος· ἀνάγκη
 ναυαῖος· **ναῖος**· ἀναγκαῖος· κορυφή κορυφαῖος, **(καὶ) τὰ ῥμοια**· εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ τινα γραφόμενα
 διὰ διφθόγγου μῆτε ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς ᾱ μῆτε ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς ἥ θηλυκῶν γινόμε-
 να **οἶον**, Σαδδουκαῖος· Ἰδουμαῖος· Ἑβραῖος· Ἰουδαῖος· Φαρισαῖος· ποδιαῖος·
 πλεθριαῖος· **(καὶ) τὰ ῥμοια**·

πίστις **γίνεται, ἐκ τοῦ** πείθω τὸ καταπείθω· πολλὰ γὰρ εἰσὶν ὀνόματα ἀπὸ
 ῥημάτων) συγκεείμενα γραφομένων μ(έν) τῶν ῥημάτων(ων), διὰ διφθόγ-
 γου· τῶν δὲ ὀνομάτων(ων), διὰ τοῦ ἰῶτα· **οἶον**, πείθω πιθανός· λείχω, λιχανός·
 οἰκτεῖρω, οἰκτιρμός· σείω σῖτος **(καὶ) τὰ ῥμοια**·

ἄρωγῃ [sscr. auxilium], **πόθ(εν) γίνεται ἐκ τοῦ** ἀρήγω τὸ βοηθῶ· καὶ
 τροπή (*leg.* τροπή) τοῦ μακροῦ εἰς μακρόν· (καὶ) **ποσαχ(ὥς) ἡ τροπή τῶν**
φωνηέντ(ων)· τετραχ(ὥς)· ἢ τὸ βραχὺ εἰς βραχύ, **ὥς** ἐν τῷ Αἴαντι Αἴαντα·
 Θόαντι Θόαντα· ἢ τὸ μακρόν εἰς μακρ(όν), **ὥς** ἐν τῷ ἀρηγὸς ἀρωγός· (καὶ)
 σημα σώμα· ἢ τὸ μακρ(όν) εἰς βραχύ· **ὥς** ἐν τῷ, Θεητόκος Θε(εοτό)κος· ἢ τὸ
 βραχὺ εἰς μακρόν, **ὥς** ἐν τῷ ναὸς νεὼς λαὸς λε(ὥς)·

Ἡμῖν **πτώσεως** δοτικῆς τῶν πληθυντικῶν· τὸ μῖν, ἰῶτα **διατί**· πᾶσα γὰρ
 δοτικὴ· **(καὶ) ἄλλως**· ἀμὴν ἦτα· ἡμῖν, ἰῶτα· ἡμεῖς δὲ, δίφθογγον·

θη **ἀρήγοιτε συζυγίας** δευτέρ(ας) τῶν βαρυτόνων· **ἐγκλίσε(ως)** εὐκτικῆς **τὸ**
θέμα, ἀρήγω· ἀρήγοιτε· τὸ ρῆ ἥ **διατί**· τὰ διὰ τοῦ η̄γῶ ῥήματα εἴτε βαρύ-
 τονα εἴτε περισώμενα, διὰ τοῦ ἥ γράφεται· βαρύτονα μ(έν), **οἶον**· θήγω
 τὸ ἀκονῶ· τμήγω τὸ διαχωρίζω· λήγω τὸ παύω· ἐξ οὗ (καὶ) ἄληκτον τὸ

ιγω	ἀκατάπαυστ(ον), (και) τὰ ὅμοια: πλήν τοῦ πνίγω· σφίγγω· θίγω τὸ ψαύω και προσεγγίζω· λιγῶ τὸ ὕμνω ἐξ οὗ (και) λιγύς ὁ ὀξύς, (και) λιγαίνω τὸ ὕμνω (και) λιγύφθογγος ἀηδών· μίγω ὁ (και) σμίγω γράφεται· σιγῶ· σφριγῶ· (και) ῥιγῶ· ἅπερ γράφεται διὰ τοῦ ἰῶτα· ἐπείγω (δὲ) τὸ σπουδάζω· ἐξ οὗ (και) ἔπειξις (και) ἐπειγωλή ἡ σπουδή, δίφθογγον·
ειγω	στροφῇ τὸ στρῶ, μικρὸν· διατί · τὰ ἔχοντα τὸ Ἐ ἐγκείμενον ἐν τοῖς ῥήμασιν, ἔχουσι τὸ Ὡ ἀντιπαρακείμενον ἐν τοῖς ὀνόμασι· Και ἄλλ(ως) · πᾶσα λέξις ἀπὸ τῆς στρῶ συλλαβῆς ἀρχομένη, διὰ τοῦ Ὡ μικροῦ γράφεται· οἶον , Στρόβυλος νῆσος· στροφάλις (post corr. e στροφάλυξ) ἡ συστροφῇ· στροφῇ· (και) στροβῶ ῥήμα τὸ ταράσσω· πλήν τοῦ στρωμνῇ· στρώμα· στρωννύω· (και) στρωφῶ τὸ στρέφω·
ισσω	Ἐλιγματώδη ἡ εὐθεΐα , ἡ ἐλιγματώδης [sscr. <i>difficilis</i>] και κλίνεται τῆς ἐλιγματώδεος (και) ἐλιγματώδους· ἡ αἰτιατική, τὴν ἐλιγματώδεα (και) ἐλιγματώδη· πόθεν γίνεται · παρὰ τὸ ἐλίσσω τὸ συστρέφω· τοῦτο δὲ, παρὰ
ησσω	τὸ εἰλῶ· εἰς τὸ Ἐ, δασεΐαν· διατί · τὸ Ἐ πρὸ τῆς λι συλλαβῆς δασύνεται· εἰ μὴ ἐκπίπτει τῆς λέξε(ως)· Ἐλικὼν· ἐλίσσω· ἔλιξ· τὸ λι , ἰῶτα· διατί · τὰ διὰ τοῦ ἡσῶ ῥήματα, διὰ τοῦ ἡ γράφεται· οἶον , ῥήσσω τὸ ῥηγνύω· θωρήσσω τὸ καθοπλίζω· πήσσω τὸ πηγνύω· πλήσσω· (και) πτήσσω, τὸ φοβοῦμαι· πλήν τοῦ ,
ησσω	πτίσσω τὸ τύπτω· ἐξ οὗ (και) πτισσάνη τὸ πτύρον· φοινίσσω· φρίσσω· δεδίσσω τὸ ἐκφοβῶ· μειλίσσω τὸ καταπραΰνω· αἰνίσσω τὸ αἰνιγματωδῶς δηλῶ· (και) ἐλίσσω τὸ συστρέφω· τὸ τω , μέγα· διατί · [Reg(u)la in marg.] τὰ διὰ τοῦ ὠδης ἅπαντα, διὰ τοῦ ὠ (post corr.)· μεγάλου γράφονται· οἶον , καπνώδης· λοιμώδης· νοσώδης· εὐώδης· νηπιώδ(ης)· ὑπνώδης· αἰθαλώδης· κτηνώδης· γεώδης· σωτηριώδης· χρειώδης· ἐλιγματώδης, (και) τὰ ὅμοια: πλήν τῶν
ωδης	παρὰ τὸ π(οὺς) ποδός (και) ὁδοὺς ὁδόντων συγκειμένων· οἶον , ξυλοπόδης· ὀζοπόδης· στραβοπόδης· τριπόδης (κεντουκλοπόδης in marg.)· καρχαρόδης κύων ὁ κεχαραγμέν(ους) ἔχων τοὺς ὁδόντας, (και) τὰ ὅμοια ·
οδης	εὐμαρῇ ἡ εὐθεΐα ἡ εὐμαρής [sscr. <i>facilis</i>]· (και) γίνεται ἐκ τοῦ ευ μορίου, (και) τοῦ μαίρω τὸ λάμπω· ἐξ οὗ (και) μαρμαίρω και μαρμαρυγῇ [sscr. <i>marmor</i>] τὸ μάρμαρον·
	τὴν ἐλπίδα ἡ εὐθεΐα , ἡ ἐλπίς· παραγίνεται δὲ , ἐκ τοῦ ἔλκω τὸ σύρω· ἐλκίς (και) ἐλπίς·
	ἐγχειροῦμ(εν) τὸ θέμα · ἐχειρῶ (<i>leg.</i> ἐγχειρῶ)· συζυγί(ας) πρώτης τῶν περισπωμένων· σύγκειται δὲ, ἐκ τῆς εν προθέσε(ως) (και) τοῦ χεῖρ χειρὸς· τραπέντος τοῦ ν εἰς γ · τὸ χεῖ , δίφθογγ(ον)· διατί · τὰ εἰς ἡρ ἐπὶ παντὸς γένους, διὰ τοῦ ἡ γράφονται· (και) προεγράφη· σημείωσαι δὲ ὅτι τὸ ἐχειρῶ (<i>leg.</i> ἐγχειρῶ)· (και) ἐπιχειρῶ, διὰ τοῦ ἡ ἔχουσι τὸν μέλλοντα· ἐχειρίζω (<i>leg.</i> ἐγχειρίζω) δὲ τὸ εἰς χεῖρας δίδωμι· χωρίζω (και) μεταχωρίζω, διὰ τοῦ ἰῶτα· τὸ δὲ ἐχειρῶ (<i>leg.</i> ἐγχειρῶ) (και) ἐπιβάλλω, μετὰ δοτικ(ῆς) συντάσσεται οἶον , ἐγχειρῶ, τῷ μανθάνειν· (και) ἐπιβάλλω, τῷ, μυσταγωγεῖν· ~ +

Vat. gr. 1527, ff. 109^r-114^r

τίνος γ' β' ποῖος (καὶ) τίς α'
 ὁ υἱὸς
 Ὁ τοῦ Πριάμου παῖς Ἀλέξανδρος
 στ' ποί(ας) (καὶ) ἀρχὰς (καὶ) αἰτί(ας) κακῶν ε' τίν(ας) (καὶ) τὰ πλοῖα δ' τί πεποιηκ(ώς)
 (καὶ) λαβῶν
 τὰς ἀρχεκάκους ναῦς εἰληφ(ώς)
 ζ' (καὶ) ἄστινας ἡ τίς θ' τί ἐποιήσατο (καὶ) κατε-
 ἤ(γουν) τ(ὰς) ναῦς σκεύασε
 ἄς Φέρεκλος ἐτεκτήνατο,
 ἱά' ἐπὶ τίνα ἱβ' τίνων (καὶ) τῶν Λακε- (καὶ) τὸν τόπ(ον) ἱ' τί ἐποίησε
 δαιμονί(ων)
 ἐπὶ τὸν, Λακῶνων χῶρον κατέ-
 (καὶ) ἔπλευσε ἰδ' τίνα ἰστ' τίνος
 πλευσε (καὶ) Ἑλένην τὴν Λήδας
 ἱε' ποῖαν (καὶ) τ(ὴν) ἱζ' (καὶ) ἦντινα ἡ(γουν) κ' τί ἐποίει (καὶ) κα' π(ὼς) (καὶ) κατὰ νόμ(ους)
 θυγατέρα τ(ὴν) Ἑλέν(ην) συνεκοιμᾶτο
 παῖδα ἦν ὠμευνέτει νομίμως
 ἱθ' ποῖος (καὶ) ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἱη' τίς ἱγ' (καὶ) ἄλλο τί πεποιηκ(ώς)
 Ἀτρέως (καὶ) ἀρπάσας
 ὁ Ἀτρεΐδης Μενέλαος ἥρπακ(ώς),
 κγ' ἐπὶ τίνα (καὶ) τὴν π(ατ)ρίδα κδ' τίνος ἡ(γουν) τοῦ κβ' τί ἐποίησε τί ποιῶν κέ'
 Ἀλεξάνδρου (καὶ) παραγένετο (καὶ) φέρων
 ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκείαν αὐτοῦ, ὥχετο ἄγων·
 κη' ποδαπ(ὴν) (καὶ) τ(ὴν) Τροῖ(αν) κθ' (καὶ) ἄλλ(ην) ποδαπ(ὴν) καστ' τί πεποιημ(ένην) (καὶ)
 καλουμένην
 τὴν Ἴλιον καὶ Τροίαν κεκλημέν(ην) || (f. 109^v)
 κζ' (καὶ) ἄλλο τί πεποιημ(ένην) λγ' τίσι δηλονότι
 (καὶ) καλουμένην· ἀν(θρώπ)οις
 (καὶ) ὠνομασμένην· καὶ, πολλοῖς
 λβ' τίνος (καὶ) ἀπω- λα' (καὶ) πρόξενος λ' (καὶ) ἄλλο τί ἐποίησε
 λείας (καὶ) ἐγένετο
 ὀλέθρου αἷτιος ἐγεγόνει...: ~ +

	<p>Ὁ τοῦ Πριάμου παῖς Ἀλέξανδρος, πόσα μέρη λόγου εἰσὶ· δύο· ὁ τοῦ ἄρθρον·</p> <p>Πριάμου παῖς Ἀλέξανδρος ὄνομα· Πριάμου ἡ εὐθεΐα, ὁ Πρίαμος (καὶ) κλίνεται τοῦ Πριάμου· τὸ πῤῃ, ἰῶτα· διατί· πᾶσα λέξις ἀπὸ τῆς πῤῃ συλλαβῆς ἀρχομένη, διὰ τοῦ ἰῶτα γράφεται· οἶον, πρίω [sscr. emo] τὸ ἀγοράζω· ἐξ οὗ (καὶ) Πρίαμος (καὶ) Πριαμίδης· πατρωνυμικ(όν)· πρίγκιψ [sscr. princeps] ἀξιωματικόν (καὶ) κλίνεται πρίγκιπος· πριμμικήριος [sscr. primicerius]· πρίων πρίωνος τὸ τεκτονικόν (post corr. e τεκνονικόν) ἐργαλεῖον (καὶ) πρίζω [sscr. scindo] τὸ σχίζω· καὶ πρίσας ἀντὶ τοῦ πριωνίσας· καὶ πριστά· τὰ ξύλα· πρίνος δένδρον· πρίν [sscr. priusquam] (καὶ) πρινή ἐπίρρημα· (καὶ) Πρίσκος [sscr. vel Priscus] ὄνομα κύριον·</p> <p>πλὴν τοῦ, πρηνῆς ὁ ἐπὶ πρόσωπον κείμενος· πρηγορεῶν [sscr. guttur] ὁ λαιμός [sscr. guttur]· πρήθω [incendo vel comburo in marg.] τὸ καίω· πρηστήρ ὁ κεραυνός· πρησιμός (καὶ) ἐμπρησιμός· πρηῶν ἡ ἐξοχή τοῦ ὄρ(ους)· πρήσουσα ἀντὶ τοῦ διαπερώσα· πρήσις (καὶ) τὰ ὅμοια</p> <p>ἀρχεκάκους π(ὡς) ἐστὶν ἡ εὐθεΐα· ἡ ἀρχέκακος [sscr. casus malorum] (καὶ) κλίνεται τῆς ἀρχεκάκου· ἡ αἰτιατική τῶν πληθυντικῶν, τὰς ἀρχεκάκους· τὸ χε, ψιλόν· διατί· ἀρχέκακος· ἀρχέβουλος· ἀρχέπλουτος· ἀρχέδουλος· ἀρχέγονος· Ἀρχέλαος· ἀρχέτυπος, ψιλά· ἀρχαιόκακος δὲ· καὶ ἀρχαιόπλουτος (καὶ) ἀρχαιόγον(ος)· (καὶ) ἀρχαιόλαος (καὶ) ἀρχαιότυπος (καὶ) τὰ λοιπὰ ὅμοι(ως), δίφθογγα·</p> <p>ναῦς [sscr. navis]· ἡ εὐθεΐα, ἡ ναῦς (καὶ) κλίνεται τῆς νηός ὁ καὶ νεώς· γράφεται· διὰ τοῦ ἑψιλοῦ καὶ ᾠ μεγάλου· ἡ αἰτιατική τῶν πληθυντικ(ών), τὰς ναῦς·</p> <p>εἰληφ(ὡς)· εἰληφ(ὡς) [sscr. sumens] κανόνισον· λήβω [sscr. sumo vel accipio] τὸ λαμβάνω ὁ μέλλων, λήψω· ὁ παρακείμενος, λέληφα· (καὶ) ἐκβολή (leg. ἐκβολῇ) τοῦ πρώτου λ, ἔληφα· (καὶ) πλεονασμῶ (leg. πλεονασμῶ) τοῦ ἰῶτα, εἰληφα· ἡ μετοχή, ὁ εἰληφ(ὡς)· καὶ γράφεται, δίφθογγον (καὶ) ἡ· ἡλειφ(ὡς) ὁ διεγείρας, ἡ (καὶ) δίφθογγ(ον)· (καὶ) κανονίζεται οὕτως· ἀλείφω [sscr. excito] τὸ διεγείρω· ὁ μέλλων, ἀλείψω· ὁ παρακείμε(εν)ος ἡλειφα ἡ μετοχή, ὁ ἡλειφ(ὡς)·</p> <p>Φέρεκλος ἡ εὐθεΐα ὁ Φέρεκλος τὸ φε, ψιλόν· διατί· τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς φε, συλλαβῆς ἀρχόμενα, διὰ τοῦ ὑ ψιλοῦ γράφονται· οἶον, φέναξ [sscr. seductor] ὁ ἀπατεῶν [sscr. seductor]· ἐξ οὗ (καὶ) φενάκη [sscr. seductio] ἡ ἀπάτη [sscr. seductio]· (καὶ) φενακίζω [sscr. seduco] τὸ ἀπατῶ [sscr. seduco]· φένω [sscr. occido] τὸ φονεύω· φέρω· φέριστος [sscr. melior] ὁ κρείττων· φερέοικος [sscr. luctutus] ὁ κοχλιάς· φερώνυμος (καὶ) φερωνυμῶ ῥῆμα· φεραυγής [sscr. splendens] ὁ λάμπων· φέρνη ἡ προίξ· Φέρεκλος· φελλός (καὶ) φελλίνη ἐμβάς· φελώνη [sscr. vestis]</p>
πρι	
πρη	
χε	
χαι	
ειληφ(ως)	
ηλειφ(ως)	
φε	

φαι sacerdotalis] τὸ ἱερατικὸν ἔνδυμα, **(και) τὰ ὅμοια· πλὴν τοῦ**, φαίνω [sscr. luceo] τὸ λάμπω· Φαίαξ ἔθνος **και κλίνεται** Φαίακος φαινόλης [sscr. seductor] ὁ ἀπατεὼν· φαιδρὸς [sscr. clarus vel lucidus] ὁ λαμπρὸς (και) φαίδιμος [sscr. clarus] τὸ αὐτό· φαιδρῶ [sscr. luceo] τὸ λάμπω· φαιδρωπὸς· Φαῖδρα κύριον· φαιὸν χρῶμα [sscr. color medius inter album et niger color(em)] τὸ μέσον λευκοῦ (και) μέλανος (και) φαιότερον (και) φαιὰ ἢ μέλαινα· Φαιστὸς [sscr. glossa illegibilis] πόλις· καὶ φαῖεν ἀντὶ τοῦ εἴποιε (και) φαίην εὐκτικ(όν) ἀντὶ (ἀντὶ cod.) τοῦ εἴποιμι·

ἐτεκτῆνατο [sscr. praeparavit] **κανόνισ(ον)**· τεκταίνω [sscr. praeparo] οὗ ὁ μέλλων, τεκτανῶ· ὁ ἀόριστος ἐτέκτηνα· ὁ μέσος, ἐτεκτηνάμην· ἐτεκτῆνω, ἐτεκτῆνατο (*leg.* ἐτεκτῆνατο)· συζυγί(ας) πέμπτης τῶν βαρυτόνων· **Τὸ κτῆ, ἡ· διατί·** κατὰ τροπὴν τοῦ *ᾱ* εἰς *ῆ*· μένοντος (και) τοῦ ἰῶτα προσγεγραμμένου· τὸ *το*, μικρόν· **διατί·** τὰ εἰς *το* ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς *μι* γινόμενα, διὰ τοῦ *ο* μικροῦ γράφονται·

Λακώνων τὸ *κω*, μέγα· **διατί·** τῶν εἰς *ων* ἀρσενικῶν βαρυτόνων τὰ μ(έν) παρῶνυμα, διὰ τοῦ *ω* μεγάλου, γράφονται **(και) ἔμαθες**

χώρος χῶρον ἡ εὐθεῖα ὁ χώρος [sscr. locus vel regio] **(και) κλίνεται** τοῦ χώρου· ἡ αἰτιατική, τὸν χώρον· τὸ *χω*, μέγα· **διατί·** πᾶσα λέξις ἀπὸ τῆς *χω* συλλαβῆς, (και) **ἔμαθες (και) ἄλλως** χώρος ὁ τόπος (και) χωρία [sscr. campi] τὰ χωράφια [sscr. campi vel agri], μέγα (και) ἰῶτα· χορὸς δὲ τὸ πλῆθος (και) χορεία [sscr. chorea] ἡ χόρευσις, μικρόν (και) δίφθογγον·

Ἑλένη ἡ εὐθεῖα, ἡ Ἑλένη **γέν(ους)** θηλυκοῦ **(και) ἔμαθες εἰς τὸ ἔλεος·**

Λήδας ἡ εὐθεῖα, ἡ Λήδα· **(και) κλίνεται** τῆς Λήδας· ἦτινι (*leg.* ἦτινι) ἐμίγη ὁ Ζεὺς ὁμοιωθεὶς [sscr. similis] κύκνω (*leg.* κύκνω) [sscr. cigno] ἀφ' ἧς (και) ἔτεκε τὴν Ἑλένην· **και μαθήση** (*leg.* μαθήση) **ἐν τοῖς ποιηταῖς πλατύτερον τὰ περὶ τούτου**· **Τὸ λῆ, ἡ· διατί·** τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς *λι* συλλαβῆς [Regula in marg.] ἀρχόμενα, διὰ τοῦ *ι* γράφονται· **οἶον**, λιτή [sscr. rogatio] ἡ παράκλησις [sscr. deprecatio]· λιτανεύω [sscr. rogo vel deprecor] λιτανεία [sscr. rogatio]· λιτὸν τὸ [sscr. modicus vel exiguus] εὐτελές· λίμνη [sscr. stagnum]· λίαν [sscr. valde] ἐπίρρημα, ἀντὶ τοῦ πάνυ [sscr. valde]· λιπαρῶ [sscr. obsecro] τὸ παρακαλῶ· λιγὺς [sscr. acutus] ὁ ὀξὺς ἐξ οὗ (και) λιγύφθογγος [sscr. philomena] ἀηδὼν [sscr. philomena]· λιψ ὁ ἄνεμος [sscr. ventus africanus] **(και) κλίνεται** λιβός· λῖς [sscr. leo] ὁ λέων **και κλίνεται** λιὸς· Λιβάνιος· Λικίνιος· λιμὸς [sscr. fames] ἡ ἔνδεια [sscr. penuria] ἡ γοῦν ἡ πείνα (*leg.* πείνα) [sscr. fames]· λιγαίνω [sscr. laudo] τὸ ὑμῶν [sscr. laudo]· λιλαίω [sscr. concupisco] τὸ ἐπιθυμῶ [sscr. desidero]· λίπος (*leg.* λίπος) [sscr. axungia] τὸ ἀξουγγιον [sscr. axungia]· λιχανός [sscr. digitus] ὁ δάκτυλος· λικμῶ ῥῆμα, ἐξ οὗ (και) λικ-

λη

μητήριον· λιπόσαρκος [sscr. pinguis] ὁ λιπαρός· (και) λιπόκρεως [sscr. pinguis] τὸ αὐτό· λισσὸν τὸ ὁμαλὸν· (και) λιττὸν τὸ αὐτό· λίθος [sscr. lapis] (και) λιθεία φύσις [sscr. petreitas vel lapideitas] ἡ τοῦ λίθου· Λιβύη [sscr. Libya] τόπος· λιμὴν [sscr. portus] λιμένος, (και) λιμενίζω· λίχνος ὁ λαίμαργος· λίνεον τὸ λινοῦν· λιβάς ὁ σταλαγμός, **(και) κλίνεται** λιβάδος· λιαρὸν τὸ χλιαρὸν· λιάζω [sscr. effugio] τὸ ἐκφεύγω· λίπτω [sscr. cupio] τὸ ἐπιθυμῶ· λίζιξ ἐπώνυμον· λίζιος [sscr. propius] ὁ οἰκεῖος· Λίβας ἐπώνυμον· λῖνος [sscr. rete]· τὸ δίκτυον· λίθινος [sscr. lapideus]· (και) λιθίνη [sscr. lapiditas] φύσις **(και) τὰ ὅμοια**· Πλὴν τοῦ, λήθω [sscr. lateo] τὸ λανθάνω [sscr. lateo]· (και) λήθη [sscr. oblivio] ἡ λάθησις [sscr. vel abstonsio]· (και) λήσεις ῥῆμα ἀντὶ τοῦ λάθεις, Λητώ [sscr. pro Latona] ὄνομα θε(ᾶς)· Λήδας κύριον· ληστής [sscr. latro] ληστεύω [sscr. latrocino]· ληστεία [sscr. latrocinium]· ληΐζω τὸ λαφυραγωγῶ· λήϊον [sscr. campus] τὸ χωράφιον [sscr. campus]· λήϊτον [sscr. publicum] τὸ δημόσιον [sscr. publicum]· Λητοῖδης [sscr. Apollo] ὁ Ἀπόλλων, (και) Λητοῖδης [sscr. torcular]· ληνὸς [sscr. torcular] ἐν ἡ (*leg.* ἡ) τοὺς βότρυας [sscr. racemos] ἐκθλίβουσιν [sscr. exprimunt] ἐξ οὗ και ληνωβατῶ (*leg.* ληνοβατῶ) ῥῆμα· λήρος [sscr. delirus] (και) ληρωδία [sscr. deliratio] ἡ φλυαρία [sscr. nuge]· λήχω τὸ λαγχάνω· ληΐς [sscr. spoliolum abductio] ἡ λαφυραγωγία· [sscr. lippiditas] ἡ τζύμβλα [sscr. lippiditas]· ληκῶ [sscr. excecō] ῥῆμα τὸ τυφλώττω [sscr. excecō]· Λήμνος [sscr. Lemnos insula] νῆσος· (και) Λήμνιος [sscr. lemnus] ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς Λήμνου· λήκυθος [sscr. lechythus vas ad oleum] τὸ ἐλαιοδόχον ἀγγεῖον [sscr. vas]· ὁ (και) ληκύθιον γράφεται· λήγω [sscr. desino] τὸ παύω, (και) λῆξις [sscr. desinentia] ἡ παύσις (*leg.* παῦσις) [sscr. pausa]· λήμμα (*leg.* λῆμμα) [sscr. donum] τὸ δῶρον [sscr. donum]· λήσταρχος [sscr. princeps latronum] ὁ τῶν ληστῶν ἄρχων, **(και) τὰ ὅμοια**· δίφθογγα δὲ ταῦτα· λείον τὸ ὁμαλόν· (και) λεία (*leg.* λεία) ἡ ὁμαλή· λειαίνω τὸ ὁμαλίζω· λείπω [sscr. deficio] τὸ καταλιμπάνω, ἐξ οὗ (και) λειποτάκτης· λειμὸς [sscr. defectio] ἡ λείψις [sscr. defectio]· λειποψυχῶ· λείφαιμος [sscr. defectio sanguinis] ἡ τοῦ αἵματος λείψις· λείπομαι· λείμαξ (*leg.* λείμαξ) [sscr. ortus] ὁ κήπος [sscr. ortus] **(και) κλίνεται**· λείμακος· λείβω [sscr. stillō] τὸ στάζω· λειμῶν [sscr. viridarium]· λειμῶνος· λειχὴν λειχῆνος ἡ **λεγόμενη λειχία**· λείρια [sscr. flores] τὰ ἄνθη· (και) λειριόεσσα (*post corr.* ε λειριόεσσα)· φωνὴ ἡ ἄνθηρ· λείζουρος [sscr. canis]· κύων· λείψανον [sscr. reliquie] ἡ ἀπομονή· λείμμα [sscr. residuum] τὸ κατάλειμμα [sscr. residuum]· λειβήθριοι [sscr. stulti] ἄνδρες μωροί· λειοκύμων [sscr. mare tacitum] θάλασσα ἡ ἥσυχος· λειψυδρία [sscr. inaquositas] ἡ ἀνυδρία [sscr. inaquositas]· λεία ἡ λαφυραγωγία [sscr. spoliolum abductio]· λιπόσαρκος (και) λιπόκρεως ὁ λειπόμενος σαρκῶν (και) κρεῶν, **(και) τὰ ὅμοια**·

παῖδα ἢ εὐθεῖα, ἢ παῖς **(και)** κλίνεται τῆς παιδός· ἡ αἰτιατική, τὴν παῖδα·
ἦν **(και)** ἦντινα τὸ ἦν, ἦ· **διατί (και) ἔμαθες**

ὤμευνέται ἐστὶ ῥῆμα **συζυγί(ας)** πρώτης τῶν περισπωμ(έν)ων· **(και) κανονίζεται οὕτ(ως)**· ὤμευνετέω ὤμευνετώ [sscr. condormio vel dormio cum vel simul dormio]· **(και)** ὁ παρατατικός, ὤμευνέτεον ὤμευνέτουν· ὤμευνέτεες, ὤμευνέτεϊς· ὤμευνέτεε, ὤμευνέται· **(και) γράφεται** μέγα **(και)** δίφθογγ(ον)· **σημείωσαι δὲ (και) οὕτ(ως)**· ὤμευνέτης ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ ἀρσενικοῦ, ἦ· **(και) κλίνεται** ὤμευνέτου· ὥς τὸ Χρύσης Χρύσου· ὤμευνέτης γυνὴ ἐπὶ θηλυκοῦ, ἰῶτα· **(και) κλίνεται** ὤμευνέτιδος· ὥς τὸ μῆνις μῆνιδος· ὤμευνέταις δὲ ῥῆμα ἀντὶ τοῦ συνεκοιμῶ, μέγα **(και)** δίφθογγ(ον)· **καὶ κανονίζεται οὕτως (ὥς) εἵπομ(εν)**· τὸ $\bar{\nu}\epsilon$, ψιλόν· **διατί**· τὰ διὰ τοῦ ετῆς ἀρσενικά, διὰ τοῦ $\bar{\epsilon}$ ψιλοῦ γράφεται· **οἶον**, εὐχέτης [sscr. orator] ὁ εὐχόμενος· **μασαγέτης** [sscr. masageta populus]· οἰκέτης [sscr. servus] ὁ δοῦλος· **ικέτης** [sscr. pauper] ὁ πτωχός· **ικέτ(ης)** ὁ παρακλητὴρ [sscr. consolator]· **ἔτης** [sscr. civis] ὁ πολίτης, **(και) τὰ ὅμοια** αἵτης [sscr. mendicus] δὲ ὁ πτωχός· **(και)** ἐπαίτης [sscr. mendicus] **(και)** προσαίτης [sscr. mendicus], δίφθογγα·

Νομίμως [sscr. legaliter] **ποίου μέρ(ους) λόγου ἐστίν** ἐπιρρήματος· τὸ $\bar{\nu}\omicron$, μικρόν· **διατί**· πᾶσα λέξις ἀπὸ τῆς $\bar{\nu}\omicron$ συλλαβῆς ἀρχομένη, διὰ τοῦ \bar{o} μικροῦ γράφεται, **(και) ἔμαθες**· τὸ μῶς, μέγα· **διατί**· τὰ εἰς ὥς ἐπιρρήματα **καὶ προεγράφη**·

Μενέλαος(ς) ὄνομα ἀρσενικόν· τὸ $\bar{o}\varsigma$, μικρόν· **διατί**· τὰ εἰς $\bar{o}\varsigma$ ἀρσενικά **(και)** θηλυκά· **(και) ἄλλως** Μενέλαος μικρόν· Μενέλεως δὲ, μέγα·

ἥρπακώς **κανόνισον** ἀρπάζω [sscr. rapio] ὁ μέλλων ἀρπάσῃ· ὁ παρακείμενος, ἥρπακα· ἡ μετοχή, ὁ ἥρπακ(ώς)· τὸ $\bar{\eta}\rho$, ἦ· **διατί**· κατὰ τροπὴν τοῦ $\bar{\alpha}$ εἰς $\bar{\eta}$ · τὸ $\bar{\kappa}\omega\varsigma$, μέγα· **διατί**· αἱ εἰς ὥς μετοχαὶ ὀξύνονται **(και)** διὰ τοῦ $\bar{\omega}$ μεγάλου γράφονται·

οἰκεία λέγεται ἡ πατρίς [sscr. patria]· **Τὸ $\bar{\kappa}\epsilon\acute{\iota}$, δίφθογγ(ον)· διατί**· οἰκεία ἢ π(ατ)ρίς· **(και)** οἰκεία ἢ ἰδία, δίφθογγ(ον)· οἰκία [sscr. habitatio] τὸ οἶκημα [sscr. habitatio], $\bar{\iota}$ οἰκῆα [sscr. servus] δὲ τὸν δοῦλον **ἰωνικῶς, ἦ· (και) ἔστ(ιν) ἢ εὐθεῖα**, ὁ οἰκεὺς [sscr. servus] τοῦ οἰκέως ἢ αἰτιατική, τὸν οἰκέα· **(και)** κατὰ τροπὴν τοῦ $\bar{\epsilon}$ εἰς $\bar{\eta}$, οἰκῆα·

ῶχετο [sscr. ivit vel abiit] **κανόνισον** οἶχω [sscr. vado vel abeo] τὸ πορεύομαι· **(και)** τὸ παθητικ(όν), οἶχομαι· **(και)** ὁ παρατατικός, ὥχομην· ὥχου, ὥχετο· τὸ $\bar{\omega}$ μέγα· **διατί**· τὸ δὲ \bar{o} , εἰς $\bar{\omega}$ μέγα **τρέπεται** ἐν τοῖς παρωχημένοις μένοντος **(και)** τοῦ $\bar{\iota}$ προσγεγραμμένου·

ἄγων, **ποίου μέρ(ους) λόγου ἐστὶ** μετοχῆς· **(και) κανονίζεται οὕτως** ἄγω **(και)** ἡ μετοχή, ὁ ἄγων·

τὴν Ἥλιον ἢ εὐθεΐα, ἢ Ἥλιος (post corr. ex Ἥλιος) (και) κλίνεται τῆς Ἥλιου· ἢ αἰτιατική, τὴν Ἥλιον· Τὸ ἰ, ἱ διατί· (και) ἔμαθες εἰς τὸ εἰλήσας (και) ἄλλως ἥλιος [sscr. sol] ὁ λάμπων, ἡ (και) ἱ Ἥλιος [sscr. Troia] δὲ ἡ Τροία, ἰῶτα τὰ δύο·

κεκλημένην κανόνισον· κλῶ [sscr. voco] τὸ καλῶ [sscr. voco], ὁ μέλλων κλήσω· ὁ παρακείμενος κέκληκα· ὁ παθητικός, κέκλημαι· ἡ μετοχή, ὁ κεκλημένος, (και) ἔμαθες (και) αὐτό·

ὠνομασμένην κανόνισον· ὀνομάζω [sscr. nomino] συζυγίας τετάρτης τῶν βαρυτόνων· ὁ μέλλων, ὀνομάσω· ὁ παρακείμενος, ὠνόμακα· ὁ παθητικός, ὠνόμαμαι· ἡ μετοχή, ὁ ὠνομασμένος (post corr. ex ὠνομασμένον)· τὸ ῶ, μέγα· διατί· οἰκεῖον τὸ ὀ τὸ μικρόν, μεταβληθῆναι εἰς ῶ μέγα· σημειῶσαι δὲ (και) οὕτ(ως)· ὀνομαζόμενος μικρόν· ὠνομασμένος δὲ, μέγα·

Πολλοῖς ἢ εὐθεΐα, ὁ πολὺς τοῦ πολλοῦ· ἡ δοτική τῶν πληθυντικών, τοῖς πολλοῖς γράφεται δὲ (και) ψιλ(ὸν) ἐπὶ εὐθείας τῶν ἐνικῶν ὁ πολὺς·

ὀλέθρου ἢ εὐθεΐα, ὁ ὀλεθρος τὸ ὀ, μικρόν· διατί· ὀλεθρος (και) ὀλέθριος (και) ὀλεθρεύω [sscr. disperdo vel interimo] ῥῆμα (και) ὀλοθρευτής [sscr. interemptor], μικρά· τὰ δὲ παρὰ τὸ ὀλεθρος ἐν συνθέσει γινόμενα εἰ μ(έν) ἔχουσι τὴν πρὸ τοῦ ῶ συλλαβὴν βραχεΐαν, διὰ τοῦ ῶ μεγάλου γράφεται· οἶον, ἀνώλεθρος· ἐπώλεθρος· βροτώλεθρος· πανώλεθρος· πανωλεθρία· κατώλεθρος, (και) τὰ ὅμοια· εἰ δὲ μακράν, διὰ τοῦ ὀ μικροῦ· οἶον, ψωμόλεθρος· σιτόλεθρος (και) ψυχόλεθρος·

αἴτιος τὸ αἰ, δίφθογγον [(και) τὸ ἰ ἰῶτα in marg.] διατί· τὰ διὰ τοῦ αἴτιος ὑπαίτιος· παραίτιος· (και) αἰτία ἡ ἀφορμή (και) αἰτιατὸν τὸ μεμπτόν [sscr. querulum]· (και) αἰτιατική· (και) αἰτιῶμαι ῥῆμα, δίφθογγ(ον) (και) ἰῶτα· ἔτειος [sscr. temporaneus] δὲ ὁ χρόνιος [sscr. temporaneus], ψιλὸν (και) δίφθογγον· ἐτήσιον δὲ ψιλὸν (και) ἡ·

⟨ἐ⟩γεγόνει ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐγένετο· κανόνισον· γένω ὃ (και) γίνω γράφεται· ὁ παρακείμενος γέγονα· ὁ ὑπερσυντέλικος, ἐγεγόνειν· ἐγεγόνεις, ἐγεγόνει· σημειῶσαι ὅτι ἐγεγόνει [sscr. fiat] ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐγένετο, μικρ(ὸν)· ἐγεγώνει [sscr. clamavit] δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐβόησε, μέγα· (και) κανονίζεται οὕτως φωνῶ καὶ τροπῇ (leg. τροπῇ) τοῦ φ εἰς γ, γωνῶ· ὁ παρακείμενος, γέγονα· ὁ ὑπερσυντέλικος, ἐγεγόνειν· ἐγεγόνεις· ἐγεγώνει

APPENDIX III

TRANSCRIPTION OF ANONYMOUS, *SCHEDĒ* A AND B FROM CODD. *VAT. GR.* 18 AND 1953, AND *PAL. GR.* 92

Schedos A is transmitted in two versions in codd. *Vat. gr.* 18, f. 53^r (**Vg**) and *Vat. gr.* 1953, ff. 63^r-64^r (**Vh**), respectively. Though **Vg** and **Vh** transmit the same *schedos* A (inc. Μίμησαι τὸν μύρμηκα ..., des. θησαυρίζων ἔσο ἀεὶ), **Vh** gives a more extensive analysis.¹ *Schedos* B (inc. Οἱ περὶ λόγον σπουδάζοντες ..., des. καὶ ἐκθειάζονται) is contained in codd. *Vat. gr.* 18, f. 62^v (**Vg**) and *Vat. Pal. gr.* 92, f. 107^v (**Vi**) with some variations in the text, as **Vi** gives no analysis for this *schedos*. In order to highlight these variations a parallel transcription with interlinear notes in smaller font is given below.

1 Cf. the transcription of the *schedos* A in Debiasi Gonzato, 'Osservazioni', pp. 122-25 as preserved in three codices *Marc. gr.* XI, 16, f. 17^{r-v}, *Marc. gr.* IX, 14, ff. 10^v-11^r and *Neapol. Branc. gr.* IV A 5, f. 116^r, where we can see variations in the analysis of the *schedos*.

Anonymous, Schedos A**Vg** = *Vat. gr.* 18, f. 53^r

τί ποιῆσαι τίνα ποδαπὲ (καὶ) (καὶ) ὦ νέε κ(αὶ) καθώσπερ τίς ἦ(γουν)
 (καὶ) ζήλωσον ῥάθυμε ὁ μύρμηξ

Μίμησαι τὸν μύρμηκα ὦ ὀκνηρὲ νεανία· καὶ ὥσπερ ἐκεῖν(ος)

τί ποιεῖ (καὶ) τί ποιεῖν τίνος τίνα (καὶ) ἄλλο τί ποιεῖν
 σπουδάζει (καὶ) συνάγειν

σπεύδει συλλέγειν τὴν τοῦ χειμῶνος τροφ(ήν) καὶ θησαυρίζ(ειν)

τίνος τίνων ποῦ (καὶ) (καὶ) κ(α)τὰ τοιοῦτον κ(αὶ) τίς ποῦ (καὶ) ποίου
 ἔσωθεν τ(ὸν) τρόπον ἔσωθεν

τῶν τῆς γῆς κόλπων ἔσω, οὕτω καὶ σὺ ἐντὸς τοῦ σοῦ

τίνος τὰ τί ποιούμε(εν)α τίνι τίνα (καὶ) (καὶ) ἄλλα τίνα
 (καὶ) τὰ διδασκόμε(εν)α τὰ λόγια

νοὸς τὰ ἐκδιδόμενά σοι ῥησεῖδια καὶ λεξεῖδια

τί ποιῶν (καὶ) ὑπαρχε πότε
 (καὶ) πάντοτε

θησαυρίζων ἔσο ἀεὶ:~

Μίμησαι κανόνισον: μιμέω μιμῶ ὁ μέλλων μιμήσω· ὁ ἀό(ριστ)(ος) ἐμίμησα· καὶ ὁ μέσος προστακτικ(ός), μίμησαι· τὸ μι· **διατί**: μίσος· μίασμα· μιαρ(ός) καὶ μιμοῦμαι, ἰῶτα· [+ in textu et in marg. σαχρός (?): μικρός· πικρός (καὶ) πενιχρός· ἀύληχρός δὲ ὁ ἀσθενής· η·] τὸσαι· δίφ(θογγ)ον· **διατί**: διὸ καὶ διὰ διφ(θόγγ)ου γρ(άφετ)αι· ἔλουσα λοῦσαι· ἦσπασα ἄσπασαι· ἔτυψα τύψαι·.

ὁ γοητί(ας)· ὁ τραυματίας· ὁ νεανί(ας)· ἐπὶ μ(έν) ἀρσενικοῦ, ἰῶτα· ἐπὶ δὲ θηλυκοῦ, δ(ί)φ(θογγ)ον· καὶ ἐπὶ μ(έν) ἀρσενικοῦ· **ἔστιν ἢ εὐθεΐα** ὁ νεανίας τοῦ νεανίου· ὁ γοητίας, τοῦ γοητίου· ὁ τραυματί(ας) τοῦ τραυματίου· ὁ ἀλαζονί(ας) τοῦ ἀλαζονίου ὁ οἰηματίας, τοῦ οἰηματίου· ὡς ὁ κοχλ(ίας) τοῦ κοχλίου ἐπὶ (δὲ) θηλυκοῦ δ(ί)φ(θογγ)ον· **ἔστιν ἢ εὐθεΐα**, ἢ νεανεία τῆς νεανεί(ας)· ἢ γοητεία, τῆς γοητείας· ἢ τραυματεία, τῆς τραυματείας· ἢ ἀλαζονεία, τῆς ἀλαζονείας· ἢ οἰματεία τῆς οἰματείας, **κ(αὶ) ἕτερα τούτοις ὅμοια**·

χειμῶν χειμῶν(ος) κ(αὶ) λειμῶν λειμῶν(ος), δίφ(θογγ)ον κ(αὶ) μέγα· χιὼν χιόν(ος), ι κ(αὶ) μικρ(όν)· χιτῶν δὲ χιτῶνος, ι καὶ μέγα·

Vh = *Vat. gr.* 1953, ff. 63^r-64^r

Μίμησαι τὸν μύρμηκα ὦ ὀκνηρὲ ^{ῥάθυμε} νεανία· ^{παῖ} καὶ ὥσπερ ^{καθὰ} ἐκεῖνος ^{ὁ μύρμηξ}

^{σπουδάζει} ^{συνάγειν} σπεύδει ^{ἀποτιθέναι} συλλέγειν τὴν τοῦ || χειμῶνος τροφήν, καὶ θησαυρίζειν

^{κοίλωμα} ^{τῶν ἐντὸς} τῶν τῆς γῆς κόλπων ἔσω, οὕτω καὶ σὺ

^{ἀπαγελλόμενα} ^{μικρὰς λέξεις} τὰ ἐκδιδόμενά σοι ῥησεῖδια καὶ λεξεῖδια

θησαυρίζων ἔσο αἰ:~

Μίμησαι κανόνισον μιμέομαι μιμοῦμαι· ἀπὸ ἀχρήστου θέματος τοῦ μιμέω μιμῶ· ὁ μέλλων μιμήσομαι· ὁ μέσος ἐμιμησάμην· κ(αὶ) τὸ προστακτικὸν, μίμησαι·

τέσσαρες εἰσὶν ὥραι τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ· ἔαρ· θέρος· φθινόπωρον· καὶ χειμῶν· καὶ ἔαρ μὲν γίνεται, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔω τὸ πέμπω· ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ (*leg.* αὐτῷ) ἐκπέμπονται οἱ καρποὶ τῶν φυτῶν· θέρος (δὲ) ἀπὸ τοῦ θέρω τὸ θερμαίνω· φθινόπωρον δὲ, παρὰ τὸ φθίνειν ἐν αὐτῷ (*leg.* αὐτῷ) τὰς ὁπώρας ἡγουν φθεῖρεσθαι· χειμῶν δὲ, ἀπὸ τοῦ χέω, χειμῶν κ(αὶ) χειμῶν ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ (*leg.* αὐτῷ) ἢ τῶν ὑδάτων γίνεται χύσις·

τροφή γίνεται παρὰ τὸ τρέφω κατὰ τροπὴν τοῦ εἰς ὄ:

Vg = *Vat. gr.* 18, f. 53^r

ἔσω ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔσωθεν· ἐπίρρημα τοπικ(όν), ψιλ(όν)· καὶ μέγα· ἔσο ἀντὶ τοῦ ὕπαρχε, ψιλ(όν) καὶ μικρ(όν)· **καὶ κανονίζεται οὕτως** ἔω τὸ ὑπάρχω ὁ μέλλων ἔσω· ὁ παρακείμε(εν)ος, ἦκα· ὁ παθητικ(ός), ἦσμαι· ὁ ὑπερσυντέλικος, ἦσμην ἦσο· κ(αὶ) τὸ προστακτικ(όν), ἔσο· αἶσω ῥῆμα ἀντὶ τοῦ καύσω, δίφ(θογγ)ον καὶ μέγα· **καὶ κανονίζεται οὕτ(ως)**· αἶθω τὸ καίω, ὁ μέλλων αἶσω: ~

Vh = *Vat. gr.* 1953, ff. 63^r-64^r

θησαυρίζω· θησαυρίζεις· θησαυρίζει· κ(αὶ) τὸ ἀπαρέμφατον, θησαυρίζειν· τὸ ρι, ῖ· τὰ διὰ τοῦ ῖζω ῥήματα, διὰ τοῦ ῖ γρ(άφετ)αι· τὸ δανείζω μόνον δ(ί)φ(θογγ)ον· κ(αὶ) τὸ χρήζω διὰ τοῦ ῆ·

ἔσω ἐπίρρημά ἐστι τοπικὸν· ὁ ποιητικῶς λέγεται, εἴσω· **ἀπὸ** γὰρ τῆς εἰς προθέσεως **γίνεται** κατὰ ἀφαίρεσιν τοῦ ῖ· τὸ σω, μέγα· ἔσω ἐπίρρημα τοπικόν, μέγα· ἔσο δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ ὑπαρχε, μικρ(όν)·

ἐκδιδόμενα **κανόνισον**· ἐκδίδωμι. κ(αὶ) τὸ παθητικ(όν), ἐκδίδομαι· κ(αὶ) ἡ μετοχή, ὁ ἐκδιδόμενος· ἡ ἐκδιδομένη· τὸ ἐκδιδόμενον· ἡ αἰτιατική τῶν πληθυντικῶν, τὰ ἐκδιδόμενα· ἰστέον δὲ· ὅτι τὸ δίδωμι, αἰ μετὰ δοτικῆς συντάσσεται·

ῥησείδιον, ὄνομά ἐστιν ὑποκοριστικόν· τὸ σῆι, δ(ί)φ(θογγ)ον· τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς ᾱ κ(αὶ) εἰς ῆ θηλυκῶν, κ(αὶ) τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς ὄς οὐδετέρων διὰ τοῦ ἰδίων γινόμενα οὐδέτερα ὑποκοριστικά, διὰ τοῦ ῖ γρ(άφετ)αι· **οἶον** μοῖρα, μοιρίδιον· ἑταῖρα ἑταιρίδιον· πύλη πυλίδιον· ψυχὴ, ψυχίδιον· **πλήν τοῦ** γήδιον, τὸ χωράφιον διὰ τοῦ ῆ· ξίφος· ξιφίδιον· νόσος νοσίδιον κ(αὶ) ἕτερα· τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς ῖς θηλυκῶν διὰ τοῦ ῆως κλινομένων, διὰ τοῦ εἰδιον γινόμενα, διὰ τῆς εἰ δ(ι)φ(θόγγ)ου γρ(άφετ)αι· **οἶον** ῥῆσις ῥήσεως ῥησείδιον· λέξις λέξεως λεξείδιον· κ(αὶ) ἕτερα·

θησαυρίζων ἔσο, περιφραστικῶς, ἀντὶ τοῦ θησαύριζε λέγεται·

ἔσο **κανόνισον**· εἰμὶ τὸ ὑπάρχω· κ(αὶ) ὁ παρατατικός, ἦν· ἡ μετοχὴ εἷς ἔντος· κ(αὶ) τὸ προστακτικὸν ἔθι· κ(αὶ) κατὰ μεταπλασμόν, ἔσο· τροπή (*leg.* τροπή) τοῦ θι, εἰς σθ· τὸ (τρίτ)ον, ἔτω· ὁ κ(αὶ) ἦτω κ(αὶ) ἔστω λέγεται· ~

Anonymous, Schedos BVg = Vat. gr. 18, f. 62^v

περὶ τίνα οἱ τί ποιοῦντ(ες) (και) ποτὲ ποδαπ(ήν)
(και) πονοῦντες

Οἱ περὶ λόγον σπουδάζοντες, οὐδέποτε ἀργήν ὀφεί-

τί ποιοῦσιν (και) ἄλλ(ην) ποδαπ(ήν) τί ποιεῖν τίνα (και) (και) πάντοτε
ζωήν

λουσι καὶ ῥάθυμον ἀσπάξεσθαι βιοτήν· ἀλλ' αἰ

τό τί τί ποιεῖν τὸ τί (και) τί ποι(εῖν)

τὸ μανθάνειν ἀγαπᾶν καὶ τὸ παίζειν, μισεῖν καὶ

τίνων ἐν τίσι (και) πῶς τί ποιεῖν
ταῖς ἑορταῖς

ταῖς τῶν ἀγίων μνήμας, λογικῶς πανηγυρίζειν καὶ

(και) ἄλλο τί ποιεῖν διάγ(ειν) δηλονότ(ι) πῶς (και) ἄλλ(ως) πῶς (και)
δίκ(ην) νηπίου

ἐπευφραίνεσθαι· ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀσέμνως καὶ νηπιωδῶς

(και) κ(α)ταιοῦτον τί ποιοῦντες πῶς (και) ἐν τίνι τίνων τί ποιοῦνται
τ(ὸν) τρόπον δι' ὀλίγου (και) τῇ μοίρα (και) τάττονται

οὕτω γὰρ ποιοῦντες διαταχέος ἐν αἴση σοφῶν καταριθμοῦνται

(και) ἄλλο τί ποιοῦνται

(και) θαυμάζονται

καὶ ἐκθειάζονται: ~ + + +

ἀργεῖν ῥῆμα ἀπαρέμφατον ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀπρακτεῖν, δ(ί)φ(θογγ)ον· ἀργήν (δὲ) βιοτήν
ὄνομα θηλυκὸν ἢ εὐθεῖα ἢ ἀργή καὶ κλίνεται τῆς ἀργῆς ἢ αἰτιατική τ(ήν) ἀργήν, ἡ·

βίος καὶ βιοτή ἢ ζωή· καὶ βιοτεύω ῥῆμα τὸ ζῶ· μικρ(όν)· ἀβίωτ(ος) (δὲ) καὶ
μακροβίωτ(ος) καὶ βιωτικ(ός) καὶ βιώσιμος, καὶ βιωτὴ ζωὴ ἢ βεβιωμ(έν)η (-εβ- post
cog. ex -ιω-), μεγάλη·

πανήγυρις γίνεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ πᾶς παντὸς καὶ τοῦ ἀγείρω τὸ συναθροίζω εἰς ἣν πάντες,
συναθροίζονται· σημείωσαι (δὲ) ὅτι πανήγυρις, καὶ ὁμήγυρις, ἡ καὶ ψιλὸν·

βραχέ(ως) καὶ ταχέ(ως), μεγάλη· διαβραχέος δὲ καὶ διαταχέ(ος), μικρά·

θειάζω ῥῆμα τὸ θαυμάζω δ(ί)φ(θογγ)ον· θίασος δὲ ὁ χορ(ός) καὶ θιασώτης ὁ συγχο-
ρευτής, ἡ καὶ ἑμαθ(ες) εἰς τὸ σχεδोगραφεῖν (cf. supra, f. 27^r): ~

Vi = *Vat. Pal. gr.* 92, f. 107^v

Οἱ περὶ λόγον σπουδάζοντες, οὐδέποτε σχολάζειν

ὀφείλουσιν· ἀλλὰ αἰεὶ τὸ πονεῖν ἀσπάζεσθαι, καὶ

τὸ ἰδίειν οὐκ ἀπαναινέσθαι. καὶ ταῖς ἀγίαις μνήμαις

τῶν ἁγίων, λογικῶς πανηγυρίζειν καὶ ἐπευφραίνεσθ(αι)·

οὕτω γὰρ ποιοῦντες, διαταχέος αἴση σοφῶν

κ(α)ταριθμοῦνται· καὶ πᾶσιν ἐπαινοῦντ(αι) καὶ ἐκθειάζοντ(αι)+

APPENDIX IV

MANUEL MOSCHOPOULOS'S GRAMMATICAL SOURCES IN HIS ΠΕΡΙ ΣΧΕΔΩΝ AS EDITED BY STEPHANUS

Περὶ σχεδῶν

Sources

Stephanus, p. 8. 5-15

Aelios Herodianos and Ps.-Herodianos, *Partitiones*, pp. 178.5-179.4:

Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ἱστος προπαροξύτονα διὰ τοῦ ι γράφονται οἶον· ἄριστος· βέλτιστος· χεῖριστος· ἔχθιστος· οἴκτιστος· καὶ τὰ λοιπά. Πλὴν τοῦ εὐχρηστος, ὁ χρησιμεύων· δύσ-χρηστος, κακόχρηστος· καὶ τὰ λοιπά· ἄληστος, ὁ ἀληθινός. Ἄχριστος δὲ ὁ ἀνάλιπτος, διὰ τοῦ ἰῶτα γράφεται. Εὐπείστος δὲ, δύσπείστος, ἄσειστος, καὶ εὐκλειστος ὁ ἀσφάλιστος, διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου γράφεται. Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ἱστος ὀξύτονα διὰ τοῦ ἰῶτα γράφονται· οἶον· πιστός· ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ, ὁ ἀληθινὸς Θεὸς ἡμῶν, καὶ ὁ Βασιλεύς· ἰστὸς, τὸ κατάρτιον, καὶ τὸ ἰστάριον· οἴστος, τὸ βέλος· καὶ τὰ λοιπά. Πλὴν τοῦ χρηστὸς, ὁ ἀγαθός· ἥστος, ὁ εὐφραντός· καὶ Σηστὸς, πόλις. Σειστὸς, καὶ σειόμενος· καὶ κλειστὸς, ὁ ἡσφαλισμένος· δίφθογγα.

Stephanus, p. 21. 20-22

Aelios Herodianos and Ps.-Herodianos, *De prosodia catholica*, p. 525.27-31:

Τὰ εἰς ας ἀρσενικὰ βαρύτονα εἴτε ὀνόματα εἴτε μετοχαὶ ἐκτείνονται, Αἴας, Θόας, Δρύας, Αἰνείας, λέξας, γράψας, ποιήσας. σεσημείωται τὸ μέγας ἐπίθετον καὶ τὸ «λᾶας ἀναιδής» (λ 598). τὸ «δουρὶ δὲ ξυστῶ μέμνηεν Αἴας» (Alcmanis) καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα κατὰ διάλεκτον, «δῆσας ἀλυκτοπέδησι» (Theogn. 521).

Stephanus, pp. 9. 15-10.1

Georgios Choroiboskos, *Epimerismi in Psalmos*, pp. 3.25-4.3:

τὰ δι' αὐτοῦ (διὰ τοῦ) ΕΩ ῥήματα δισύλλαβα ὄντα ἐπὶ δευτέρου καὶ τρίτου προσώπου συναίρεσιν οὐκ ἐπίδε-

χόμενα διὰ τῆς ΑΙ διφθόγγου γράφεται, οἶον κλαίω, παίω, ναίω. Οὕτως οὖν καὶ τὸ καίω· τὸ δὲ πλέω καὶ ῥέω καὶ χέω καὶ τὰ ὅμοια διὰ τοῦ Ε ψιλοῦ γράφεται, ὅτι κατὰ τὸ δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον πρόσωπον συναίρεσιν ἐπιδέχονται, οἶον χέω χέεις χεῖς, ῥέω ῥέεις ῥεῖς, πλέω πλέεις πλεῖς. Καίω καύσω· πόθεν ἔχει τὸ Υ; Ἐφ' ὧν οἱ Ἀττικοὶ ἀποβάλλουσι τὸ Ι κατὰ τὸν ἐνεστώτα, πλεονάζουσι τὸ Υ κατὰ τὸν μέλλοντα, κλαίω κλαύσω, καίω καύσω· καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτων ἀποβάλλοντες τὸ Ι κατὰ τὸν ἐνεστώτα κλάω καὶ κάω λέγουσι.

Stephanus, p. 20. 12-19

Georgios Choireboskos, *Prolegomena et scholia in Theodosii Alexandrini canones isagogicos de flexione verborum*, pp. 49.26-50.33:

Ἰστέον τοίνυν ὅτι τούτων τῶν ια' διφθόγγων αὐται μὲν μόναι αἱ τρεῖς τρέπονται κατὰ τοὺς παρωχημένους· καὶ ἡ μὲν αὖ διφθογγος τρέπει τὸ α εἰς η, οἶον αἰσχύνομαι ἡσχυνόμην, αἰκίζομαι ἡκιζόμην, αἰτῶ ἤτουν· ἡ δὲ αὖ διφθογγος τρέπει καὶ αὐτὴ τὸ α εἰς η, οἶον αὐλῶν ἡύλουν, αὖξω ἡύξον, αὐχῶ ἡύχουν, αὐτομολῶ ἡύτομόλουν, αὐδῶ ἡύδων, (Α 92) καὶ ἡ ὕδα μάγντις ἀμύμων· καὶ ἡ οὖν διφθογγος τρέπει τὸ ο εἰς ω, οἶον οἴχομαι ὠχόμην, οἴγω ὠγον, οἰκῶ ὠκουν, οἰκοδομῶ ὠκοδόμουν, οἰκονομῶ ὠκονόμουν, οἶνοχοῶ ὠνοχόουν καὶ ἐν πλεονασμῷ τοῦ ε ἔωνοχόουν, ἐξ οὗ γίνεται τὸ τρίτον πρόσωπον παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ (Δ 2) μετὰ δέ σφισι πότνια Ἥβη Νέκταρ ἔωνοχόει. Διὰ τοῦτο (ἐν) τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς οὖν διφθόγγου ἀρχομένοις σημειούμεθά τινα μὴ τρέψαντα τὸ ο εἰς τὸ ω κατὰ τοὺς παρωχημένους· ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα, οἶον (οἰῶ) οἰώθη, ἔστι δὲ τὸ ἐμονώθη, (Α 401) οἰώθη δ' Ὀδυσσεύς, (Ζ 1) Τρώων δ' οἰώθη καὶ Ἀχαιῶν φύλοπις αἰνὴ· οἰμῶ οἴμησε, (Χ 308) οἴμησεν δὲ ἀλείς, σημαίνει δὲ οἴμησε τὸ ὥρμησεν, οἶμος γὰρ ἡ ὁδός, τὸ δὲ ἀλείς τὸ συσταλείς οἶνῳ οἶνουν (π 292. τ 11), μὴ πως οἶνωθέντες, τουτέστι μεθυσθέντες, καὶ ἐκ τούτου παράγω γον οἰνίζω οἰνίζον, (Η 472) ἔκ τ' ἄρα οἰνίζοντο, τουτέστιν οἶνον ἐλάμβανον· ἔστι δὲ καὶ τὸ οἰστῶ οἰστρησεν, οἰστρησε δὲ ἔστι τὸ ἐρωτικῶς ἐμάνη· ἔστι δὲ καὶ τὸ οἶωνίζομαι οἶωνιζόμην, καὶ τὰ παρὰ τὸ οἶωνός, οἶον οἶωνοσκοπῶ οἶωνοσκόπουν, (οἶωνοπολῶ) οἶωνοπόλουν· ἔστι δὲ καὶ τὸ οἰακίζω οἰακίζον οἰακίζομην

(σημαίνει δὲ τὸ κρατεῖν τὸν οἶακα) καὶ <τὰ> παρὰ τὸ οἶαξ, οἶον οἰακονομῶ οἰακονόμουν, οἰακοστροφῶ οἰακοστρόφουν. Τινὲς δὲ προστιθέασι καὶ τὸ οἰδαίνω οἰδαινον καὶ τὸ οἰκουρῶ οἰκούρουν καὶ τὸ οἰμῶζω οἰμωζον <κατ' ἄλλους δὲ> ὠκούρουν καὶ ὠμωζον δεῖ λέγειν, καὶ παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ ἐν Τραχινίαις <932> ἰδὼν δ' ὁ παῖς ὠμωξε, καὶ παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ <Ο 397> ὠμωξέν τ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα καὶ ὦ πεπλήγετο μηρῷ. Ταῦτα δέ, φημι δὴ τὰ μὴ τρέποντα τὸ ο εἰς τὸ ω κατὰ τὸν παρωχημένον, ἢ δι' εὐφωνίαν, ὡς φασί τινες, οὐκ ἔτρεψαν τὸ ο εἰς τὸ ω, ἢ Ἰωνικῶ ἔθει· οἱ γὰρ Ἴωνες πολλάκις συναρχομένους ποιοῦσι τοὺς παρωχημένους τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐνεστῶσιν, ἢ, ὅπερ κάλλιόν ἐστιν εἰπεῖν, ταῖς ἰδίαις μετοχαῖς, οἶον τύπτω ἔτυπτον, <Φ 20> τύπτε δ' ἐπιστροφάδην, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔτυπτε, καὶ πάλιν ἄγω ἦγον, ἄγεν δέ <ἐ> μοῖρα βαρεῖα, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἦγεν, καὶ πάλιν ἄπτομαι ἡπτόμην, <Ψ 666> ἄψατο δ' ἡμιόνων, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἦψατο· πρόσκειται δέ «ἢ, ὅπερ κάλλιόν ἐστιν εἰπεῖν, ταῖς ἰδίαις μετοχαῖς» διὰ τὸ εἵπεσκε· τοῦτο γὰρ οὐ συνάρχεται τῷ ἐνεστῶτι ἀλλὰ τῇ εἰπὼν μετοχῇ· ὁ γὰρ ἐνεστῶς ἔπω ἐστίν, ἐξ οὗ καὶ τὸ ἔννεπε. Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τούτοις. Αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι δίφθογγοι οὐ τρέπονται, ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ οὐρῶ οὐρουν, [...]

Stephanus, pp. 100.12-101.8

Ps.-Theodosios, *Περὶ γραμματικῆς*, pp. 70.17-71.2:

Τὰ εἰς ἰδιον ὑποκοριστικά ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς Α ἢ εἰς Η θηλυκῶν γινόμενα διὰ τοῦ Ι γράφονται οἶον μοῖρα μοιρίδιον ἐταῖρα ἐταιρίδιον, κλίνη κλινίδιον, πόρνη πορνίδιον. Ὁμοίως καὶ τὰ γινόμενα ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς ος οὐδετέρων, οἶον ξίφος ξιφίδιον. Οὕτω καὶ νῆσος νησίδιον. Ὅσα δὲ γίνονται ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς ΙΣ θηλυκῶν διὰ τοῦ εως ποιοῦνται τὴν γενικὴν τὴν ΕΙ δίφθογγον ἔχουσιν ἐπὶ τῆς προπαραληγουσῆς, οἶον θνήσις θνήσεως θνησείδιον, δάμαλις δαμάλεως δαμαλειίδιον, κτήσις κτήσεως κτησείδιον, τάξις τάξεως ταξείδιον, λέξις λέξεως λεξείδιον.

Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ιον ὑποκοριστικά εἴτε παροξύτονα εἴτε προπαροξύτονα, διὰ τοῦ Ι γράφονται, οἶον βιβλίον, θηρίον, ἀκάτιον, γραμμάτιον, τὸ γράμμα, γραμματεῖον δέ, ἐν ᾧ τὰ γράμματα γράφονται. Οὕτω καὶ διδασκάλιον τὸ μάθημα, διδασκαλεῖον δέ, ἐν ᾧ τὰ μαθήματα ἐρμηνεύονται ἀνθρώπιον, ἀργύριον.

Stephanus, p. 144. 15-22

Theognostos, *Canones sive De orthographia*, 365. 1-3:

Τὰ εἰς νος ὀξύτονα ἐπὶ καιροῦ διὰ τοῦ ι γράφεται· πρωϊ-
νός· ὀψινός· χθεσινός· περυσινός· δειλινός· μετοπωρινός·
χειμερινός· θερινός· ἔαρινός.

Section 362.1-4, Τὰ διὰ τοῦ η νος ὀξύτονα ἔθνικὰ διὰ
τοῦ η γράφονται· Αἰδεσηνός· Σαρακηνός· Ἀβυδηνός· Δα-
μασκηνός· Περγαμηνός· Λαμψακηνός· οἷς ὅμοιον καὶ τὸ
Γαληνός, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἔθνικόν ἀλλὰ κύριον. [...]

Stephanus, p. 125. 1-6

Thomas Magistros, *Ecloga nominum et verborum Atticorum*, 154.14:

Ἰστέον ὅτι τὰ τροχαϊκὰ ῥήματα περισπώμενα τὰ μὲν ἐν ταῖς
συνθέσεσι τῶν προθέσεων ἀναβιβάζει τὸν τόνον, οἷον
οἶσθα σύννοισθα, οἶδα σύννοιδα, κεῖμαι πρόσκειμαι, καὶ
ἕτερα· τὰ δὲ οὐκ ἀναβιβάζει, οἷον εἶπε κατεῖπεν, εἶχον
κατεῖχον.

APPENDIX V

MICHAEL LYGIZOS AND PALAEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF HIS MANUSCRIPTS CONTAINING THE *ILIAD*

In Chapter III of the study we examined the three MSS with Homer's *Iliad* copied by Michael Lygizos, reflecting the progressive steps of its teaching. Before giving a codicological and palaeographical description of these MSS, we shall attempt to identify Lygizos's place as a scribe and his contribution to the preservation and dissemination of Greek culture in his period.

So far, Lygizos has not attracted due attention by scholars, mainly because very little is known about his life.¹ He was born in Cydonia (Chania), Crete, sometime in the mid-fifteenth century. The earliest document we possess with Lygizos's hand is a receipt given to Georgios Kappadox in 1462.² At some stage Lygizos became a student of Michael Apostoles, then lived in Gortyna, as their correspondence indicates.³ Lygizos finally settled in Rethymnon. It has been suggested that in 1466/67 he visited Cyprus.⁴

Lygizos is known mainly as a scribe. The first signed MS he copied, in collaboration with others (*Vat. Urb. gr.* 117), bears the date 27 March 1464 while the last MS (*Vat. Ott. gr.* 206) with his subscription bears the date 4 May 1475.⁵ The Dublin, *Trinity College* MS 231 preserving a *Commentary on Thucydides* was copied for Georgios Bergikios.⁶ It is interesting that in his extant colophons Lygizos signs in three different ways: Μιχαήλ ὁ Λυγίζος, Μιχαήλ ὁ τοῦ Λυγγέως or Μιχαήλ ὁ τοῦ Λυγγεῦς.⁷ Further, in a letter

¹ For information on Lygizos see above, p. 93. See also *PLP*, 6 (1983), no. 15194, p. 220; *Repertorium*, I 282, II 386, III 465; S.P. Lampros, 'Σύμμικτα', *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων* 13 (1916), 359-68 at pp. 362-63; B. Laourdas, 'Κρητικά Παλαιογραφικά', *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 4.2 (1950), 233-56 at pp. 242-45; M. Wittek, 'Pour une étude du scriptorium de Michel Apostolès et consorts', *Scriptorium* 7 (1953), 290-97; P. Canart, 'Scribes grecs de la Renaissance. Additions et corrections aux répertoires de Vogel-Gardthausen et de Patrinélis', *Scriptorium* 17 (1963), 56-82 at p. 64.

² *PLP*, 6 (1983), p. 220.

³ H. Noiret, *Lettres inédites de Michel Apostolis* (Paris, 1889), p. 37.

⁴ *PLP*, 6 (1983), p. 220.

⁵ *Repertorium*, I.A, p. 152.

⁶ Laourdas, 'Κρητικά Παλαιογραφικά', 245.

⁷ E. Lobel, *The Greek Manuscripts of Aristotle's Poetics* (Oxford, 1933), p. 57.

to the priest Leon Argyros, Lygizos signed himself as Μιχαήλος ὁ Λυγγεύς.⁸ It is possible that the designation 'of Lyngheus' refers either to an as yet unidentified toponym, or most probably to the archaising form of his patronymic.⁹

So far, fourteen codices were identified to have been copied entirely by him, to which should now be added *Marc. gr. IX, 34* (coll. 1353) containing the *Odyssey*,¹⁰ and *Jerusal. Sancti Sepulchri* 163.¹¹ In addition, his hand has so far been identified in no less than forty-three MSS, in which he co-operated with other scribes.¹² To these codices we can now add *Lond. Lamb.* 2794 (ff. 1-2, 316-366),¹³ *Matr.* 4571 (ff. 2-80^v),¹⁴ and *Moden. Estens.* α.U.9.19 (f. 206^{r-v}).¹⁵ The presence of other identified scribes in the latter codices helps us to trace the circle of people with whom he co-operated. Apart from Michael Apostoles and Georgios Bergikios, his circle included other famous scribes and scholars who were active in Crete and Venice, among whom Konstantinos Laskares, Andronikos Kallistos, Demetrios Triboles, Georgios Tribizias, Demetrios Sgouropoulos, Ioannes Plousiadenos, Ioannes Rhosos, Georgios Tzaggaropoulos and Andreas Donos.¹⁶ As is well known most of them collaborated or were connected with cardinal Bessarion.¹⁷ It is indicative that Lygizos copied *Oxon. Barocc.* 165

⁸ Lampros, 'Σύμμικτα', 362; Laourdas, 'Κρητικά Παλαιογραφικά', 243.

⁹ On Lyngheus, son of Aphareus and brother of Idas see P. Grimal, ed., *The Dictionary of Classical Mythology*, trans. A.R. Maxwell-Hyslop (Oxford, 1986), p. 266 (with references).

¹⁰ See E. Mioni, *Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum: Codices graeci manuscripti*, vol. III: *Codices in classem novam decimam undecimam inclusos et supplementa duo continens* (Rome, 1973), pp. 31-32.

¹¹ A. Tselikas, *Θέματα Ελληνικής Παλαιογραφίας* (Athens, 2004), p. 133 with Pl. IE' (p. 152). For the description of this MS see A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 'Ἱεροσολυμιτική βιβλιοθήκη ἤτοι κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ ἀγιοτάτου ἀποστολικοῦ τε καὶ καθολικοῦ ὀρθοδόξου πατριαρχικοῦ θρόνου τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ πάσης Παλαιστίνης ἀποκειμένων ἐλληνικῶν κωδίκων', vol. I (St Petersburg, 1891), pp. 393-94.

¹² *Repertorium*, I.A, p. 152; II.A, p. 146.

¹³ E.G.W. Bill, *A Catalogue of Manuscripts in Lambeth Palace Library* (MSS. 2341-3119) (*excluding MSS. 2690-2750*) (Oxford, 1983), pp. 80-81; see Ch. Wright, M. Argyrou and Ch. Dendrinos, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Greek Manuscript Collection of Lambeth Palace Library* (Lambeth Palace Library and Hellenic Institute, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2016), accessible on line at <https://www.royalholloway.ac.uk/Hellenic-Institute/Research/LPL/Greek-MSS/Catalogue.pdf> (pp. 373-86) (accessed 20 March 2016).

¹⁴ Martínez Manzano, *Konstantinos Laskaris*, p. 302; eadem, *Constantino Láscaris. Semblanza de un humanista bizantino* (Madrid, 1998), pp. 73-74.

¹⁵ Günther, 'Manuscripts', pp. 43-44.

¹⁶ Others were Andreas Ptonotarios, Emmanuel Atramyttenos, Georgios Alexandrou, Georgios Kappadox, Mastraggelos, Georgios Gregoropoulos, Georgios Kallofrenas, Konstantios, Petros Kritikos, Philippos, and Johannes Löffelholz.

¹⁷ For Bessarion and his collaborators see E. Mioni, 'Bessarione bibliofilo e filologo', *RBSN* n.s. 5 (1968), 61-83; idem, 'Bessarione scriba e alcuni suoi collaboratori' in *Miscellanea*

which preserves a selection of Bessarion's works, including correspondence between Bessarion, and Apostoles and Kallistos.¹⁸ Though we cannot tell with certainty whether Lygizos remained in Crete, it is probable that he visited Venice and other cities in Italy as did Bessarion's other scribes and collaborators. It should be noted that the cod. *Vind. Theol. gr.* 75 (dated to the fifteenth century) containing John Chrysostom's *Homilies* on the Letters of St Paul to Titus and Philemon *Works* and had been copied by M. Lygizos and M. Apostoles,¹⁹ on f. 1^v bears the Greek and Latin *ex libris* written by cardinal Bessarion.²⁰

This confirms that Lygizos not only was in Bessarion's circle but was one of his scribes. However further research should be done in order to trace which other codices copied by Lygizos belonged to cardinal Bessarion.

The works Lygizos copied comprise various subjects: philosophical treatises (Aristotle, Plotinos, Porphyrios, David the Philosopher and Plethon), religious and theological works (John Chrysostom, Origen, Ephraem the Syrian, Markos Eugenikos and George Scholarios), rhetorical works (Demosthenes, Aeschynes, Isocrates, Libanios, Aelios Aristides, Synesios of Cyrene, and Nikephoros Gregoras's preface to Synesios), Theognis, Aristophanes and the tragedians, literary works by Philostratos and Lykophron, the geographical treatise by Dionysios Periegetes, historical works (Thucydides and Xenophon), grammars (Hephaestion with scholia, and Moschopoulos), translations of Latin texts (Ps.-Donatus) and Cato translated by Maximos Planoudes, and finally Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. We shall examine his three codices preserving the text of the *Iliad*, and one codex with its *metaphrasis* which highlight the method he used in copying the set text of the *Iliad* for teaching purposes.

Marciana di studi Bessarionei (= *Medioevo e Umanesimo* 24) (Padua, 1976), pp. 263-318; L. Labowsky, *Bessarion's Library and the Biblioteca Marciana. Six Early Inventories*, Sussidi Eru-diti, 31 (Rome, 1979); *Bessarione e l'Umanesimo. Catalogo della mostra*, ed. G. Fiaccadori (in collaboration with A. Cuna, A. Gatti, S. Ricci, et. al.), Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Filosofici, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venezia, 27 aprile-31 maggio 1994 (Naples, 1994); J. Monfasani, *Byzantine Scholars in Renaissance Italy: Cardinal Bessarion and Other Emigrés (Selected Essays)* (Variorum: Aldershot, 1995); and K. Staikos, *Charta of Greek Printing: the Contribution of Greek Editors, Printers and Publishers to the Renaissance in Italy and the West* (Cologne, 1998).

¹⁸ For a description of this MS, see Cox, *Catalogi codicum*, cols. 279-81.

¹⁹ For a description of this MS, see H. Hunger and O. Kresten, *Katalog der Griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen nationalbibliothek*, vol. 3/1: *Codices Theologici 1-100* (Vienna, 1976), pp. 135-36. Also on the top of f. 2^r there is a short table of contents written by Bessarion's hand.

²⁰ O. Kresten, 'Cento codici Bessarionei. Catalogo di mostra a cura di Tullia Gasparrini Leporace and E. Mioni', *BZ* 64 (1971), 95-99, at 97-98.

Ο *Oxoniensis Corpus Christi College 470* (preserves *Iliad* A-Π 149) (examined in situ) 3rd 1/4 15th c; paper; ff. ⟨I⟩+321+⟨II⟩; 287 × 215 mm; 1 (16).²¹

Our research revealed that the manuscript is wrongly re-bound. The correct order is: ff. 1-29^v, 40^r-49^v, 30^r-39^v, 50^r-54^v, ⟨54a⟩-130^v, 131 not numbered, 132^r-224^v, 229^r-232^v, 225^r-228^v, 233^r-313^v, 318^{r-v}, 314^r-317^v, 319^r-320^v blank, 321^r (*ex-libris*), 321^v blank.

In the course of copying Lygizos omitted the following verses of the *Iliad* (f. 251^r, N 254-283; f. 280^r, Ξ 269; f. 300^v, O 353-54; f. 305^r, O 481; f. 307^v, O 562), in certain cases he copied wrong verses (f. 234^v, O 114 instead of M 163; f. 258^r after N 463 he copied Π 493 and then continued with N 464), while on f. 305^v he repeated inadvertently the last verse of the previous folio, namely O 496. He also suggested corrections in the margin, indicated by the instruction γρ(ἄφε) (ff. 24^v, 114^v, 133^v, 150^v, 168^v, 171^v, 179^r, 225^r). These mistakes, very few in comparison to the extent of his labour, make us wonder whether they were due to his exemplar or to inadvertent errors as a result of fatigue.²²

The titles of each Book of the *Iliad* appear in red ink, with enlarged letters in epigraphical selected majuscule for Books A, B and Λ; the rest of the titles were never executed. Each book, preceded by one or two *hypotheses*, is introduced by ornamental major initials. In books M, N, Ξ the major initials have not been executed. Similarly, the minor initials introducing paragraphs are missing, with a few exceptions where they appear in red. It has been stated that the decoration in terms of patterns, proportions and ink colours in **Ο** is similar to those in codd. *Oxonienses Bodleiani* Bywater 35 and *Canon. gr. 7*, *Marcianus gr. 200*, *Laurentianus Plut. 6.22*, *Neapolitani II D 13* and *III E 3*, and *Vindobonensis Philologicus gr. 84*, executed by another famous Cretan scribe, Ioannes Rhosos,²³ which would suggest their co-operation for the production of **Ο**. The early history of the MS is unknown. An *ex-libris* on f. 321^r indicates that the codex was owned by Johann von Löffelholz of Nuremberg (1448-1509), who studied law at Pavia in 1465. It is worth noting that von Löffelholz owned *Lond. Arund. 517*, another MS copied partly by Lygizos (ff. 1-39), and that he added a section in his own hand (ff. 45-50) which was later bound together with Lygizos's section. Following von Löffelholz's death codex *Oxoniensis* containing Homer came to the possession of Johann Geuder, also from Nuremberg in 1510.²⁴ The binding of the codex is Italian, dated to the end of the fifteenth century.²⁵

²¹ See also Allen, *Homeri Ilias*, p. 32 (O⁹) where there is a mistake about the total number of folios (i.e., 318 instead of 321, which is the correct number of the folios); Hunt, *The Survival*, pp. 6-7; Wilson, *Catalogue*, pp. 31-32 with plates 62-63. See also above p. 94, with nn. 7 and 10.

²² This remains to be ascertained by a collation with its exemplars.

²³ Hutter, *Corpus*, p. 23; Wilson, *Catalogue*, p. 31.

²⁴ See Allen, *Ilias*, p. 32; Hunt, *The Survival*, p. 7.

²⁵ Hutter, *Corpus*, p. 23; Wilson, *Catalogue*, p. 32.

Apart from Lygizos's hand two other, so far unidentified, appear in the codex: Hand A took over from Lygizos on the first half line of f. 120^r copying the main text (Z 363-378) including the interlinear scholia. Hand B, a foreign hand that may belong to von Löffelholz or Geuder, on f. 12^r added in red ink in the margin the gloss ἀνασχών with reference to ὀρεγνύς, (A 351).

The different colours and shades of ink (black/brown/red) used for the copying of the text and the interlinear and marginal scholia reveal the method and different stages of Lygizos's copying process. He started by copying the main text in black ink. He then proceeded with the scholia, first the marginalia (omitting the initial letter) using the same ink with that of the text, before adding the interlinear scholia and the initial letter of the marginalia in red.

L Lond. Harley 1771 (contains *Iliad* A-Ω 719) (examined in situ)

2nd 1/2 15th c.; paper; ff. (I-III)+495+(IV-VII); 295 × 210 mm; I (16).²⁶

Approximately eight leaves have been removed from the original codex, which probably contained a single folio after f. 220^v (Λ 622-653), a single folio after f. 286^v (O 31-62) and ca. 6 fols. at the end of the codex, after f. 495^v (Ω 720-804).

As in the case of **O**, Lygizos omitted in **L** a number of verses (which are not the same as in **O**): E 30 (f. 83^r); H 332 (f. 137^r); H 409-22 (f. 155^r); Θ 531 (f. 158^v); I 458-61 (f. 171^v); K 529-34 (f. 199^r, these verses were added in the right hand margin by a later scholarly hand); Λ 543 (f. 218^v); N 80 (f. 245^r); O 31-62 (f. 287^r); O 479-81, 493 (f. 300^r); Π 42-43 (f. 309^v); P 483 (f. 351^r); P 644-45 (f. 356^r); Σ 47 (f. 361^v); Σ 201 (f. 366^r); T 358-59 (f. 390^v); Y 309 (f. 402^v, this verse is added in the right hand margin by the same later scholarly hand); Ψ 377 (f. 456^v); and Ω 305 (f. 483^r).

It has been pointed out that **L** was copied from *Par. suppl. gr.* 497 (**P**).²⁷ The fact that **L** contains fewer omissions of the Homeric text than **P** would

²⁶ Leaf, *The Iliad*, p. xxviii; Allen, *Ilias*, p. 12 (Bm⁴); Pattie and McKendrick, *Greek Summary Catalogue*, p. 89. See also above, p. 96, with n. 14.

²⁷ We do not know the exemplars of all the three manuscripts, though it is known by Allen's study that *Lond. Harley 1771* (Bm⁴) derives from P¹⁷ (*Par. suppl. gr.* 497) dated in thirteenth century, *Vat. Pal. gr.* 310 (V²³) comes from P¹¹ (*Par. gr.* 2766) dated in the fourteenth century, while *Oxon. Corpus Christi* 470 (O⁹), belonging to the same family with Bm⁴ (i.e., the t) is the product of the joint tradition comprised by O⁸ (*Nov. Oxon.* D 298), P¹³ (*Par. gr.* 2768), P¹⁷ (*Par. suppl. gr.* 497) and Pal¹ (*Heidelberg* 222); See Allen's chart with the families of manuscripts at the back of his book.

suggest that either Lygizos completed a number of verses omitted in **P**,²⁸ or that **L** and **P** are closely related through an intermediary transmission.

L follows the same conventions in decoration and the copying of the text as in **O**. The titles of the Books of the *Iliad* appear in red ink, though in minuscule and not in majuscule as in **O**, with the exception of the title of Book A which is copied in epigraphical selected majuscule. Each Book is preceded by either one or two *hypotheses*.²⁹ Decorative major initials in red introduce Books A and B, though once more the rest initials were not executed,³⁰ while minor initials also in red ink introduce paragraphs, though in certain cases these are omitted. As in **O** the different shades of ink (black, brownish, orange and red) indicate the method and various stages of the copying of the text by Lygizos: first he copied the main text in black ink, then the marginal scholia (omitting the initial letter) in the same black ink, and finally the interlinear scholia and the initial letter of the *marginalia* in red, reserving the orange ink for annotation concerning figures of speech. The use of different colours of ink not only guide the student/reader but also adds to the aesthetic appearance of the page.

On certain folios amateurish drawings and scribbles are added by a later user (e.g., ff. 201^r, 210^r, 224^r, 228^r, 229^r, 230^r, 287^r, 414^v, 415^r, 423^r, 431^r, 454^r, 472^r, 475^r). A certain 'Misier Lamaria' added his name on f. 49^r, on the right hand margin. On f. 142^r (right hand margin) we read 'Margarita Basanese' and further down 'Cara Sign(ora) Alesandr(a)'. Also on f. 324^r on the top margin a Latin hand wrote: 'Marco' and he tried to imitate the first half of Π 494. A later scholarly hand completed verses omitted originally by Lygizos in the margin or indicated corrections (ff. 22^v, 62^v, 90^v, 199^r, 351^r, 366^r, 402^v). The binding of the codex is modern (1968).³¹

V Vat. Pal. gr. 310 (*preserves A 51 – Ω 804*) (*examined in situ*)

15th/16th c.; paper; ff. 287 + f. 161a; 370 × 280 mm; 1/2 (17-32)³²

An examination of **V** shows that it has been wrongly re-bound. The first

²⁸ As Allen, *Ilias*, p. 36, supports the omissions in *Par. suppl. gr.* 497 are: A 1-214, 366-587, B 494-877, Γ 300-457, Λ 755-801, N 68-144, 308-Ξ 111, 266-Ο 243, 414-Π 318, 566-Ρ 265, 350-Υ 187, Χ 470-Ψ 35).

²⁹ On f. 335^v (Book P) even though the adequate space for the argument is left, finally no argument is added.

³⁰ Ff. 49^r: Γ, 64^r: Δ, 81^v: Ε, 110^v: Ζ, 127^r: Η, 141^v: Θ, 159^v: Ι, 182^v: Κ, 201^r: Λ, 227^r: Μ, 242^r: Ν, 269^r: Ξ, 285^v: Ο, 308^r: Π, 335^v: Ρ, 359^v: Σ, 379^r: Τ, 392^v: Υ, 408^v: Φ, 418^r: Χ, 444^v: Ψ, 473^r: Ω and also on f. 37^r: Βοιωτία).

³¹ Pattie and McKendrick, *Greek Summary Catalogue*, p. 89.

³² Allen, *Ilias*, p. 49 (V²³). For a description of this MS, see above, p. 100, with n. 24.

two folios (which must have contained A 1-50) are missing.³³ The correct order is as follows: ff. 7-96, 104^{r-v}, 98-103, 97^{r-v}, 105-287.

As in the case of **O** and **L** omissions of Homeric verses also occur in **V**, this time more extensively: f. 17^r, A 539-540; f. 49^v, Δ 196-197; f. 61^v, E 253-287; f. 71^v, E 794-825 (a single folio following 71^r is missing: homoio-teleuton); f. 87^v, H 375-388; f. 98^v, Θ 516-518; f. 122^r, K 538-564; f. 136^r, Λ 800-801; f. 153^r, N 439-441; f. 160^v, Ξ 49; f. 173^r, O 262; f. 232^v, Υ 265-274; f. 236^r, Υ 437-469; f. 236^v, Υ 447; f. 265^r, Ψ 357; f. 276^r, Ω 109-10; f. 283^r, Ω 556; 283^v, Ω 558; and f. 286^v, Ω 790.

The repetition of Υ 227-264, 275-292 on ff. 232^{r-v} and 233^{r-v} raises some questions concerning Lygizos's copying method. It is possible that realizing his inadvertent omission of Υ 265-274 on f. 232^v, he copied the same text on another leaf (the present 233^{r-v}) with the intention of replacing the 'faulty' leaf (232^{r-v}). This time Lygizos included on f. 233^{r-v} the verses omitted on f. 232^v, which he copied in the space previously occupied by the scholia of f. 232^{r-v}, in order to save space, thus maintaining the sequence of the codex. A similar, but not identical, case occurs on f. 241^{r-v}. Lygizos repeated Φ 114-169 copied previously on f. 240^{r-v}. This time he repeated the same verses with the scholia, but omitted the *metaphrasis* and introduced corrections in the Homeric text which are not found on f. 240^{r-v}. It has been pointed out that **V** was directly copied from *Par. gr.* 2766 (**Pa**). The nature of the spelling mistakes and omissions by Lygizos shows that he misread the difficult, highly abbreviated, scholarly hand of **Pa**.

Apart from Lygizos's hand, four different hands, so far unidentified, appear on ff. 112^v and 113^r, 244^v, 261^r, 266^v, respectively. In all three cases these scribes copied a few verses, as if they were invited to do so by Lygizos as a test.

Va *Vaticanus graecus* 1710³⁴ (preserving the *metaphrasis* of *Iliad* A-Ψ)
(examined through microfilm)

16th c., (ff. 1-8: end of 15th c.); paper; III + ff. 223; 300 × 208 mm; 1 (31~33)

Va does not contain the Homeric text but only the incomplete *metaphrasis* of the *Iliad* A-Ψ (Z up to v. 30 [f. 54^v]; Θ up to v. 453 [f. 70^r]; Υ up to v.

The binding of the codex is not the original. It was made in the Vatican Library (I would like to thank Prof. Choulis for this information).

³³ This is also indicated by a Latin hand on the right-top margin on f. 7^r: 'Dessunt duo priora folia'.

³⁴ For a description of this MS, see above, p. 102, with n. 39. The binding of the codex is not the original. It was made in the Vatican Library (I would like to thank Prof. Choulis for this information).

83 [f. 188^v], Φ and Ω are missing; on ff. 216^r-221^r, Ψ 397-749 are repeated -also on ff. 207^r-212^v; cf. above, p. 102). The codex was copied by Lygizos, with the exception of ff. 1^r-8^v (A 1-527), 9^{r-v} (A 528-590), 137^v (O 253-285) which were copied by three different hands, so far unidentified.

The following verses are missing: K 311-312 (f. 86^v); N 184 (f. 114^v); N 255 (f. 116^r). On f. 136^v (O 188-220) there are many omissions and incomplete verses as the blank spaces in the text indicate, possibly due to his problematic exemplar: O 195, 200-201, 205, 210, 212 entirely missing (213: there is only one word); O 197, 202, 206 first half missing; O 208 middle is missing; and O 198 second half missing. The following verses are also missing: O 471-472 (f. 140^v); O 482 (f. 141^r); and Σ 200 (f. 173^v) where only the first word of the verse is given.

On f. 188^v Lygizos copied the beginning of P 326-327 / Y 83-84 in *metaphrasis* 'τούτων - Αἰνεῖα', leaving the rest of the folio blank. Ff. 189^r-192^v are also blank. On f. 193^r Lygizos copied Book X, though he specified wrongly the Book by writing Φ. He omitted entirely Book Φ. On ff. 201^r-215^r he copied Book Ψ. F. 215^v is left blank. On f. 216^r-221^r he recopied Ψ 397-749. Ff. 221^v-223^r were left blank.

The extensive corrections by Lygizos's hand, both by crossing out words and adding corrective notes in the margin or above the line, shows that this codex was most probably his working copy. This is supported by the fact that there is no decoration (initials, vignettes, etc.) in the codex.

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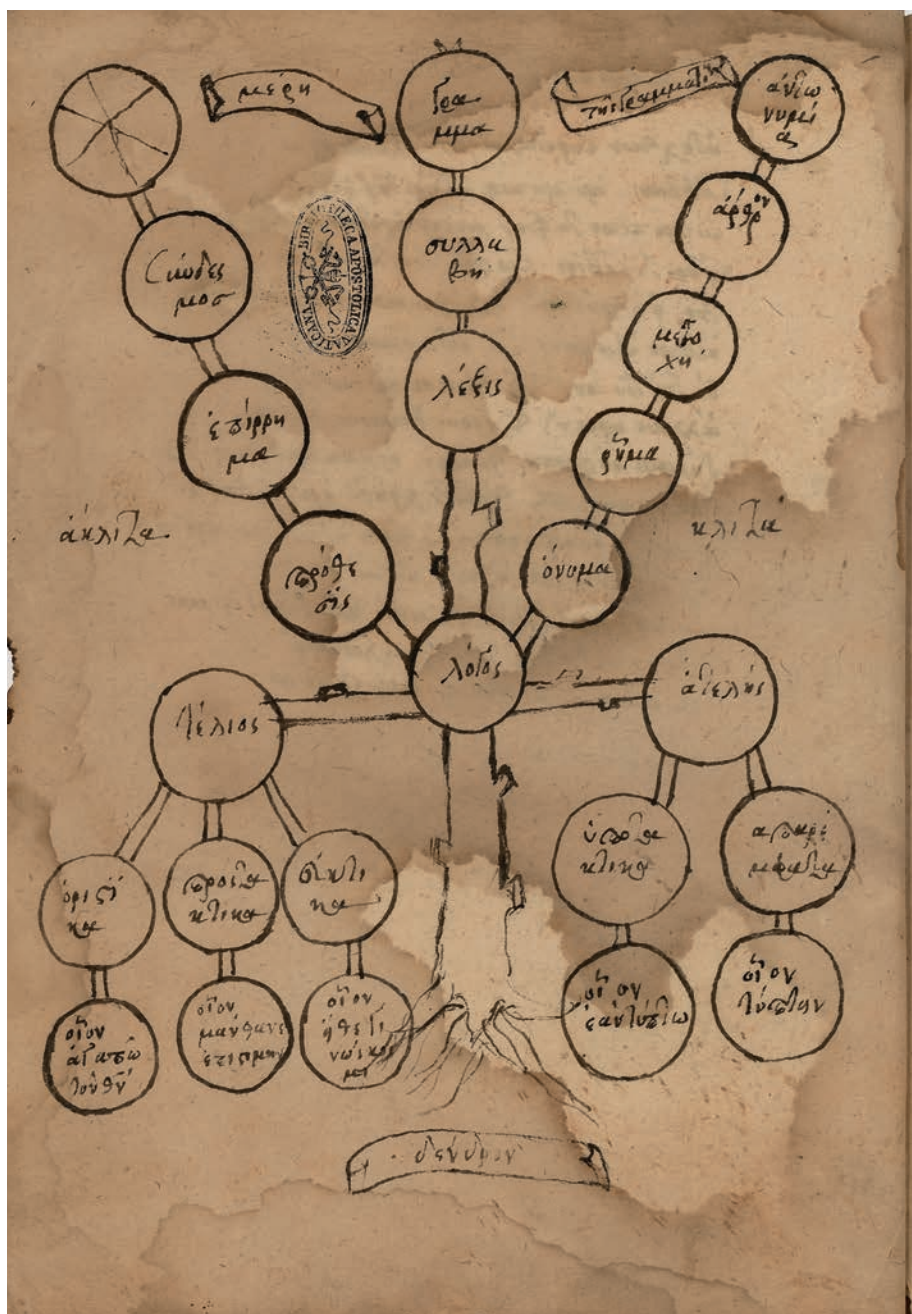


Plate I – Vat. gr. 1751, f. VI^v.

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Plate III – *Vat. gr.* 1527, f. 88^r.

^{tueto} ^{moreteux} ^{intra} 31
 κῆτος· βαροσ· σουβω^{tueto} βαροσ^{moreteux} ἡμην^{intra}·
 βαροσ^{tueto} ταφοσ· ἀφ' ἧ^{moreteux} σού^{intra} εἰ^{intra} ζο^{intra} τὰ
 - φῶ^{intra} αἷμα^{moreteux} τῶσ^{intra}· ἡ^{intra} τὰ^{moreteux} ὅμοια·
 πλὴν^{intra} τῶ^{moreteux} αἱ^{intra} ρο^{moreteux} τὸ^{intra} πλὴ^{moreteux} ρ· ἀφ' ἧ^{intra} εἰ^{moreteux} ζο^{intra} τὰ
 ἀφ' ἧ^{intra} εἰ^{moreteux} ζο^{intra} τὰ^{moreteux} σ^{intra} λό^{moreteux} ρο^{intra}· σού^{intra} εἰ^{moreteux} ζο^{intra} τὰ
 αἱ^{intra} μων^{moreteux}· μῆ^{intra} κεν^{moreteux} ἡ^{intra} σ^{moreteux}· ἀφ' ἧ^{intra} εἰ^{moreteux} ζο^{intra} τὰ
 1 ἡ^{intra} ἀφ' ἧ^{moreteux} εἰ^{moreteux} ζο^{intra} τὰ^{moreteux} σ^{intra}· ἀφ' ἧ^{moreteux} εἰ^{moreteux} ζο^{intra} τὰ^{moreteux} σ^{intra}· ἀφ' ἧ^{moreteux} εἰ^{moreteux} ζο^{intra} τὰ^{moreteux} σ^{intra}·
 1 ὁ^{intra} ὑ^{moreteux} ρῆ^{moreteux} σ^{intra}· ἀφ' ἧ^{moreteux} εἰ^{moreteux} ζο^{intra} τὰ^{moreteux} σ^{intra}· ἀφ' ἧ^{moreteux} εἰ^{moreteux} ζο^{intra} τὰ^{moreteux} σ^{intra}·
 ἀφ' ἧ^{intra} εἰ^{moreteux} ζο^{intra} τὰ^{moreteux} σ^{intra}· ἀφ' ἧ^{moreteux} εἰ^{moreteux} ζο^{intra} τὰ^{moreteux} σ^{intra}· ἀφ' ἧ^{moreteux} εἰ^{moreteux} ζο^{intra} τὰ^{moreteux} σ^{intra}·
 - φάν^{intra} η^{moreteux}· σού^{intra} εἰ^{moreteux} ζο^{intra} τὰ^{moreteux} σ^{intra}· ἀφ' ἧ^{moreteux} εἰ^{moreteux} ζο^{intra} τὰ^{moreteux} σ^{intra}·
 ἡ^{intra} ἀφ' ἧ^{moreteux} εἰ^{moreteux} ζο^{intra} τὰ^{moreteux} σ^{intra}· ἀφ' ἧ^{moreteux} εἰ^{moreteux} ζο^{intra} τὰ^{moreteux} σ^{intra}· ἀφ' ἧ^{moreteux} εἰ^{moreteux} ζο^{intra} τὰ^{moreteux} σ^{intra}·
 ἡ^{intra} ἀφ' ἧ^{moreteux} εἰ^{moreteux} ζο^{intra} τὰ^{moreteux} σ^{intra}· ἀφ' ἧ^{moreteux} εἰ^{moreteux} ζο^{intra} τὰ^{moreteux} σ^{intra}· ἀφ' ἧ^{moreteux} εἰ^{moreteux} ζο^{intra} τὰ^{moreteux} σ^{intra}·
 - τῶ^{intra} αἱ^{moreteux} ἀφ' ἧ^{moreteux} εἰ^{moreteux} ζο^{intra} τὰ^{moreteux} σ^{intra}· ἀφ' ἧ^{moreteux} εἰ^{moreteux} ζο^{intra} τὰ^{moreteux} σ^{intra}· ἀφ' ἧ^{moreteux} εἰ^{moreteux} ζο^{intra} τὰ^{moreteux} σ^{intra}·
 ὁ^{intra} δ' ὁ^{moreteux} μω^{moreteux}· ἡ^{intra} ἀφ' ἧ^{moreteux} εἰ^{moreteux} ζο^{intra} τὰ^{moreteux} σ^{intra}· ἀφ' ἧ^{moreteux} εἰ^{moreteux} ζο^{intra} τὰ^{moreteux} σ^{intra}· ἀφ' ἧ^{moreteux} εἰ^{moreteux} ζο^{intra} τὰ^{moreteux} σ^{intra}·
 1 ἡ^{intra} ἀφ' ἧ^{moreteux} εἰ^{moreteux} ζο^{intra} τὰ^{moreteux} σ^{intra}· ἀφ' ἧ^{moreteux} εἰ^{moreteux} ζο^{intra} τὰ^{moreteux} σ^{intra}· ἀφ' ἧ^{moreteux} εἰ^{moreteux} ζο^{intra} τὰ^{moreteux} σ^{intra}·
 τῶ^{intra} αἱ^{moreteux} ἀφ' ἧ^{moreteux} εἰ^{moreteux} ζο^{intra} τὰ^{moreteux} σ^{intra}· ἀφ' ἧ^{moreteux} εἰ^{moreteux} ζο^{intra} τὰ^{moreteux} σ^{intra}· ἀφ' ἧ^{moreteux} εἰ^{moreteux} ζο^{intra} τὰ^{moreteux} σ^{intra}·
 ὁ^{intra} δ' ὁ^{moreteux} μω^{moreteux}· ἡ^{intra} ἀφ' ἧ^{moreteux} εἰ^{moreteux} ζο^{intra} τὰ^{moreteux} σ^{intra}· ἀφ' ἧ^{moreteux} εἰ^{moreteux} ζο^{intra} τὰ^{moreteux} σ^{intra}· ἀφ' ἧ^{moreteux} εἰ^{moreteux} ζο^{intra} τὰ^{moreteux} σ^{intra}·
 τῶ^{intra} αἱ^{moreteux} ἀφ' ἧ^{moreteux} εἰ^{moreteux} ζο^{intra} τὰ^{moreteux} σ^{intra}· ἀφ' ἧ^{moreteux} εἰ^{moreteux} ζο^{intra} τὰ^{moreteux} σ^{intra}· ἀφ' ἧ^{moreteux} εἰ^{moreteux} ζο^{intra} τὰ^{moreteux} σ^{intra}·
 μῆ^{intra} ρ^{moreteux}· αἱ^{intra} ἀφ' ἧ^{moreteux} εἰ^{moreteux} ζο^{intra} τὰ^{moreteux} σ^{intra}· ἀφ' ἧ^{moreteux} εἰ^{moreteux} ζο^{intra} τὰ^{moreteux} σ^{intra}· ἀφ' ἧ^{moreteux} εἰ^{moreteux} ζο^{intra} τὰ^{moreteux} σ^{intra}·
 εἰ^{intra} σ^{moreteux}· ἀφ' ἧ^{moreteux} εἰ^{moreteux} ζο^{intra} τὰ^{moreteux} σ^{intra}· ἀφ' ἧ^{moreteux} εἰ^{moreteux} ζο^{intra} τὰ^{moreteux} σ^{intra}· ἀφ' ἧ^{moreteux} εἰ^{moreteux} ζο^{intra} τὰ^{moreteux} σ^{intra}·
 μῆ^{intra} ρ^{moreteux}· αἱ^{intra} ἀφ' ἧ^{moreteux} εἰ^{moreteux} ζο^{intra} τὰ^{moreteux} σ^{intra}· ἀφ' ἧ^{moreteux} εἰ^{moreteux} ζο^{intra} τὰ^{moreteux} σ^{intra}· ἀφ' ἧ^{moreteux} εἰ^{moreteux} ζο^{intra} τὰ^{moreteux} σ^{intra}·
 - ὁ^{intra} δ' ὁ^{moreteux} μω^{moreteux}· ἡ^{intra} ἀφ' ἧ^{moreteux} εἰ^{moreteux} ζο^{intra} τὰ^{moreteux} σ^{intra}· ἀφ' ἧ^{moreteux} εἰ^{moreteux} ζο^{intra} τὰ^{moreteux} σ^{intra}· ἀφ' ἧ^{moreteux} εἰ^{moreteux} ζο^{intra} τὰ^{moreteux} σ^{intra}·
 καὶ^{intra} τῶ^{moreteux} αἱ^{moreteux} ἀφ' ἧ^{moreteux} εἰ^{moreteux} ζο^{intra} τὰ^{moreteux} σ^{intra}· ἀφ' ἧ^{moreteux} εἰ^{moreteux} ζο^{intra} τὰ^{moreteux} σ^{intra}· ἀφ' ἧ^{moreteux} εἰ^{moreteux} ζο^{intra} τὰ^{moreteux} σ^{intra}·

Plate V – Vat. gr. 1527, f. 31^r.

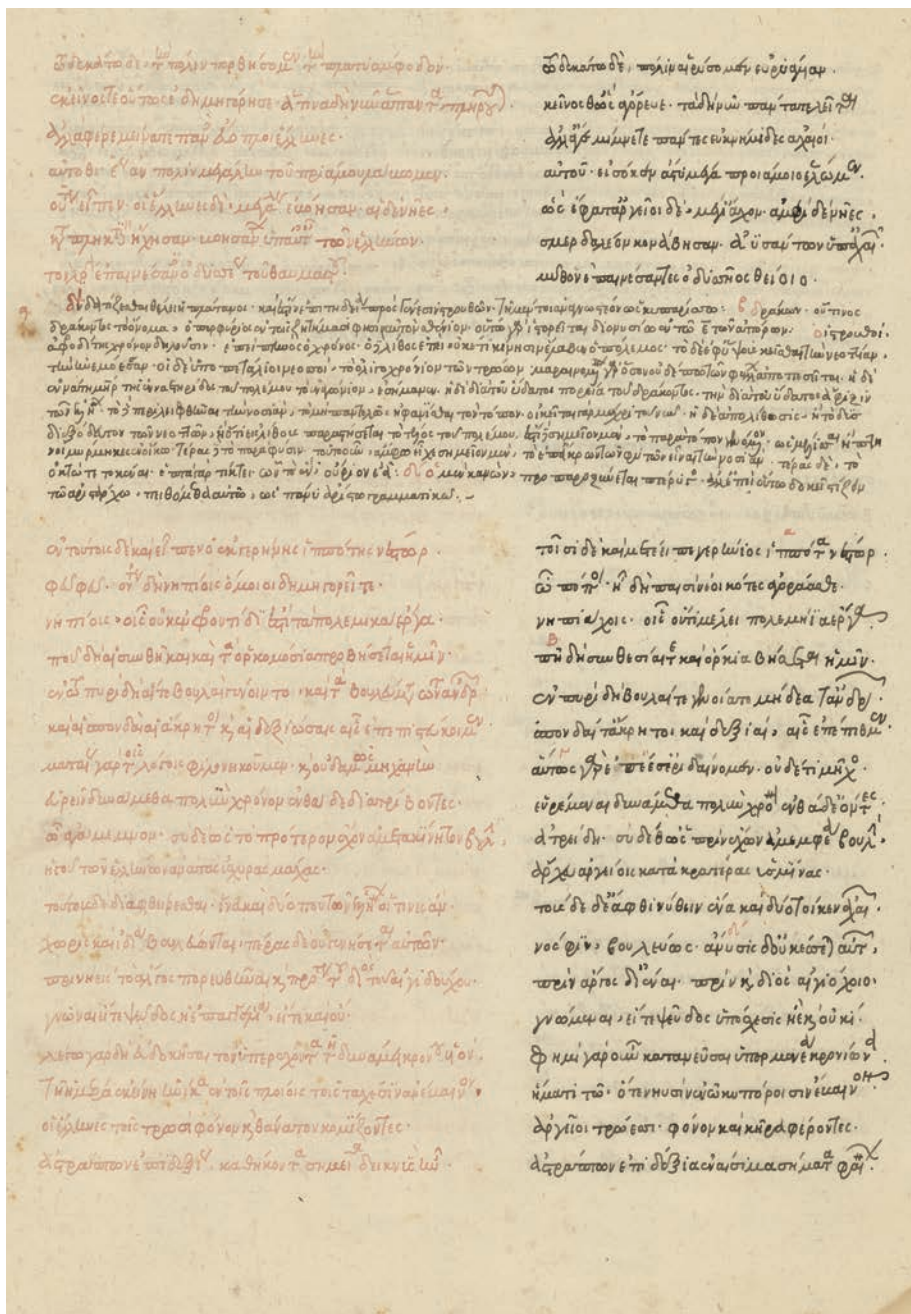
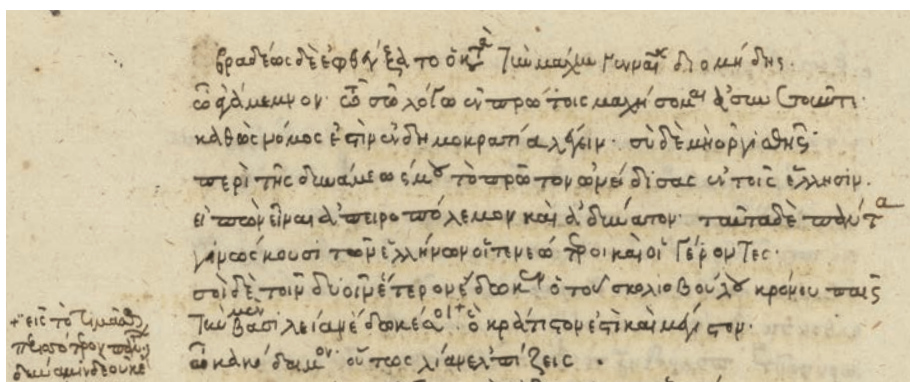
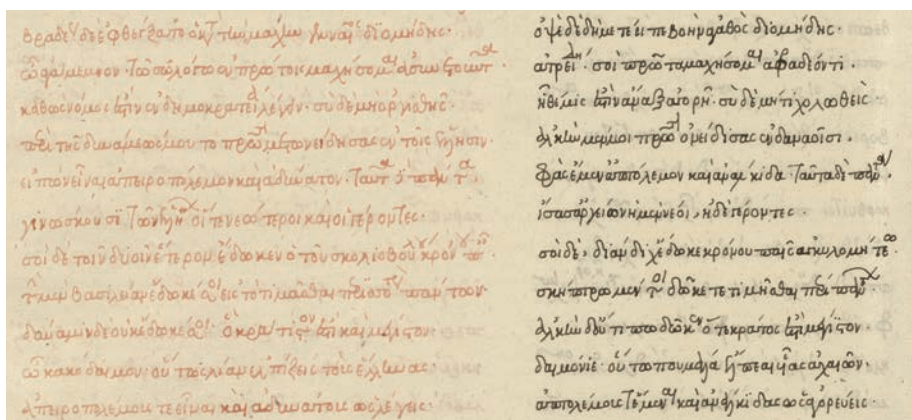


Plate VII – Vat. Pal. gr. 310, f. 25^v.

Plate VIII – Vat. Pal. gr. 310, f. 100^v.14-24 and Vat. gr. 1710, f. 71^v.1-10.

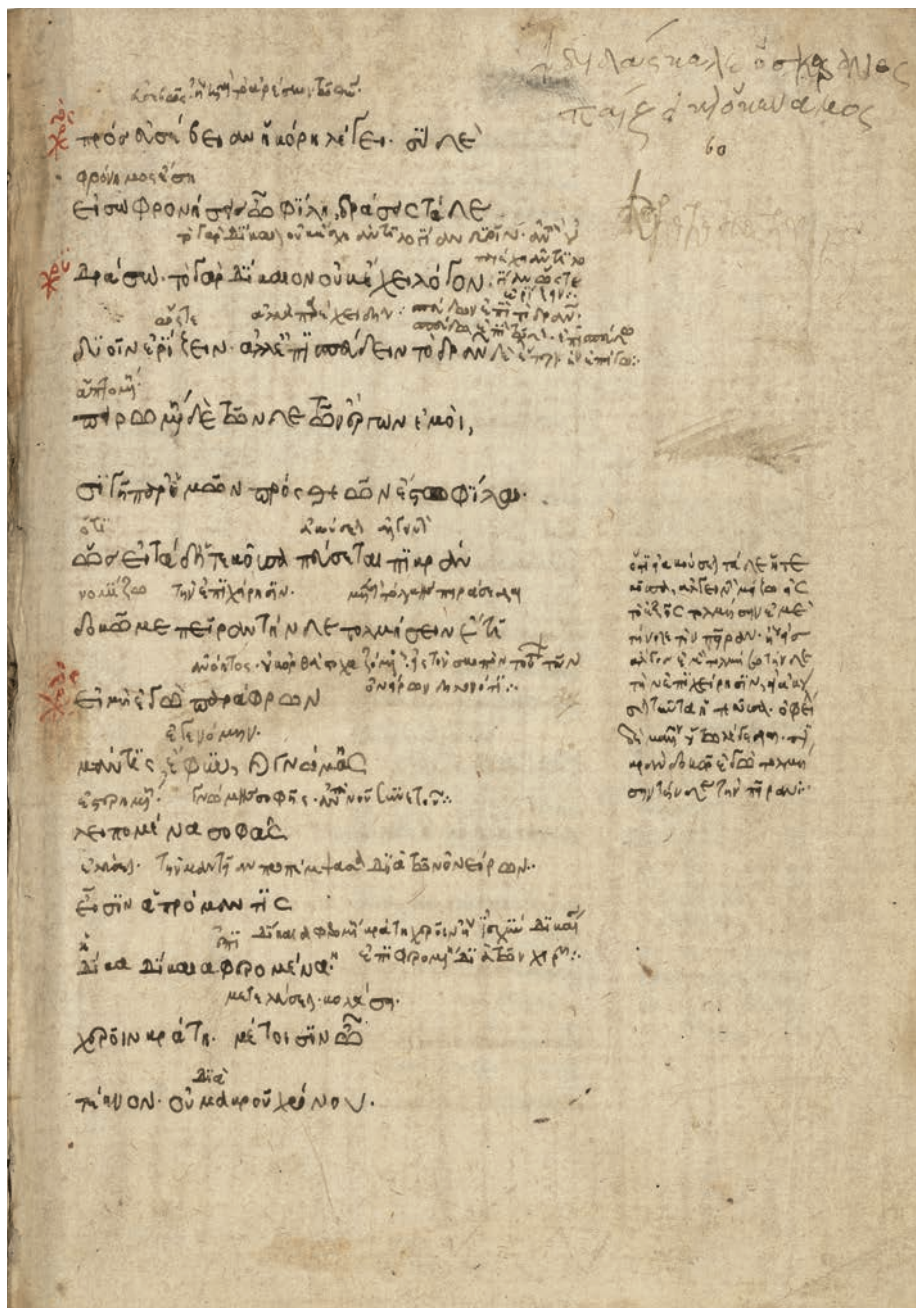


Plate IX – *Vat. gr.* 46, f. 60^r.

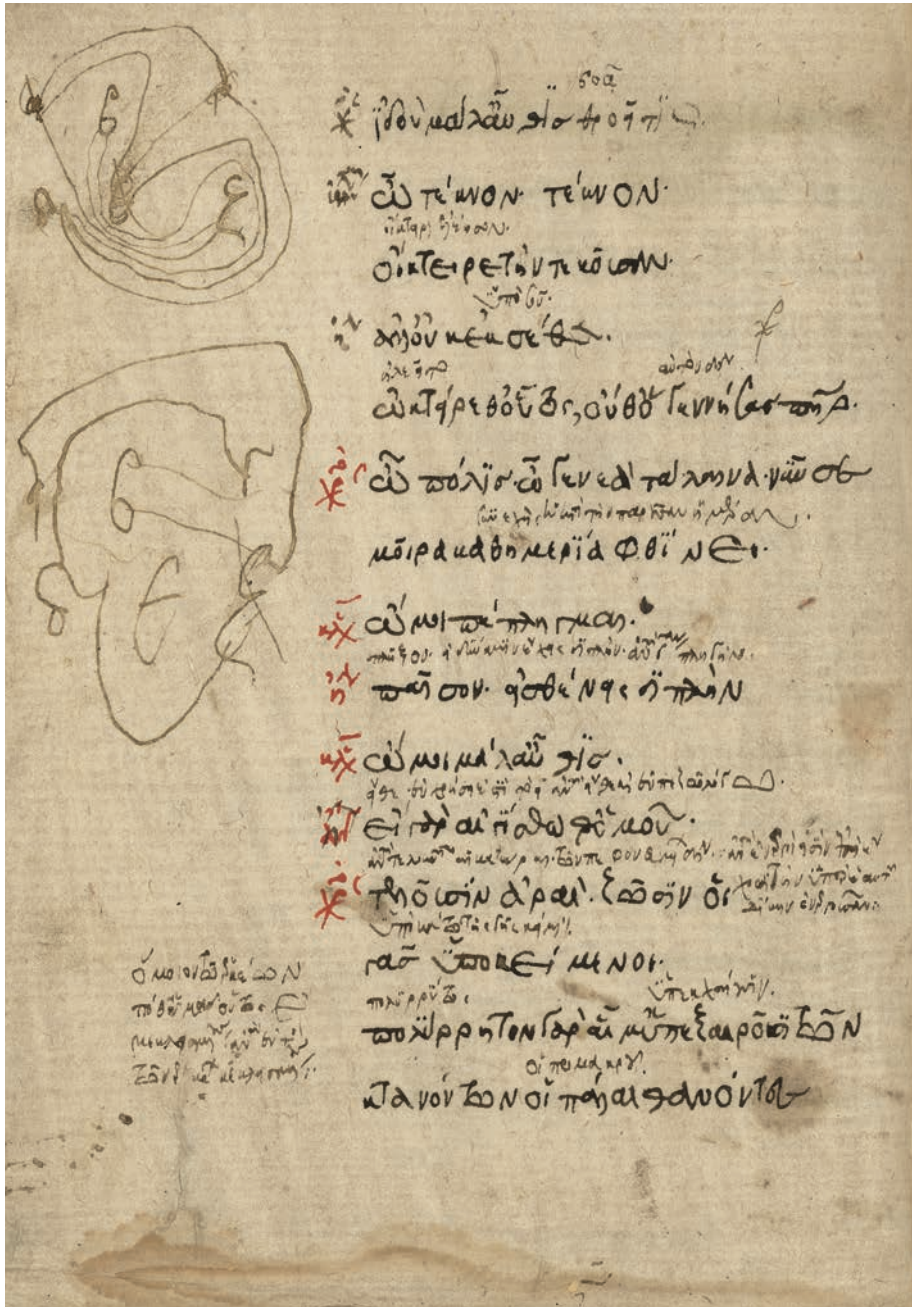


Plate Xb – *Vat. gr.* 46, f. 91^v.

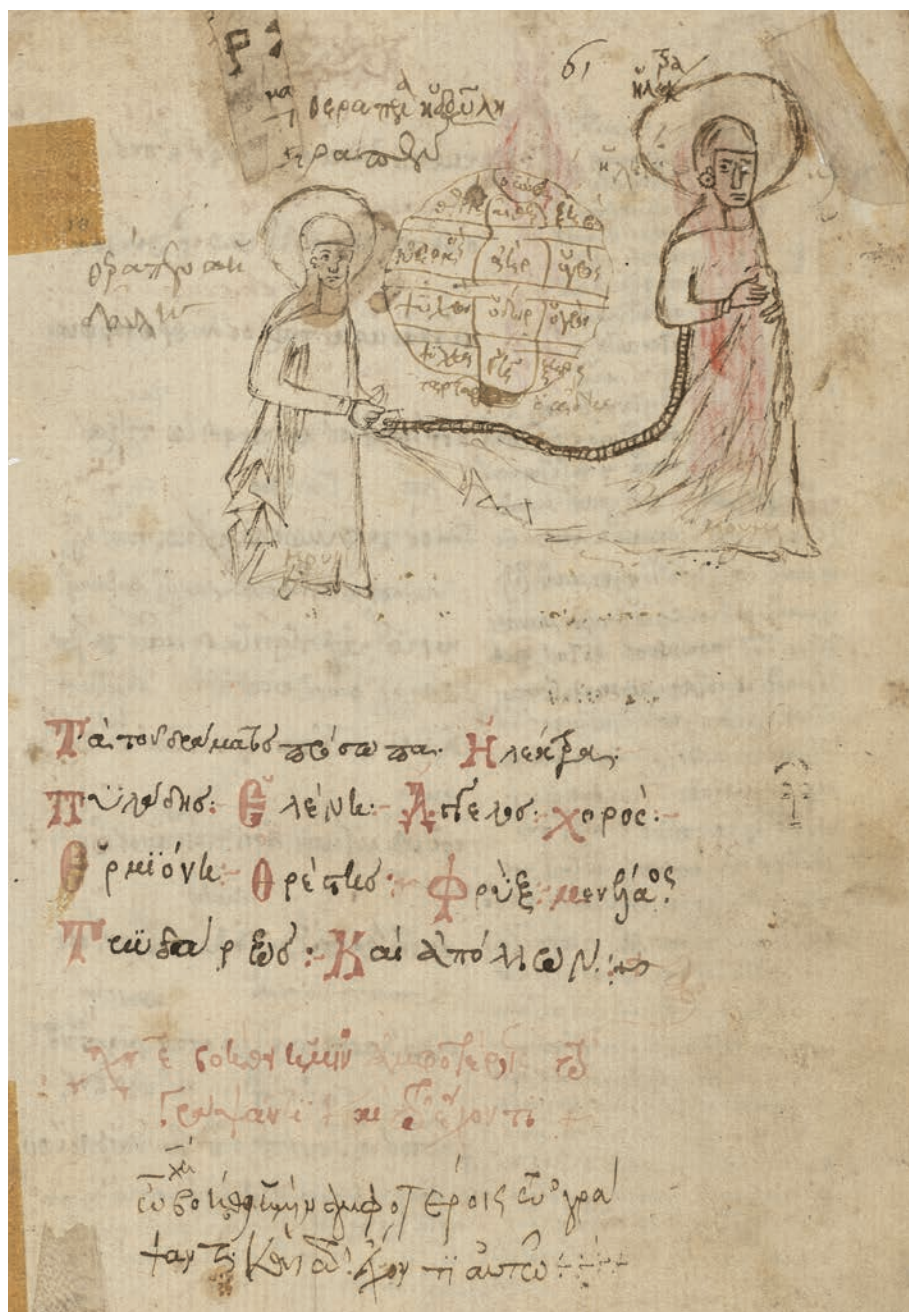


Plate XI – Vat. gr. 52, f. 61r.

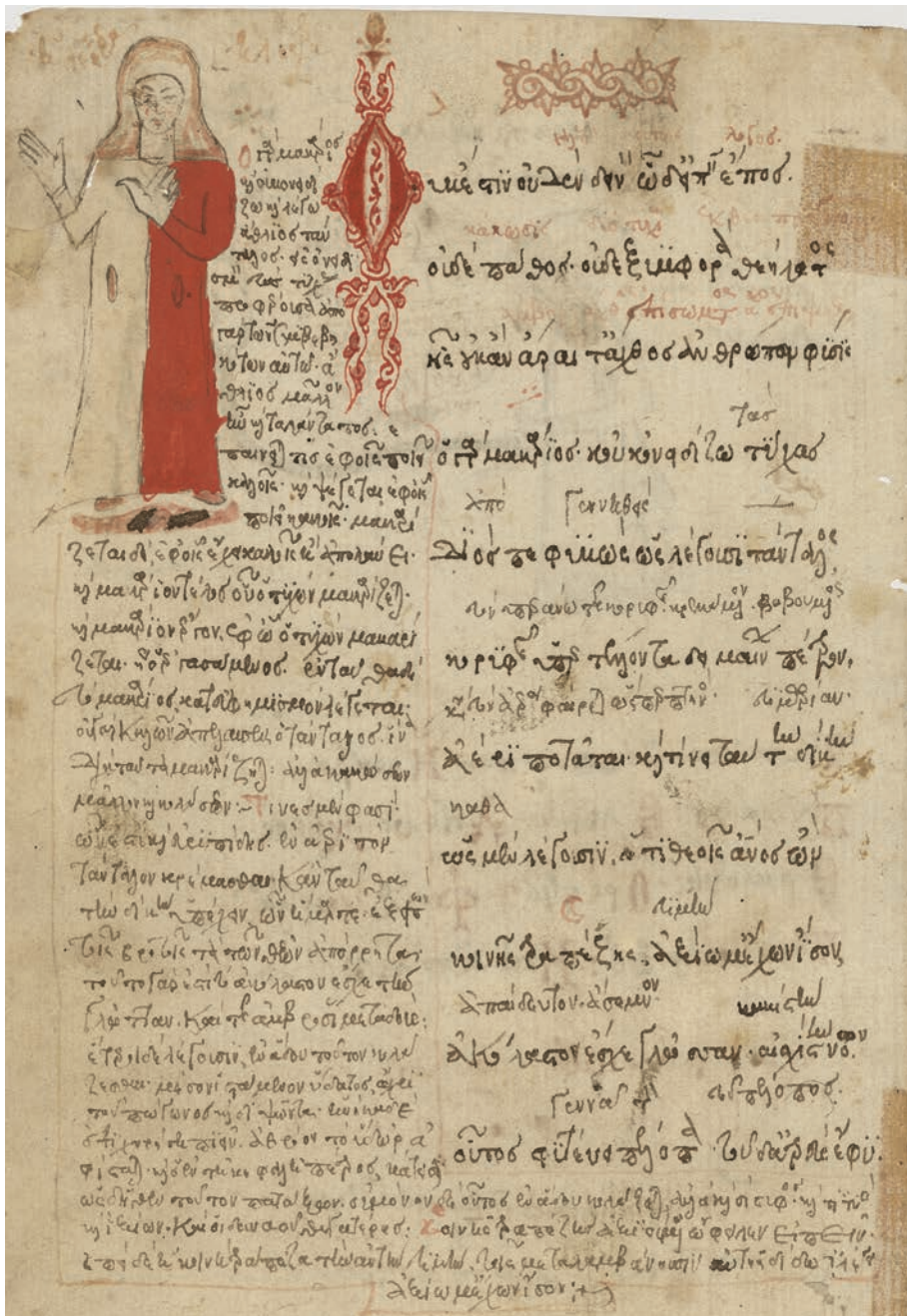


Plate XII – Vat. gr. 52, f. 61v.

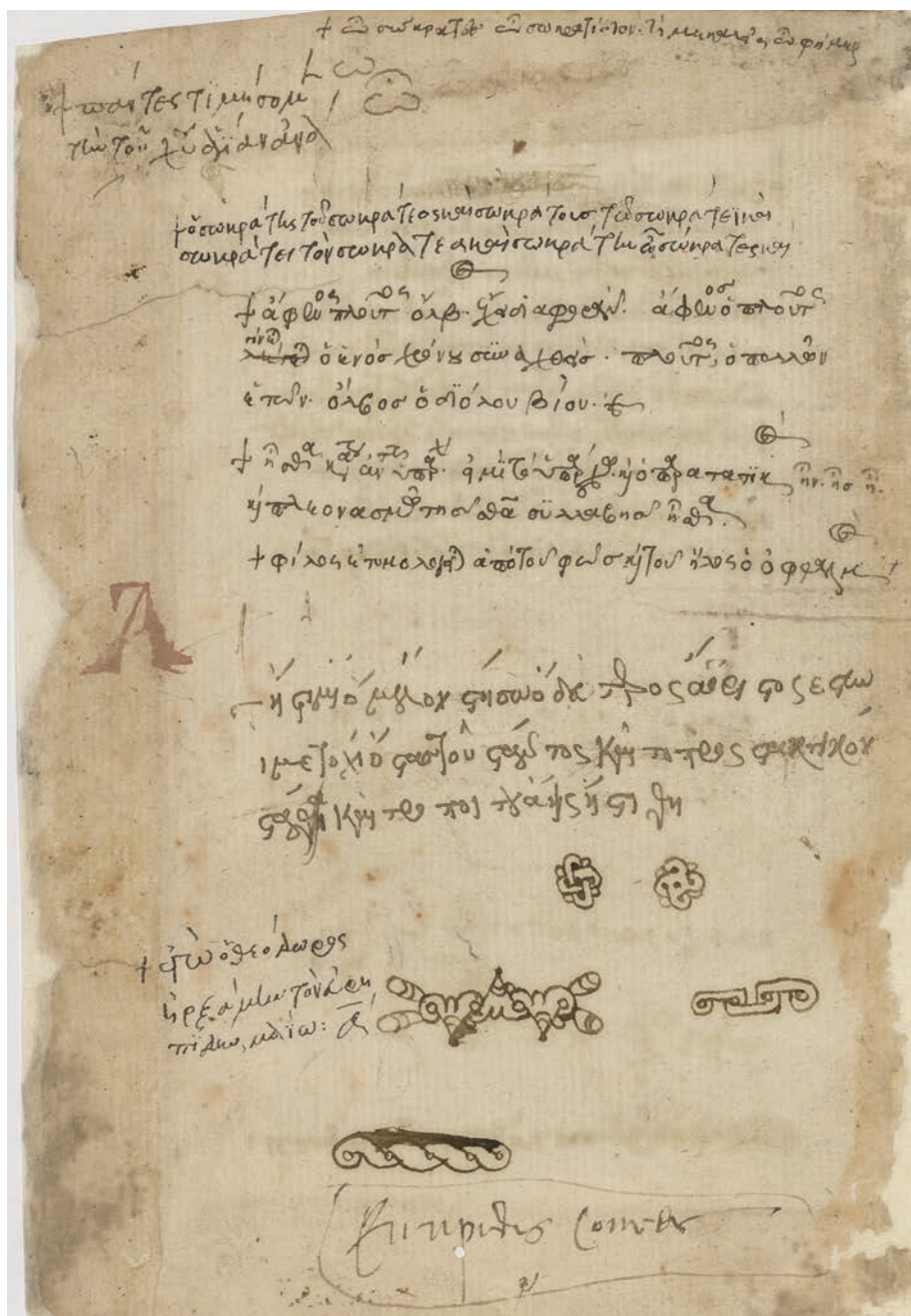


Plate XIV – *Vat. Urb. gr.* 142, f. 4^v.

